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VOL. I.

LONDON:

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1808.

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PREFACE

TO THIS NEW EDITION.

TO the importance of this collection of Tracts and Papers, for elucidating many historical occurrences, no person who feels interested in the discovery of truth, can be inattentive. A knowledge of the curious facts, which are promiscuously contained in them, independent of their utility as matters of information, must be peculiarly acceptable to the literary world. The difficulty of procuring a set of them has, of late years, however, been so greatly augmented, and the impossibility of purchasing such a valuable store of documents by most of those who are likely to avail themselves of such authorities, for the benefit of the community are a sufficient demonstration of the expediency of a new edition, and the necessity of producing it, for a more extensive circulation, on the most moderate terms. Considering the nature of the trade for some time past, we have adopted the most œconomical plan which is practicable, to meet the general wishes of the public, as well as to gratify our own particular friends. The two impressions, we hope, will equally meet the sentiments of those who wish for cabinet and library curiosities, as of those who are anxious for so valuable a treasure of records of literary knowledge, on the easiest possible conditions.

The fidelity with which these valuable pieces are reprinted, and the almost unprecedented attention that will be paid to the typography, will be a distinguishing feature of this publication. The credit of the editor has been long established, as fully qualified for so important a task, as that of examining with minute attention every sheet before it is com-

mitted to the press, in addition to the printer's usual habit of correctness. The orthography of every paper has been scrupulously preserved, as a criterion of the time when each of them was originally communicated to the public; a distinction, by which their respective value will be fully appreciated, and without which, those papers more especially, that preceded the restoration of monarchy, in being modernized, would lose the greatest part of their value. In the punctuation, considered as a matter of secondary moment only, we are ready to avow that we have taken some liberties, where the sense of the subject seemed to require it; but this is always allowed in printing the most ancient MSS. and we feel no reluctance in declaring, that we have herein varied, what may be deemed, the technical part of the business, whenever it could be done with improvement.

In another respect, indeed, it has been determined, after a few sheets were printed off, to place the rest, as nearly as possible, in a chronological order. To the historian and man of letters, this will prove a very striking advantage; for at the same time that every document will be given entire, the whole will form a mass of records, though some of them were only the productions of the passing times, of the utmost moment to authenticate the history of each year progressively. To those pieces, contained in a very few only of the first sheets, a reference will be made in their respective places; by which every publication or MS. of every year, included in the collection, will converge to one focal point, and greatly assist every class of readers, no less than the historian and the antiquary. When we add, that this mode has been adopted, on the intimation and at the desire of many of our liberal subscribers, we need not say more to convince the public of our anxious wish to deserve their countenance and support. It equally corresponds with our own ideas; and will remove one very strong objection to the use of the former original edition, from which this is re-printed, of the difficulty of finding a relation of the various occurrences of any particular period. But for such an useful purpose, neither the table of contents prefixed to each volume, nor the copious indexes annexed, nor even both united, are in any degree competent; and much time and labour must be lost to run over the contents of all the volumes to know what is preserved in this collection of the transactions of any specific year. These are obviated by this improved arrangement of the present edition; which, so far as these papers contain any accounts, will form a summary, and, in many instances, a very minute and particular detail, of the history of England, not frequently to be found in many of our best and most extended annals.

We have only to add, that the same reasons do not occur in the present edition for following the original promiscuous mode. We have all our materials before us, which enables us to digest the whole into a chronological arrangement, for the advantage of our subscribers.

After all our care, it is not in human power to accomplish impossibilities. Some of the pieces are of so genera and miscellaneous a nature, that we cannot catch a single glimpse of any thing to form a criterion in what chronological order to class them; but as these can be of little moment, we have subjoined them at the end, that not a single article should be omitted. A few others, which evidently belong to some particular reign, where they cannot be classed to any particular year, are added respectively at the end of that reign.

We have studiously refrained from introducing any notes of our own, both to avoid the impropriety of swelling the work under the present circumstances, and because we are unwilling to pay so unhandsome a compliment to our readers as to suppose they will not perceive with us, many analogous cases and proceedings of the French in those times to the recent conduct of the rulers of that country; in which they have unhappily but too much succeeded, though they failed so essentially in earlier times. But we shall close our remarks, with observing only, that we shall not forget to prepare for our subscribers, at the end of each volume, an alphabetical index of the principal contents; as equally useful on many occasions, where the subject may be recollected, though the particular period of it has escaped the memory.

As the editors of the original edition of the Miscellany, after some progress in that work, announced to their numerous friends and subscribers a catalogue of pamphlets, many of which are both interesting and curious, that were found in the Earl of Oxford's Library; we shall embrace an early opportunity of announcing the titles of 548 pamphlets, which the catalogue consists of, classed in like manner in chronological order, the purport of which we shall submit, with the substance of their contents, to the consideration of our readers. Of these, however, more than 50 were at that time introduced into the subsequent volumes of the Miscellany, to which it will only be necessary to make a reference in their order. To these documents we propose to annex some account of the various important MSS. collected by this nobleman in the course of his long and active pursuits in the

service of his country. The historian will from these, be supplied with much useful intelligence, hitherto little known; and the antiquary will be no less gratified, by such an accession of materials, to his present stock of knowledge. It shall suffice to say that, as the editor of such an intelligent mass of materials, so classed and so arranged, no labour or pains shall be spared to render it worthy of the public acceptance.

J. MALHAM.

London, Nov. 30, 1808

THE

INTRODUCTION.

THOUGH the scheme of the following Miscellany is so obvious, that the title alone is sufficient to explain it; and though several collections have been formerly attempted upon plans, as to the method, very little, but as to the capacity and execution, very different from ours; we, being possessed of the greatest variety for such a work, hope for a more general reception than those confined schemes had the fortune to meet with: and, therefore, think it not wholly unnecessary to explain our intentions, to display the treasure of materials, out of which this Miscellany is to be compiled, and to exhibit a general idea of the pieces which we intend to insert in it.

There is, perhaps, no nation in which it is so necessary, as in our own, to assemble, from time to time, the small Tracts and fugitive pieces, which are occasionally published. For, besides the general subjects of enquiry, which are cultivated by us, in common with every other learned nation, our constitution in Church and State naturally gives birth to a multitude of performances, which would either not have been written, or could not have been made publick in any other place.

The form of our government, which gives every man, that has leisure, or curiosity, or vanity, the right of enquiring into the propriety of publick measures; and, by consequence, obliges those who are intrusted with the administration of national affairs, to give an account of their conduct to almost every man who demands it; may be reasonably imagined to have occasioned innumerable pamphlets, which would never have appeared under arbitrary governments, where every man lulls himself in indolence under calamities, of which he cannot promote the redress, or thinks it prudent to conceal the uneasiness, of which he cannot complain without danger.

The multiplicity of religious sects tolerated among us, of which every one has found opponents and vindicators, is another source of unexhaustible publication, almost peculiar to ourselves; for controversies cannot be long continued, nor frequently revived, where an inquisitor has a right to shut up the disputants in dungeons, or where silence can be imposed on either party, by the refusal of a license.

Not that it should be inferred from hence, that political or religious controversies are the only products of the liberty of the British press; the mind once let loose to enquiry, and suffered to operate without restraint, necessarily deviates into peculiar opinions, and wanders in new tracks, where she is indeed sometimes lost in a labyrinth: from which, tho' she cannot return, and scarce knows how to proceed, yet sometimes makes useful discoveries, or finds out nearer paths to knowledge.

The boundless liberty, with which every man may write his own thoughts, and the opportunity of conveighing new sentiments to the publick, without danger of suffering either ridicule or censure, which every man may enjoy, whose vanity does not incite him too hastily to own his performances, naturally invites those, who employ themselves in speculation, to try how their notions will be received by a nation, which exempts caution from fear, and modesty from shame; and it is no wonder, that where reputation may be gained, but needs not be lost, multitudes are willing to try their fortune, and thrust their opinions into the light, sometimes with unsuccessful haste, and sometimes with happy temerity.

It is observed, that, among the natives of England, is to be found a greater variety of humour, than in any other country; and, doubtless, where every man has a full liberty to propagate his conceptions, variety of humour must produce variety of writers; and, where the number of authors is so great, there cannot but be some worthy of distinction.

All these and many other causes, too tedious to be enumerated, have contributed to make pamphlets and small tracts a very important part of an English library; nor are there any pieces, upon which those, who aspire to the reputation of judicious collectors of books, bestow more attention, or greater expence; because many advantages may be expected

from the perusal of these small productions, which are scarcely to be found in that of larger works.

If we regard history, it is well known that most Political Treatises have for a long time appeared in this form, and that the first relations of transactions, while they are yet the subject of conversation, divide the opinions, and employ the conjectures of mankind, are delivered by these petty writers, who have opportunities of collecting the different sentiments of disputants, of enquiring the truth from living witnesses, and of copying their representations from the life; and, therefore, they preserve a multitude of particular incidents, which are forgotten in a short time, or omitted in formal relations, and which are yet to be considered as sparks of truth, which, when united, may afford light in some of the darkest scenes of state, as, we doubt not, will be sufficiently proved in the course of this Miscellany; and which it is, therefore, the interest of the publick to preserve unextinguished.

The same observation may be extended to subjects of yet more importance. In controversies that relate to the truths of religion, the first essays of reformation are generally timorous; and those, who have opinions to offer, which they expect to be opposed, produce their sentiments by degrees; and for the most part in small tracts. By degrees, that they may not shock their readers with too many novelties at once; and in small tracts, that they may be easily dispersed, or privately printed; almost every controversy, therefore, has been, for a time, carried on in pamphlets, nor has swelled into larger volumes, till the first ardor of the disputants has subsided, and they have recollected their notions with coolness enough to digest them into order, consolidate them into systems, and fortify them with authorities.

From pamphlets, consequently, are to be learned the progress of every debate; the various state, to which the questions have been changed: the artifices and fallacies, which have been used; the subterfuges, by which reason has been eluded. In such writings may be seen how the mind has been opened by degrees, how one truth has led to another, how error has been disentangled, and hints improved to demonstration. Which pleasure, and many others, are lost by him, that only reads the larger writers, by whom these scattered sentiments are collected; who will see none of the changes of fortune which every opinion has passed through, will have no opportunity of remarking the transient advan-

tages, which error may sometimes obtain, by the artifices of its patron, or the successful rallies, by which truth regains the day, after a repulse; but will be to him, who traces the dispute through, into particular gradations, as he that hears of a victory, to him that sees the battle.

Since the advantages of preserving these small tracts are so numerous, our attempt to unite them in volumes cannot be thought either useless or unseasonable; for there is no other method of securing them from accidents; and they have already been so long neglected, that this design cannot be delayed, without hazarding the loss of many pieces, which deserve to be transmitted to another age.

The practice of publishing pamphlets on the most important subjects, has now prevailed more than two centuries among us; and, therefore, it cannot be doubted, but that, as no large collections have been yet made, many curious tracts must have perished. But it is too late to lament that loss; nor ought we to reflect upon it with any other view than that of quickening our endeavours for the preservation of those that yet remain, of which we have now a greater number than was, perhaps, ever amassed by any one person.

The first appearance of pamphlets among us is generally thought to be at the new opposition raised against the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome. Those who were first convinced of the reasonableness of the new learning, as it was then called, propagated their opinions in small pieces, which were cheaply printed, and, what was then of great importance, easily concealed. These treatises were generally printed in foreign countries, and are not, therefore, always very correct. There was not then that opportunity of printing in private, for, the number of printers were small, and the presses were easily overlooked by the clergy, who spared no labour or vigilance for the suppression of heresy. There is, however, reason to suspect that some attempts were made to carry on the propagation of truth by a secret press; for one of the first treatises, in favour of the reformation, is said, at the end, to be printed at Greenwich by the permission of the Lord of Hosts.

In the time of King Edward the Sixth, the presses were employed in favour of the reformed religion, and small tracts were dispersed over the nation, to reconcile them to the new forms of worship. In this reign, likewise, political pamphlets

may be said to have been begun, by the address of the rebels of Devonshire; all which means of propagating the sentiments of the people so disturbed the court, that no sooner was Queen Mary resolved to reduce her subjects to the Romish superstition; but she artfully by a charter* granted to certain freemen of London, in whose fidelity, no doubt, she confided, intirely prohibited all presses but what should be licensed by them; which charter is that by which the corporation of Stationers in London, is at this time incorporated.

Under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when liberty again began to flourish, the practice of writing pamphlets became more general; presses were multiplied, and books more dispersed: and, I believe, it may properly be said, that the trade of writing began at this time, and that it has ever since gradually increased in the number, though, perhaps, not in the stile of those that followed it.

In this reign was erected the first secret press against the Church as now established, of which I have found any certain account. It was employed by the Puritans, and conveighed from one part of the nation to another, by them, as they found themselves in danger of discovery. From this press issued most of the pamphlets against Whitgift, and his associates, in the ecclesiastical government; and, when it was at last seized at Manchester, it was employed upon a pamphlet called MORE WORK FOR A COOPER.

In the peaceable reign of King James, those minds, which might, perhaps, with less disturbance of the world, have been engrossed by war, were employed in controversy; and writings of all kinds were multiplied among us. The press, however, was not wholly engaged in polemical performances, for more innocent subjects were sometimes treated; and it deserves to be remarked, because it is not generally known, that the treatises of husbandry and agriculture, which were published about that time, are so numerous, that it can scarcely be imagined by whom they were written, or to whom they were sold.

The next reign is too well known to have been a time of confusion, and disturbance, and disputes of every kind; and the writings, which were produced, bear a natural propor-

* Which begins thus, KNOW YE, that WE considering, and manifestly perceiving, that several seditious and heretical Books or Tracts——against the Faith and sound Catholic Doctrine of holy Mother, the Church, &c.

tion to the number of the questions that were discussed at that time; each party had its authors, and its presses, and no endeavours were omitted to gain proselytes to every opinion. I know not whether this may not properly be called The Age of Pamphlets; for, though they perhaps may not arise to such multitudes as Mr. Rawlinson imagined, they were. undoubtedly, more numerous than can be conceived by any who have not had an opportunity of examining them.

After the restoration, the same differences in religious opinions are well known to have subsisted, and the same political struggles to have been frequently renewed; and, therefore, a great number of pens were employed on different occasions, till, at length, all other disputes were absorbed in the Popish controversy.

From the pamphlets which these different periods of time produced, it is proposed, that this Miscellany shall be compiled; for which it cannot be supposed that materials will be wanting, and, therefore, the only difficulty will be in what manner to dispose them.

Those who have gone before us, in undertakings of this kind, have ranged the pamphlets, which chance threw into their hands, without any regard either to the subject on which they treated, or the time in which they were written; a practice in no wise to be imitated by us, who want for no materials; of which we shall chuse those we think best for the particular circumstances of times and things, and most instructing and entertaining to the reader.

Of the different methods which present themselves upon the first view of the great heaps of pamphlets which the Harleian Library exhibits, the two which merit most attention, are to distribute the treatises according to their subjects or their dates, but neither of these ways can be conveniently followed. By ranging our collection in order of time, we must necessarily publish those pieces first, which least engage the curiosity of the bulk of mankind; and our design must fall to the ground for want of encouragement before it can be so far advanced as to obtain general regard. By confining ourselves for any long time to any single subject, we shall reduce our readers to one class, and as we shall lose all the grace of variety, shall disgust all those who read chiefly

to be diverted. There is likewise one objection of equal force against both these methods, that we shall preclude ourselves from the advantage of any future discoveries, and we cannot hope to assemble at once all the pamphlets which have been written in any age or on any subject.

It may be added, in vindication of our intended practice, that it is the same with that of Photius, whose collections are no less miscellaneous than ours; and who declares, that he leaves it to his reader to reduce his extracts under their proper heads.

Most of the pieces, which shall be offered in this collection to the publick, will be introduced by short prefaces, in which will be given some account of the reasons for which tney are inserted; notes will be sometimes adjoined for the explanation of obscure passages, or obsolete expressions; and care will be taken to mingle use and pleasure through the whole collection. Notwithstanding every subject may not be relished by every reader; yet the buyer may be assured that each number will repay his generous subscription.

THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

THE REASONS

WHICH INDUCED HER MAJESTY TO CREATE

The Right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq.

A PEER OF GREAT BRITAIN, IN THE YEAR 1711.

There can be no objection against the prefixing of the reasons for creating the Right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq. a Peer of Great Britain, and Earl of Oxford; especially, as the valuable collection, intended to be published in this form, was made by the greatness of his knowledge in all branches of learning, and at the vast expence of that noble family. He, that noble peer, who always encouraged learning, and was the Mecenas of learned men in his time; whose patent of creation extols him, and ennobles him with the title of the University of Oxford on that particular account; and whose chiefest delight, in his leisure, from the care he took of the good of the nation in general, was to be constantly among his books; by which familiarity, he is said to have acquired so particular a knowledge of them all, as to be able, without a catalogue, to go immediately to the least of them, upon hearing of it named, though his library consisted of more than 100,000 different authors. He, I say, cannot be denied the first place in this Miscellany, which esteems it an honour to bear his name. A name, that, when alive, gave life to learning; and, by this monument of learning, shall live for ever, in the real esteem of learned men.

WHATEVER favour may be merited from a just prince, by a man born of an illustrious and very ancient family, fitted by nature for great things, and by all sorts of learning qualified for greater; constantly employed in the study of state affairs, and with the greatest praise, and no small danger, exercising variety of offices in the government: so much does our well-beloved and very faithful counsellor Robert Harley deserve at our hands; he, who in three successive parliaments, was unanimously chosen speaker; and, at the same time that he filled the chair, was our principal secretary of state: in no wise unequal to either province. Places, so seemingly disagreeing, were easily reconciled by one, who knew how, with equal weight and address, to mode-

rate and govern the minds of men: * one who could preserve the rights of the people, without infringing the prerogative of the crown: and who thoroughly understood how well government could consist with liberty. This double task being performed, after some short respite, he bore the weight of our exchequer as chancellor, and thereby prevented the further plundering † the nation, and also provided for the settling a new trade to the South Seas, and (by rescuing public credit ‡) so opportunely relieved the languishing condition of the treasury, as to deserve thanks from the parliament, blessings from the citizens, and from us (who never separate our own interests from the public) no small approbation. Therefore, we decree to the man that has so eminently deserved of us, and of all our subjects, those honours which were long since due to him and his family, being induced thereto by our own good pleasure, and the suffrage of all Great Britain. For we take it as an admonition, that he should not in vain be preserved, whom the states of our realms have testified to be obnoxious to the hatred of wicked men, upon account of his most faithful services to us, and whom they have congratulated upon his escape from the rage of a flagitious parricide. ‖ We gladly indulge their wishes, that he who comes thus recommended to us by so honourable a vote of both houses of parliament, should have his seat among the peers, to many of whom his family have been long allied, and that he who is himself learned, and a patron of learning, should happily take his title from that city where letters do so gloriously flourish.

Now know ye, &c.

* His prudence kept quiet, and brought to temper, the heats and passions of parties; and suffered not the two sides of whig and tory to meet together in a storm; but caused them to ebb gently, and to lose themselves insensibly in the great ocean of moderation.

His conduct rescued the church from danger; protected the dissenters in their toleration liberty; preserved the union from the infractions of jacobites and the pretender, and quieted the minds of the people in matters of religion, and the Hanover succession. See the Spectator's Address, page 10, 11.

† His wisdom overthrew a management, that, under the pretence of keeping up credit, concealed the circumstances of the nation, till it ran seven millions in debt, and knew nothing of the matter. Id. page 9.

‡ At that time the creditors of the government gave 22 per cent. discount for money on the government's bills. Id. ib.

‖ The Marquis de Guiscard, who was a French refugee, and, in consideration of his noble birth and misfortunes, was at that time supported with a pension of £400 per annum, from the crown of England; but held secret correspondence with the French ministry; which being detected by Mr. Harley, this Guiscard was seized by the queen's messengers, in St. James's Park, on the 8th of March, 1711, and brought before the committee of cabinet council at the cock-pit; where, the fact being clearly proved by Mr. Harley, the villain stooped down, and saying, *j'en veux donc a'toy*; then have at thee; stabbed the honourable Mr. Harley. Redoubling the stroke, the penknife broke, which he was not sensible of; but, rushing on towards Mr. St. John, overthrew the clerk's table that stood between. Mr. St. John, seeing Mr. Harley fall, cried out, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley." Then Mr. St. John gave him a wound, as did the Duke of Ormond, and the Duke of Newcastle. But, Mr. Harley getting up, and walking about, they left the villain's execution to them to whom it more properly belonged; hoping that Mr. Harley was slightly hurt. But, when Bussier, the surgeon, searched the wound, the penknife was found struck a slant, and buried in the wound. Had it been an inch lower, it had touched the *diaphragma*, and then all the world could not have saved his life: and, if it had pierced a nail's breadth deeper, it must have reached his heart. Mr. Harley took the broken blade out himself, and, having wiped it, called for the handle, and said, "They belong to me." And then, being dressed, ordered the surgeon to take care of Monsieur de Guiscard. See this more at large, in the true narrative of this fact, published by John Morphew, 1711.

AN ESSAY

UPON THE

ORIGINAL AND DESIGN OF MAGISTRACY;

OR,

A MODEST VINDICATION

OF THE

LATE PROCEEDINGS* IN ENGLAND.

As to the author of this excellent tract, we can say no more, than that he was equally an hater of rebellion and tyranny; an impartial and judicious writer; that he had the public peace and prosperity more at heart, than any private view to serve himself; and, if it may be allowed to guess, by his expression in several places, he seems to have been a North Britain.

As to the design of it; it was to prove the just rights of the prince and people; to expose tyranny and rebellion; to explode the doctrine of absolute non-resistance; to clear the Prince of Orange, and the English nation that adhered to him in the revolution, from all imputation of rebellion, &c. to prove that king James the second was a tyrant; and the necessity of preserving the succession to the crown of Great Britain in the protestant line. All which is done with that conciseness and perspicuity, and so free from passion and faction, that, I presume, will recommend it to every true lover of our present happy constitution.

AS the right knowledge of the supreme magistrate is the basis and foundation of our submissions, and the cause of all the blessings which flow from a well-tempered government; so the misapprehensions, and false notions, that many people, either through ignorance, or the prejudice of education, frame to themselves of his power, are no less remarkable for their contrary effects.

We fall into extremes equally dangerous, if either we give the people so much liberty, that the magistrate cannot go about these great ends, for which he was designed, but like a weather-cock, is turned about at the pleasure of the mobile; or such a boundless power to the magistrate, as makes the property of the subject altogether precarious, depending on the caprice of an insatiable monarch.

* Concerning King James II. in the year 1688.

To keep a just balance, we must consider magistracy, as it was first instituted by God Almighty, before it was depraved by the ambition, pride, and avarice of those who were invested in it. So that, in its original, it may be defined, a power delegated from God, for maintaining order, rewarding the virtues, and punishing the crimes of mankind; the application of which power is left free to any independent people or nation.

It cannot be doubted, but that God, as creator of all things, might, in his own person, have exercised a sovereign power over all his creatures, which, since he was not pleased to do, he thought fit, in his infinite wisdom, to appoint his lieutenants here on earth, to whom he communicates some rays of his divine majesty, both to beget a greater reverence for their persons, and procure a chearful obedience from those that were to be subject; so that the profound deference, and blind submission, which millions of men pay to a mortal, perhaps, subject to as many infirmities as the most part of those he rules over, can be ascribed to nothing else but the firm persuasion of a divine institution: but, that we may the more admire the goodness of God in ordaining magistracy, he hath no less proposed man's happiness, than his own glory, that we might find it our interest, as well as duty, in obeying. For though man was born free, and, consequently, by nature, desirous of liberty; yet, an unbounded freedom could have done him very little service in a natural state, when innocency was no protection from the oppression of the stronger; but rapines, violence, and murder were the chief ways of acquiring right; in this universal chaos, where *homo* was *homini lupus*, nothing was thought unlawful that ambition, malice, or cruelty, could propose; so that the weaker were driven to a necessity of uniting their forces against the stronger. Then began they to erect societies, and make laws for regulating them; the executing of which laws was committed to one or more persons, as the major part of the society thought fit to trust, who had the name of captain, general, or king: it was he who led them out to battle, who disposed of prizes, and punished malefactors; his commands were easily obeyed, because but few; and all just, honest, and profitable. These had not learned the *arcana imperii*, or secret ways to enslave their people; but their eminent virtue and singular valour both procured their dignity, and maintained them in it; and having no sycophant flatterers about them, to abuse their easy credulity, they had not forgot that the people's liberty was resigned for no other end, but for obtaining a greater happiness under their protection, than what they could have proposed, if every individual had retained it in his own person.

There is no other original of magistracy to be learned from sacred or profane history; for though the patriarchs had the government of their own families (which, by reason of their long age, were very numerous) yet that right was derived from the law of nature, and not from any civil obligation. They had for the most part no fixed habitation, but lived as strangers and sojourners, by the favour of other princes, and were never modeled into a commonwealth.

When dominions were enlarged, and empires began to be erected, different forms of government were established, according to the vari-

ous inclinations of the people; when the conqueror gave laws to the conquered, it was called despotic; but when a free people did enter into a contract, and gave up their liberty on certain conditions, it was called a limited government, and these conditions the fundamental laws.

This sovereignity was either entailed upon a particular family, for considerable services done to the commonwealth, or it was only to be held during life, whence succession and election.

There is a majesty in every free state, which is nothing else but an independent power upon earth, tied to no laws, but these of God; these of nature and nations, and the fundamental laws of a kingdom.

This majesty is either real, or personal; real is that independency, which every free state hath in relation to one another; personal, that right, when it is lodged in a particular person; which, though it be inseparable from the sovereign power, for the greater splendor, yet it may be violate, when the real remains intire, otherwise the freedom and independency of a nation would be extinct, by the death or captivity of the prince.

To majesty or sovereign power are annexed the *regalia*, or regal right, which are, more or less, according to the measure of liberty given from, or reserved to the people, or their representatives at the first constitution: for instance, a king may have power to make war or peace, and yet cannot raise money; the legislative power may be also divided, as it is in England, betwixt king and parliament, and generally in all mixed governments; for that maxim, that *jura majestatis sunt indivisa*, does only take place in an absolute monarchy.

That power which the people reserveth from the sovereign, is called liberty, and it is either tacit or express; tacit liberty is the exemption of such things as cannot fall under the cognisance of the supreme power, which may be reduced to three. 1st. Religion, or the empire over the conscience, which belongs only to God Almighty. 2dly, The power of life and death, till we forefault them by the divine law, or municipal laws of a kingdom. 3rdly, Our goods and heritages, which cannot be taken from us without a judicial process, or when the good of the commonwealth we live in, requires a share of them. These three privileges were ever reserved in the most ample resignation of liberty; the first we cannot give away, because not ours; we have right to the second, as men, who are to be governed by reason; to the third, as members of a society or commonwealth.

Express liberty is a stipulation, whereby some things are by express paction eximed from the power of the sovereign, by the people or their representatives; which reservations are called privileges, and are either thus established by contract and agreement, at the first constitution, or are afterwards granted by princes, when they would either oblige or gratify their people; as was the magna charta in England, and the edict of Nantes in France; or when they desire any favour from them, as was the golden bull, wherein the emperor, Charles the fourth, granted considerable immunities to the electors, to engage them to chuse the stupid Vensiaslus, his son, successor in the empire.

This property of the subject hath ever been the eye-sore of monarchs, though he has as just a claim to it, as these have to their crowns; and whoever goes about to subvert it, dissolves the constitution, and forefaults his own title; since the same laws that bestowed this, at the same time secured that; and maintaining the one was made an inseparable condition of possessing the other. Neither can a rape, committed on our liberty, be excused, upon pretence that authority is derived from heaven. For, the great Sovereign of the Universe, ordained magistracy for the preservation, not the destruction of mankind; and he never sent down any person or family from heaven, with a commission to enslave a people or nation, to whom the application of the civil power was left absolutely free, so that they might bestow it on whom, and after what manner they pleased; for, though God loves order, yet he never approved of tyranny and oppression; and he, who is all justice and mercy, can never be supposed to authorise what is contrary to both. So that whosoever acts beyond his commission, and destroys the flock, instead of protecting it, is so far from being God's vicegerent, that he is to be looked on as the common enemy of mankind.

The violation of the subject's property is called tyranny. A name, which, at first, did only signify the regal power; but, when liberty began to be oppressed, through the ambition, wickedness, or evil management of the governors, it was made use of, to denote the excess of power.

There are two sorts of tyrants, those in title, and those in administration of the government. The first sort is he who usurps the crown without any title or just pretence; as did Oliver Cromwell in England: of the other, one who hath a just right to the crown; but, postponing the public good, acts arbitarily, and contrary to law: such a tyrant was Philip the second of Spain.

The want of a title, or a bad one, may be supplied by prescription, or the subsequent consent of the people; to which, perhaps, the most part of princes must at last recur, unless they would derive their pedigree from one of the sons of Noah, and instruct an uninterrupted succession ever since.

Tyranny is the most miserable condition a commonwealth can be in; it dissolves the union betwixt king and subject, and exposes both to all the miseries that attend a civil war, and to the hazard of falling under a foreign power. Yea, even though a tyrant should be successful in his attempt, yet is he as far from his happiness as ever; for, besides the inward remorses that incessantly gnaw his conscience, he suspects all men, fears every thing, and is most justly hated by all. So that they did not represent a tyrant ill, who drew him sitting under a canopy of state, feasting in great riot, with a naked sword hanging over his head.

What remedy is there then against so great an evil? are we tamely to subject our necks to a yoke so insupportable to the more refined sort of men? or are we to resist the supreme magistrate and reclaim him by arms when other means prove ineffectual? The difficulty is great, and each opinion hath had its champions, who writ volumes in defence of their cause.

The horrid parricide of King Charles I. in the middle of this age,* was with great heat and zeal defended by Milton,† and impugned by the learned Salmasius, who being a stranger to our constitution, and the transaction of our country, (I speak it with reverence to so great a man) did but weakly defend so good a cause, in endeavouring to prove, that tyranny was not to be resisted, whereas he should have evinced (as easily he might) that Charles I. was a good prince and no tyrant.

The present revolution ‡ in England revives the dispute, and engages me, contrary to my humour, to impart my thoughts to the public, with no other design than to contribute my mean endeavours for vindicating the nation's honour from the heavy imputations of treason and rebellion; and, if I can make out that resistance in some case is lawful, I doubt not but I shall be easily able to demonstrate that the present taking up arms by the nobility and gentry of England, in defence of their religion, laws, and liberties, is both just and necessary.

There are three degrees of resistance. The first is the taking up arms against the civil magistrate. The second is, the deposing him, and shaking off our allegiance. The third proceeds to the inflicting of capital punishment. Which last seems inhuman; because God has placed a certain sacredness in the person of princes, so that none can touch the Lord's anointed and be guiltless. And the depriving them of their crowns is a great enough punishment; and our injuries are sufficiently repaired, when we are out of the hazard of being any more obnoxious to them. The other two may be allowed of, provided the remedies be applied by fit persons, after a due manner, and with such caution, as a matter of so great importance does require.

First, By fit persons, as the nobility, gentry, and other representatives of the nation, who, as they are most concerned in the laws, are supposed to understand them, and consequently, are the best judges of liberty. And they are persons of so much honour that it were a piece of ill breeding to suspect them of partiality.

Secondly, The tyranny must be evident and manifest; some few tyrannical acts do not constitute tyranny; private injuries must be suffered, rather than hazard the public peace; there must be a wilful subversion of the laws, not those of lesser moment, but such as shake the very foundations of government. David's murder and adultery were very arbitrary and tyrannical, and yet did not make him a tyrant; for, human frailty is still to be indulged, seeing, on this side of time, perfection is not be expected.

Thirdly, This is a violent remedy, and, consequently, should be the last; it ought to be gone about with the greatest deliberation and circumspection imaginable; when addresses, petitions, supplications, and such gentle methods prove ineffectual.

Fourthly, The commonwealth must be in such danger, that the whole fabric would otherwise be dissolved and overturned.

* Anno 1648, in the seventeenth century. † The poet and author of Paradise Lost, &c.
‡ King James II's misrule, flight, and abdication of the crown in 1688.

Lastly, The effectuating of the design must be certain, otherwise, we fall into a worse evil, than that we seek to shun; for, confusion and anarchy are worse than tyranny; and a wounded head is better than none at all.

What is objected against this opinion, from the old and new testament, is very judiciously refuted by the author of the "Inquiry into the measures of submission."

The second argument is taken from the oath of allegiance, which subjects swear to their prince, whereby they engage never to rise in arms against him. To which, it is answered, that this oath is accessory to the contract agreed on betwixt the king and people, and so must follow the nature of its principle. The nature of all contracts is obligatory on both parties; so that, if one of the parties fail in the performing his part, the other is loosed from his obligation. As it is in this case, the people devolve the power on the prince upon certain conditions, expressly specified. The accepting of a crown on such terms, binds the prince to perform the conditions; if he does not perform them, he, in effect, renounces his right, and tacitly consents that it return to those who bestowed it.

Lawyers say, that contracts can only oblige equals; and therefore no paction betwixt king and subject can be binding. There is no force in this argument, if we advert that, when this stipulation was made, the prince and subjects were equal, and were only distinguished after the power was conferred.

Thirdly, They instance, that this does not bind the successor. To which, it is answered, that the prince engages for himself and successors; who, if they would reap the advantage from their predecessors, must have also the disadvantage of being tied to the same rules they were adstricted to. But, for the further security, none is admitted to the government, till they take the coronation oath.

Fourthly, They upbraid us with the example of the primitive christians, who suffered the persecution of heathen emperors, with the greatest moderation and patience. I do admire, as well as they, the constancy, patience, and other virtues, which these holy men were endued with; but their case and ours is quite different. Paganism, at that time, was established by law, and christianity condemned; the professors whereof suffered, as the disturbers of the public peace; but, blessed be God, the law is now on our side; and our religion is become a great part of our property; and the peace of our country does very much depend on the preservation of it. Besides, if the christian religion had been propagated by arms, its worth had been diminished, and the reputation of the first founders of christianity had very much suffered; whereas the morality and justice of all its precepts, the holiness and purity of its doctrine, were of sufficient efficacy to recommend it; and the constancy and resolution, with which the first christains suffered martyrdom, were strong motives to convince the pagan world of the truth of it. But in our christian commonwealth, where there are no more heathens to convert, as the robbing us of our religion would be the highest act of injustice, so the parting with it tamely, would argue the greatest stupidity and inconcernedness that man can be capable of.

The only difficulty that remains, is, Who will be judge of the prince's actions, to know when he is a tyrant, and when not? If it were allowed to the Prince himself, he would be too partial. If we should constitute a right in the people, they would be too apt to misconstrue the prince's actions, which should ever receive the most benign interpretation that the subject can admit. So that, to shun both inconveniencies, the controversy must be decided by the laws of the kingdom. There is just such a plea betwixt the Church of Rome and the Protestants, concerning a judge of controversies. They contend for the Pope as Christ's Vicar, and reject the scriptures, which we believe are the only Rule of Faith; and that, in them, all things, which relate to salvation, are clearly set down, so that those of the meanest capacities may easily understand them.

In a politic state the supreme magistrate is sworn to rule according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, which we must suppose are known both to king and people; because they are a rule to direct the government of the one, and a measure of the obedience of the other, and were fairly enacted at the first constitution. It is true, indeed, that if a law, made by the civil power, contains any obscurity, the sole power of interpreting that law belongs to the lawgivers; but we must imagine the fundamental laws full of perspicuity, and, except there be a notorious violation of them, resistance can never be lawful.

What has been said on this general head, will not answer the design of this paper, if it cannot be applied to the present state of affairs in England. For it is of no purpose to prove, that tyranny is to be resisted by arms; unless we make it appear, that the English government had altogether degenerated into tyranny; and that the taking up of arms, under the auspicious conduct of his highness the Prince of Orange, was no rash act, but done after mature deliberation, and with all the circumspection that an affair of so great importance did require.

The great and earnest endeavours to have the bill of exclusion passed*, did sufficiently evince what fears and jealousies the parliament had of the danger to which their religion and liberties would necessarily be exposed under a popish successor. His Majesty's† behaviour since he came to the crown, has clearly demonstrated that these fears were not groundless; for, not being content to introduce the popish religion, so much contrary to law, he hath endeavoured to alter the whole frame of the constitution, and swallow up all our liberties and privileges, in an arbitrary and despotic power‡.

First, The first step was made against the freedom of parliaments (which makes up a great part of the government, by their having a share of the legislative power lodged in them) by their issuing quo-warranto's against all the burghs and corporations in England. The most part of them, either through fear or force, did surrender their charters to the king, who placed such magistrates in them, as he was

* In King Charles the Second's time, against the Duke of York, a papist, afterwards King James the Second, whose principles were destructive of our religion and ecclesiastical state, and all the laws by which our church was established.

† King James the Second.

‡ See his commission for erecting an Ecclesiastic Commission Court.

most assured of, and, by this means, did altogether invert the freedom of election.

Secondly, Nothing could be more contrary to law, than the erecting of seminaries of Priests and Jesuits in all the capital cities of his dominions; yea, such confidence hath he reposed in that order, that he hath committed the direction of his conscience to* one of its fathers, and was not ashamed to own himself a son of their society.

Thirdly, His pretence to a dispensing power was no mean breach of his coronation oath; for, by it, he usurped the whole legislative power; and would have imposed on the people (in procuring the votes of the twelve mercenary judges) if they had not wisely foreseen the dangerous consequences, and feared that his majesty would farther oblige his Roman Catholic subjects, by repealing all the laws that were enacted in favour of the Protestant religion.

It was by virtue of this dispensing power, that the ecclesiastic commission was established; the Bishop of London suspended; the Fellows of Magdalen College turned out: and, because the bishops of England would not so far justify his illegal pretences, as to cause their clergy to read the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience† from their pulpits, they quickly saw all the fair promises made them evanish, and the Loyal Church of England was first branded with the infamous character of trumpeters of rebellion, and afterwards treated as the worst of criminals; a very bad recompence for that great zeal with which they had ever preached up the impracticable doctrine of non-resistance.

Fourthly, In prosecution of the blessed design of reducing heretics to the see of Rome, all ways were taken to discourage protestants, who were not only debarred from offices and employments of any trust, unless upon such conditions, as the court pleased to impose, but were even turned out of those that had been heritable to their families; and a great part of the militia was intrusted to Roman Catholics, of purpose to overawe the parliaments, in case the next assembly should have proved stubborn.

Fifthly, Though by many laws the holding correspondence, any way with Rome, be declared high-treason, yet hath his majesty had his resident there, and received his nuncio here, to the great scandal of all good Protestants, and true-hearted Englishmen: for it is in effect a subjecting the kingdom to a slavery from which our ancestors had most gloriously delivered us. These things were acted in the face of the sun‡, and none can deny them without renouncing the most comfortable of all his senses; yea, the king himself did sufficiently acknowledge them, by his sudden restoring the city charters, Magdalen College, and some other of the grosser sort of abuses, upon the first information he got of the Prince's‖ Declaration.

The king's old age, and the fair prospect of a Protestant successor, made us suffer these things patiently, because we hoped to be very shortly delivered from them; but, to despair us, and cut off all our

* Father Peters, a Jesuit, and one of his privy council.
† Calculated to introduce popery, against all the laws in force against that superstition.
‡ As shall be more particularly shewn in the course of this miscellany.
‖ Of Orange.

hopes, and to punish the Prince and Princess of Orange, for refusing to comply with the king's will, there is a sudden rumour spread of the queen's being with child, which, as it did alarm the whole kingdom, so it made these, who were most concerned, be at some pains to be assured of the truth of it; and yet, after the most exact enquiry, their doubts were increased.

The court was not ignorant of all this, and yet would not give themselves the least trouble to satisfy them, though they had the greatest interest in the world to do it.

The place of the queen's lying-in was so uncertain, and the management of the birth so mysterious; the sending away the Princess of Denmark*, the imprisoning the bishops in the Tower, gave more than probable grounds to suspect an imposture; and though these be but presumptions, and have not the strength of a full probation, yet they transfer a necessity of eliding them by clearer evidences.

Thus, our religion, liberties, and laws being ready to sink, when gentle methods had proved ineffectual, when addresses and supplications, even from the most loyal part of the nation, were counted so many acts of treason, it was high time to recur to that remedy which nature seems to dictate to every individual in its own defence.

That zeal, with which his highness the Prince of Orange had ever espoused the Protestant interest, against all its adversaries, made the nobility and gentry of England unanimously pitch on him as the fittest person to be their deliverer; and, both he and his Princess being so nearly interested in the succession, no rational man can blame him for appearing in arms, and demanding satisfaction that way, which hitherto had been refused him. If the remedy had been delayed, it is more than probable, the greater part of the nation had fallen a sacrifice to popery and arbitrary government.

I shall conclude all with a short reflection upon his majesty's leaving the kingdom, and going for France, which action alone hath done him more hurt, than all the rest together; for, by depriving us of that protection, which we might expect from his government, he looses his subjects from that allegiance they swore unto, upon no other condition, than so long as they should enjoy so great a benefit: neither can any, who knows his majesty's temper, impute his flight to fear or cowardice, but rather of his being conscious of a certain guilt, which did banish him from one of the greatest stations in the world, and robbed him of that bravery and resolution, that he is naturally attended with; and which though he had wanted, yet innocency had supported him, and made him out-brave all the malicious calumnies of his enemies, with such an heroic constancy of mind, as seldom or never fails to come off victorious.

The Prince† had also acquainted him in his declaration, that he had no other design in coming to England, than to refer all the grievances of the nation, and his own pretences, to a free parliament. Neither the king, nor any man else, could ever accuse this prince with

* Afterwards Queen Anne, who was married to Prince George of Denmark.
† Of Orange.

the least breach of promise: and, though he had been wanting in that reverence that is due to the character of an uncle and father-in-law, yet the prince's own interest had secured the king from any harsh treatment; for, if any thing had been attempted against his person, the nation's eyes had been opened and would have seen clearly, that these specious pretences of liberty and property were but so many delusions, and such a treatment certainly had deserved the greatest resentment.

But if the king must needs go, can he find no place for shelter but France? Where so much Protestant blood hath been so lately shed*, with the greatest cruelty and barbarity that ever was heard; he cannot be ignorant that his subjects have a natural aversion for that nation, and that this close and constant correspondence with its monarch, gave them just jealousies to apprehend, that there was more than an ordinary friendship betwixt them, which was every day increased, by his copying so near the methods that had been used in that nation, for suppressing the protestant religion, and establishing† arbitrary government. And, if the king‡ have any hopes to reduce his subjects by invading them on the head of a French army, he will find them but ill-grounded; for, instead of reconciling them to him, so dangerous and improper a method would even alienate the hearts of his best friends, and Britain would shew itself as forward to fight against popery and tyranny, as it was averse from giving proofs of its courage, when it must needs have been fatal to liberty and the protestant religion.

* Against the faith of solemn treaties and national laws.

† Of which jealousies we can have no better idea than what is strongly conveyed to posterity by an ingenious author, who wrote soon after, in these words:

"Though I was never much surprised and alarmed with popular or artificial fears and jealou-
"sies (which will perhaps make a noise, even in the most promising seasons, as long as the world
"endures) yet, when matter of fact is notoriously plain and evident; when tyrannical, base, and
"undermining principles are seconded with power, revenge, and successful issues; it is a weak
"piece of bravery merely to defy danger, and rank folly and stupidity not to be nationally con-
"cerned.

"The politics of France are now fairly legible in speeches and bravadoes, in actions and me-
"naces, and many self-evident tokens of a designed usurpation; and we are not only to expect
"the same burning effects from the same damning cause; but have also too just and apparent
"reason to fear, that we shall be graduated up, through all the decent forms of ingenious cruelty,
"and the several stages of torture to a more solemn and ceremonious death, if ever Popery
"lift up its head in England.

"Perhaps, the more dull and half-witted priests may content themselves with a short fiery
"trial; with the plain and old-fashioned way of sacrificing heretics to the Roman idol; and I
"have charity to believe, there are many kind and good-natured Romanists amongst us, who are
"so much our friends, as to shrink and tremble even at the thoughts of such barbarities as these.
"But all their good wishes prove but vain and plausible nothings, when the insolent Jesuit has
"got the ascendant, and is roaring up and down with racks, wheels, and damnation in his
"mouth, and all the terrors of the ten persecutions. And what will a Not swearing, or, Who would
"have thought it, signify, when our gates are set open to that Royal Thunderer, who has been
"so far influenced by his beloved oracles, and the omnipotent charms of canonical executioners,
"as to give no rest either to the world or himself; and whose magnified conduct bears a near
"resemblance to that awful sort of majesty, which Mr. D——n presents us with, in his notable
"description of a bull after this manner:

While monarch-like, he ranged the listed field,
Some toss'd, some gor'd, some trampling down he kill'd.

‡ James II.

VOX REGIS.

As an APPENDIX to what hath been said, we shall presume to annex part of King James the First's Speeches to the Parliaments in 1603 and 1609, who was grandfather to King James the Second: As also his Advice to his Son in his Basilicon Doron; which Appendix is entitled Vox Regis, or the Difference betwixt a King Ruling by Law, and a Tyrant by his own Will; and at the same time declaring his Royal Opinion of the Excellency of the English Laws, Rights, and Privileges, viz

In his speech to the parliament 1603, he expresseth himself in these words, viz.

'I DO acknowledge, that the special and greatest point of difference 'that is betwixt a rightful king, and an usurping tyrant, is this: that 'whereas the proud and ambitious tyrant doth think his kingdom 'and people are only ordained for satisfaction of his desires, and unreasonable appetites; the righteous and just king doth, by the contrary, 'acknowledge himself to be ordained for the procuring of the wealth 'and prosperity of his people; and that his great and principal worldly 'felicity must consist in their prosperity: if you be rich, I cannot be 'poor; if you be happy, I cannot but be fortunate; and, I protest, your 'welfare shall ever be my greatest care and contentment. And, that I 'am a servant, it is most true, that as I am head and governor of all the 'people in my dominion, who are my natural subjects, considering 'them in distinct ranks, so if we will take in the people as one body, 'then as the head is ordained for the body, and not the body for the 'head, so must a righteous king know himself to be ordained for his 'people, and not his people for him.

'Wherefore I will never be ashamed to confess it my principal ho'nour, to be the great servant of the commonwealth, and ever think 'the prosperity thereof to be my greatest felicity, &c.

In his Speech to the Parliament, March 21, 1609, he expresseth himself as followeth:

'IN these, our times, we are to distinguish betwixt the state of kings 'in the first original, and between the state of settled kings and mo'narchs, that do at this time govern in civil kingdoms: for even as 'God, during the time of the old testament, spake by oracles, and 'wrought by miracles; yet, how soon it pleased him to settle a church '(which was bought and redeemed by the blood of his only Son Christ) 'then was there a cession of both: he ever after governing his church 'and people within the limits of his revealed will. So in the first ori'ginal of kings, whereof some had their beginning by conquest, and 'some by election of the people, their wills at that time served for a 'law; yet how soon kingdoms began to be settled in civility and 'policy, then did kings set down their minds by laws, which are pro'perly made by the king only; but, at the rogation of the people, the 'king's grant being obtained thereunto; and so the king came to be '*lex loquens*, a speaking law, after a sort, binding himself, by a double

'oath, to the observation of the fundamental laws of his kingdom: 'tacitly, as by being a king, and so bound to protect as well the people, as the laws of his kingdom; and expressly by his oath at his coronation: so as every just king, in a settled kingdom, is bound to 'observe that paction made to his people by his laws, in framing his 'government agreeable thereunto, according to that paction which God 'made with Noah after the deluge: hereafter, seed-time and harvest, 'summer and winter, cold and heat, day and night shall not cease, so 'long as the earth remains. And therefore a king, governing in a 'settled kingdom, leaves to be a king, and degenerates into a tyrant, 'as soon as he leaves off to rule according to his laws. In which case, 'the king's conscience may speak unto him, as the poor widow said to 'Philip of Macedon, either govern according to your law, *aut ne Rex 'sis*, or cease to be king; and though no christian man ought to allow 'any rebellion of people against their prince; yet doth God never leave 'kings unpunished, when they transgress these limits*. For in that 'same Psalm, where God saith to kings, *Vos dii estis*, Ye are Gods, 'he immediately thereafter concludes, But ye shall die like men. The 'higher we are placed, the greater shall our fall be; *Ut casus sic dolor*, 'as the fall, so the grief; the taller the trees be, the more in danger of 'the wind; and the tempest beats sorest upon the highest mountains. 'Therefore, all kings that are no tyrants, or perjured, will be glad to 'bind themselves within the limits of their laws, and they that persuade them the contrary, are vipers and pests, both against them and 'the commonwealth. For it is a great difference betwixt a king's government in a settled estate, and what kings, in their original power, 'might do in *Individuo vago*: As for my part I thank God, I have 'ever given good proof, that I never had intention to the contrary: and 'I am sure to go to my grave with that reputation and comfort, that 'never king was, in all his time, more careful to have his laws duly 'observed, and himself to govern thereafter, than I.

'Just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they 'will not incur the curse of God. I will not be content that my power 'be disputed upon, but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of all my doings, and rule my actions according to the laws.

And, afterwards, speaking of the common law of England, which some conceived he contemned, saith to this purpose: 'That, as a king, 'he had least cause of any man to dislike the common law; for, no 'law can be more favourable and advantageous for a king, and extendeth further his prerogative, than it doth; and for a king of England to despise the common law, it is to neglect his own crown. It 'is true, that no kingdom in the world but every one of them hath 'their own municipal laws, agreeable to their customs, as this kingdom hath the common law. Nay, I am so far from disallowing the 'common law, as I protest, that, if it were in my hand to chuse a new 'law for this kingdom, I would not only prefer it before any other national law, but even before the very judicial law of Moses, for conveniency to this kingdom at this time, though in another respect, I must

* See this verified in the persons of King Charles the First, and King James the Second, his son and grandson.

'say, both our law, and all other laws else, are very inferior to that 'judicial law of God; for no book nor law is perfect, nor free from cor-'ruption, except only the book and law of God. And, therefore, I 'could wish, that some corruptions might be purged and cleared in 'the common law, but always by the advice of parliaments; for 'the king with his parliament, here,* are absolute in making or form-'ing of any sort of laws.

'First, I could wish that it were written in our vulgar language;† 'for now it is an old mixed corrupt language, only understood by 'lawyers; whereas every subject ought to understand the law under 'which he lives; for, since it is our plea against the papists, that the 'language in God's service ought not to be an unknown tongue, accord-'ing to the rule in the law of Moses, that the law should be written 'in the fringes of the priest's garment, and should be publicly read in 'the ears of all the people; so, methinks, ought our law to be made as 'plain as can be to the people, that the excuse of ignorance may be 'taken from them for conforming themselves thereunto.

'Next, Our common law hath not a settled text, being chiefly 'grounded upon old customs, which you call *responsa prudentum*—— 'I could wish that some more certain were set down in this case by 'parliament; for since the reports themselves are not always so binding, 'but that divers times judges do disclaim them, and recede from the 'judgement of their predecessors; it were good that upon a mature de-'liberation the exposition of the law were set down by act of parlia-'ment, and such reports therein confirmed as were thought fit to serve 'for law in all times hereafter, and so the people should not depend 'upon the bare opinions of judges, and uncertain reports.

'And lastly, there be in the law contrary reports and precedents; 'and this corruption doth likewise concern the statutes and acts of 'parliament, in respect there are divers cross and cuffing statutes, and 'some so penned as they may be taken in divers, yea contrary senses. 'And, therefore, would I wish both those statutes and reports, as well 'in the parliament as common law, to be once materially reviewed 'and reconciled.

'And that not only contrarieties should be scraped out of our books, 'but that even such penal statutes, as were made but for the use of the 'time, (for breach whereof no man can be free) which do not now 'agree with the condition of this our time, might likewise be left out 'of our books, which under a tyrannous and avaricious king could 'not be endured.

'And this reformation might, we think, be made a worthy work, 'and well deserves a parliament to be set of purpose for it, &c.'

And as to the point of grievances he tells them, 'That there are two 'special causes of the people's presenting grievances to their king in 'time of parliament.

'First, For that the king cannot at other times be so well informed 'of all the grievances of his people, as in time of parliament, which

* In England. † This has been lately enacted by the Parliament.

'is the representative body of the whole realm. Secondly, The par-
'liament is the highest court of justice, and therefore the fittest
'place where divers natures of grievances may have their proper reme-
'dy by the establishment of good and wholesome laws: wherein he
'addresses himself especially to the lower house, who, as representing
'the body of the people, may as it were both *opportunè* and *inoppor-*
'*tunè*, in season and out of season; I mean either in Parliament, as a
'body, or out of parliament as private men, present your grievances
'unto me.———

'I am not to find fault that you inform yourselves of the particular
'grievances of the people: nay I must tell yon, ye can neither be just
'nor faithful to me or to your countries, that trust and employ you,
'if you do not; for true plaints proceed not from the persons employ-
'ed, but from the body represented, which is the people. And it may
'very well be, that many directions and commissions, justly given forth
'by me, may be abused in the execution thereof upon the people, and
'yet I never receive information, except it come by your means at such
'a time as this is.'

To which we may add what he saith to his son, in his Basilicon Doron, p. 155, 156, of his works, viz.

'FOR the part of making and executing of laws, consider first the
'true difference betwixt a lawful king and an usurping tyrant, and ye
'shall the more easily understand your duty herein; for *contraria*
'*juxta se posita magis elucescunt*. The one acknowledgeth himself or-
'dained for his people, having received from God a burden of govern-
'ment, whereof he must be accountable; the other thinketh his peo-
'ple ordained for him, a prey to his passions and inordinate appetites,
'as the fruits of his magnanimity. And, therefore, as their ends are
'directly contrary, so are their whole actions, as means whereby they
'press to attain to their ends. A good king thinketh the highest hon-
'our to consist in the due discharge of his calling, employeth all by
'study and pains to procure and maintain, by the making and execu-
'tion of good laws, the welfare and peace of his people; and, as their
'natural father and kindly master, thinketh his greatest contentment
'standeth in their prosperity, and his greatest surety in having their
'hearts, subjecting his own private affections and appetites to the weal
'and standing of his subjects, ever thinking the common interest his
'chiefest particular; whereby the contrary, an usurping tyrant think-
'ing his greatest honour and felicity to consist in attaining *per fas aut*
'*nefas*, to his ambitious pretences, thinketh never himself sure but by
'the dissension and factions among his people, and counterfeiting the
'saint, while he once creep in credit, will then, by inverting all good
'laws to serve only his only private affections, frame the common
'weal ever to advance his particular, building his surety upon his
'people's misery; and in the end, as a step-father and an uncouth
'hireling, make up his own hand upon the ruins of the republic;
'and, according to their actions, so receive they their reward.

'For a good king, after a happy reign, dieth in peace, lamented
'by his subjects, admired by his neighbours, and, leaving a reverence

'behind him on earth, obtaineth the crown of eternal felicity in 'heaven. And, although some of them (which falleth out very rarely) 'may be cut off by the treason of some unnatural subjects, yet liveth 'their fame after them, and some notable plague faileth never to 'overtake the committers in this life, besides their infamy to all pos-'terities hereafter.

'Whereby the contrary, a tyrant's miserable and infamous life armeth 'in the end his own subjects to become *by burreaux*; and, although 'that rebellion be ever unlawful on their part, yet is the world so 'wearied of him, that his fall is little meaned by the rest of his sub-'jects, and but smiled at by his neighbours. And, besides the in-'famous memory he leaveth behind him here, and the endless pain he 'sustaineth hereafter, it oft falleth out, that the committers not only 'escape unpunished, but farther, the fact will remain as allowed by 'the law in divers ages thereafter.

'It is easy then for you, my son, to make choice of one of these two 'sorts of rulers, by following the way of virtue to establish your stand-'ing.'

A

PLEA FOR LIMITED MONARCHY,

As it was established in this Nation, before the late War,

In an humble ADDRESS to His Excellency GENERAL MONK,

By a Zealot for the good old Laws of his Country, before any Faction or Caprice,

WITH ADDITIONS.

Optima Libertas, ubi Rex, cum Lege, gubernat.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR MDCLX.

This excellent Tract is said to be written by Sir Roger L'Estrange, and without the heat of Party or Faction, conveys to us a desirable representation of true English Liberty, only to be supported by Monarchy; and the eminent danger it fell into by Anarchy, in the time of the great rebellion, and may properly be recorded as an efficacious Antidote against Republicans and State-levellers.

SIR,

FINDING, by several letters, published in your name, that you profess a more than ordinary zeal to popular government; and not knowing any thing herein, that can so mislead you, but the glorious pretence of a free state (a notion, which hath even intoxicated many otherwise great and worthy persons) I held it my duty, first, to acquaint you, how necessary it is to distinguish betwixt the form and

essence of a commonwealth; the mistake whereof (each for the other) hath proved so fatal in our times*. Next, to examine whether those that surfeited of our kingly government, and longed for novelty, have not, indeed (like the dog in the fable) lost the substance of liberty and happiness, in pursuit of the shadow.

Our fierce champions of a free state will not, I presume, maintain that it is subject to no violations, lest woeful experience confute, and force them to confess, either that a commonwealth may degenerate, or, at least, that this never was a commonwealth; and, as they must renounce their senses, so they must deny the faith of story, which proves that republicks have been sometimes invaded with usurpation, sometimes debauched and embased with oligarchy, mostly by reason of their weakness and divisions, subdued or forced to truckle under their neighbouring princes; always tormented with faction. Neither indeed do they themselves offer any argument but such as, in effect, beg the question, by presupposing great unity in the coalition, great probity in the intention, and great purity in the exercise; which, doubtless, being admitted, we should so little need to differ about forms, that, perhaps, we should scarce need any government at all. The stoutest assertors of monarchy must, likewise, acknowledge, that it, being but earthenware (though the finest and strongest) is subject to divers accidents; for nothing under heaven is perfect. And, when we constitute governments, we must not think to build Babels against the deluge, but imbank against floods, and inclose the best we can against trespassors. This being premised, let us consider these two governments, not metaphysically, in notions abstracted from their subjects (a pastime which our Platonics much delight in) but morally and reasonably, as concrete and adapted to times, places, and persons, viz. our own.

I might, perhaps, decide the question in few words, by alledging the manifest inclination of the whole people, now, to monarchy; for, as no man can be wronged with his consent, so neither is any to be obliged against his will; and how should a government, founded upon inequality and force, ever subsist without it? Or, a state, which is the meer adjective of an army, become a substantive; beginnings of this kind being so ominous? As reasonably might I object matter of title and foreign pretence; for the same estate with a flaw in the conveyance, or clogged with statutes and judgments, is not surely of like value, as if it had descended clearly from the great-grandfather, and were free both from claims and incumbrances; and one that hath little, yet owes nothing, is likelier to thrive than he who owing vast sums (which he resolves never to pay) dares not walk the streets for fear of serjeants; but my intent is only to shew, that our former† government (as it excellently complied with the laws, genius, and interest of this nation) so it comprehended all the benefits of a commonwealth in great perfection; and this I shall do as briefly as I can.

To shew how it complied with our laws and constitutions, let it suffice that (monarchy, in these nations, being more antient than story or

* Alluding to the days of Anarchy in the grand rebellion.
† *i. e.* Monarchical.

record, more venerable than tradition itself) our laws were, as it were, under that climate, habituated to that air and diet, grafted into that stock; and though they have, God be thanked! forgot their Norman*, yet they will hardly learn Greek†, much less Utopian‡. That, in the late Protector's§ times, our lawyers, with one voice, importuned him, rather to assume the stile and power of a king, to which they found all our laws were shaped, than retain that of a Protector, unknown to the law; that nothing had rendered our architectors of a commonwealth more obnoxious, than that their infinite discords, in other things, generally agreed in the necessity of subverting all our fundamentals, in order to their design; which hath likewise obliged all sober men and true patriots, even the chiefest pillars of the parliament's cause, in the late war, to unite themselves with the royal interest, as not enduring to hear of those violent and dangerous alterations, which they see a republic must introduce.

For its compliance with our genius consider, that as our English nature is not, like the French, supple to oppression, and apt to delight in that pomp and magnificence of their lords, which they know is supported with their slavery and hunger; nor like the Highland Scots, where the honour and interest of the chief is the glory of the whole clan; so doth it as little or less agree with the Dutch humour, addicted only to traffic, navigation, handy-crafts, and sordid thrift; and (in defiance of heraldry) every man fancying his own scutcheon. Doth not every one amongst us, that hath the name of a gentleman, aim his utmost to uphold it? Every one that hath not, to raise one? To this end, do not our very yeomen commonly leave their lands to the eldest son, and to the others nothing but a flail or plough? Did not every one, that had any thing like an estate, pinch himself in his condition, to purchase a knighthood or small patent? What need further proof? Our late experience‖ of that glimpse and shadow of monarchy (though in persons hated and scorned, and upon a most scandalous account) yet, for mere resemblance, admitted as tolerable, and, in respect of a commonwealth, courted, clearly evinces, how grateful the subtsance would be to Englishmen.

For our interest briefly (we wave tedious and politic discourses) certain it is, that our republic, were it like to settle, would alarm all our neighbours, would make our best allies our bitterest enemies, and, upon several accounts, probably draw upon us the united forces of christendom to crush the embryo. Which, the nation being so weakened and divided as it is, must evidently endanger our total oppression, or, at least, to bring in the king by conquest. Besides, by what title shall we pretend to hold Scotland and Ireland, since that of descent is now avoided, and consent we know there is none; nor, indeed, can any be expected?

I come now to assert, that our former¶ government eminently in-

* Brought in by William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy.
† *i. e.* The forms of government which the Grecian republicks submitted to, which were as various as the humours of the people.
‡ A chimerical sort of government, which never had any existence.
§ Oliver Cromwell.
‖ Under Richard Cromwell. See his speech and letter to the parliament in this number
¶ By king and parliament.

cluded all the perfections of a free state, and was the kernel, as it were, of a commonwealth, in the shell of monarchy. First, I will begin with the essential parts of a commonwealth, which are three, viz. the senate proposing, the people resolving, the magistrate executing. For the senate or parliament, if ever there were a free and honourable one, it was here; where the deputies of the whole nation, most freely chosen, did, with like freedom, meet, propound, debate, and vote all matters of common interest. No danger escaped their representing; no grievance, their complaint; no public right, their claim; or good, their demand; in all which, the least breach of privilege was branded as a civil sacrilege; and though there lay no appeal to the dispersed body of the people (a decision manifestly impracticable in government, and fitter indeed for tribunes to move than nations to admit) yet, elections being so popular, and assemblies frequent, the same end was attained with much more safety and convenience. The prince had, likewise, in effect, but an executive power, which he exercised by ministers and officers, not only sworn, but severely accountable. For, though both he and the lords had their negatives in making laws, yet (no tax being impossible, but by consent of the commons, nor any law, without it, of such validity, that the ministers of justice durst enforce it) there was a wise and sweet necessity for the king, and likewise for the lords, who were but as a grain in the royal scale, to confirm all such bills, as were convenient for the people, and not greatly hurtful to the prince; and so this bugbear negative was resolved into a meer target, to shelter and preserve the government from being altered, at the will of the commons, if, at any time, they should prove factious; which (being in reason manifest) hath been also confirmed by great experience. Our kings having, rarely, obstructed any bill, which they might safely grant; but, on the other side, passed many high acts of meer grace, circumscribing their prerogative, and clipping its wings; nay, I could wish they had not pierced its bowels. This was that triple cord, which, one would think, could not be broken; nor, indeed, was it broken, but cut asunder*. This was our gold, seven times refined; for every bill, being thrice read, debated, and agreed, in either house, was, at last, brought to the king, for his royal assent, the mint of our laws. A trial so exact, that, surely, no dross could escape it; since all interests must thereto concur, as truly it was but fit they should, in the establishment of that, which must bind them all. This was that temperament, which poised our humours, and, at once, endued us with health, vigour, and beauty. No vote was precipitated, no act was huddled up; as by sad events we have since seen, that, power being ingrossed by† one of the estates, purged and modelled to the interests of a faction; a consequence natural to such premises. As in a balance consisting but of one scale, nothing hath been weighed; our laws have been made mandrakes of a night's growth, and our times as fickle as the weather, or multitude.

The king, indeed, had the power of making war, but he had not the means; and then it signified no more than giving him leave to fly,

* When King Charles the First's head was cut off.
† The rump parliament.

if he could get wings; or to go beyond sea, so he went without shipping. He had a sword, but he alone could never draw it; for the trained-bands* were a weapon, which he decently wore, but the nation only could use. He chose his ministers (as who doth not his servants?) but alas, he was accountable for them to the triennial parliament, which none but the soundest integrity could abide. He could hinder the stroke of justice with his pardon (though still, the jaws not being muzzled, it would bite terribly) but certainly, it was great wisdom rather to give way, since, with his own scandal, he could afford offenders but a lame and scurvy protection; and since the power of relieving his wants rested in the commons, to balance his will, and oblige him to a correspondence with parliaments.

That his person should be most sacred, it was but needful, to avoid circulation of account; reasonable, since it carries with it the consent of nations; just, that he should not be the meer butt of faction and malice, in worse condition than the basest of vassals; honourable, that the nakedness of government might not be daily uncovered; wise, in the constitution, not at once to trust and provoke, by forcing him to shift for his own indemnity, no danger to the public seeming so extreme as the outlawry of a prince; no task, by daily experience, so difficult, as the arraigning of any power, whether regal or popular; and since we make golden bridges, for flying enemies, much more may we afford them to relenting sovereigns; (upon which account, in our neighbour kingdom of France, even princes of the blood are not subjected to capital punishments;) finally, very safe, in the consequent, for, being, by the danger, threatening his corrupt ministers, in all probability, stripped of agents, his personal impunity might well signify somewhat to himself, but nothing to the people.

A revenue he had, for the support of his state and family, ample; for the ordinary protection of his people, sufficient; but for any undertaking, defective; and for public oppression, so inconsiderable, that when prerogative was most rampant, our greatest princes (and some, doubtless, we have had the most renowned warriors of their ages) could never prudently aspire to make themselves sole legislators, nor presumed to maintain red-coats in times of peace. If any object (as some concerned are ready enough) that kingly power could here no longer subsist, for want of revenue; it is easily answered, that a king of France, indeed, could not, and God forbid he should! but a king of England might, and, for aught I see, still may (the sale of crown-lands, which exceeded not the value of £100,000 per annum, being, methinks, no matter of utter ruin, but rather of easy compensation). For the public revenue was proportioned to the maintenance of courts, not camps and fleets. A gentleman of reasonable estate may live well on his rents; but then, it is not convenient he should keep wenches, or hangers-on, nor build, nor study chymistry†. In fine, the revenue was very competent for ordinary disbursements; as

* The army.

† Alluding to the bewitching study of finding out the philosopher's stone, which employed so many brains and drained so many pockets in those days.

for extraordinary, if he resorted to parliaments, the wiser he, the safer and happier we.

I desire all our projectors of commonwealths, to contrive greater freedom for their citizens, than is provided by magna charta, and the petition of right; or shew us, that it is not much easier to violate, than to mend them: for, thereby our lives, liberties, and estates were under monarchy secured and established, I think, as well as any thing on this side heaven. It were no solecism to say, the subject had his prerogative, as well as the king; and, sure I am, he was in as good (if not better) condition to maintain it, the dependence being less on his side. Liberty was no less sacred than majesty; *noli me tangere* was likewise its motto; and, in case of any, the least infringement (as escapes in government may happen even in the most perfect) it was resented, as if the nation had received a box on the ear. If it be, as they say, the glory of a free state, to exalt; the scandal of tyranny, to embase our spirits; doubtless, this was our only commonwealth: for, ever since*, methinks, we have learned quietly to take the bastonade.

I wish we now could, or could ever hope, under our commonwealth (whatever promises may be made us) so perfectly to distinguish the legislative from the ministerial authority, as once we did; when the house of commons had not the power of a court-leet, to give an oath, nor of a justice of the peace, to make a mittimus: which distinction, doubtless, is the most vital part of freedom, and far more considerable to poor subjects than the pretended rotation; as, on the contrary, the confusion of them is an accomplishment of servitude; for which the best republicks, I fear, have more to answer, than any limited prince can have. Certain it is, that as our king, in his personal capacity, made no laws, so neither did he, by himself, interpret or execute any. No judge took notice of his single command, to justify any trespass; no, not so much as breaking of an hedge; his power limited by his justice, he was, equally with the meanest of his subjects, concerned in that honest maxim, We may do just so much and no more, than we have a right to do. And it was most properly said, He could do no wrong; because, if it were wrong, he did it not; he could not do it; it was void in the act, punishable in his agent. His officers, as they were alike liable, so, perhaps, they were more obnoxious to indictments and suits than any other, by how much their trespass seemed to be of an higher nature, and gave greater alarm. His private will could not countermand his public; his privy seal, ever buckled to the great seal, as being the nation's more than his; his order superseded no process, and his displeasure threatened no man with an hour's imprisonment, after the return of habeas corpus. An under-sheriff was more terrible, a constable more saucy, a bailiff more troublesome, than he; and yet, by his gentle authority, this scabbard of prerogative, as some in derision have called it, which, if it would, could scarce oppress an orphan, tumult was curbed, faction moderated, usurpation forestalled, intervals prevented, perpetuities obviated, equity administered, clemency exalted, and the people made only nice and wanton with their happiness,

* The usurpation of the rump parliament.

as appears by their now so impatient calling for that manna*, which they so causelessly loathed.

To conclude, what shall I add? The act, enjoining the keepers of the great seal, under pain of high-treason, to summon a triennial parliament, of course, by virtue of the act, without further warrant; the act, forbidding the privy council, under like penalty, to intermeddle with *meum et tuum;* the laws, abolishing the star-chamber, high-commission, &c. branding all past, and bridling all future enormities; the statutes, limiting the king's claims, and relieving his tenants from exaction of forfeitures; besides many other principal immunities, wherewith (by the special favour of God, and bounty of our princes) we were blessed, far beyond any of our neighbours; above all, our assurance, that we might readily have obtained such farther addition and perfection of liberty, if, yet, any such there were, as would consist with modesty or liberty itself, to ask. Do they not aloud proclaim that we were then the mirror of governments, envy of monarchies, and shame of commonwealths; who could not but blush to see themselves so eclipsed and silenced, in all their pretences to freedom? Do they not more than justify my assertion, That, with all the ornaments of the noblest kingdom, we had, likewise, all the enjoyments of the freest state?

A LETTER

Written by the Emperor to the late King James,

Setting forth the true Occasion of his Fall, and the Treachery and Cruelty of the French.

As the foregoing Tract gives us the great Advantages of Monarchical Government, when justly limited, and content with the just bounds prescribed to it by the Laws of the Land; so this Letter, written by the Emperor of Germany to King James the Second, after his Abdication, setting forth the Causes of his Majesty's Desertion by his Subjects, is a proper Caveat to such Princes, always to preserve their Subjects in their just Rights, both in Church and State, as the best means to deserve their Affection, and to secure the Throne to themselves and their Posterity.

LEOPOLD, &c.

'WE have received your majesty's letters, dated from St. Germains, 'the 6th of February last, by the Earl of Carlingford, your envoy 'in our court. By them we have understood the condition your majesty 'is reduced to; and that you, being deserted after the landing of the 'Prince of Orange, by your army, and even by your domestic servants, 'and by those you most confided in, and almost by all your subjects, 'you have been forced, by a sudden flight, to provide for your own 'safety, and to seek shelter and protection in France. Lastly, that 'you desire assistance from us, for the recovery of your kingdoms. 'We do assure your majesty, that, as soon as we heard of this

* Monarchy, to be re-established in the person of King Charles the Second.

'severe turn of affairs, we were moved at it, not only with the common sense of humanity, but with much deeper impressions, suitable 'to the sincere affection which we have always borne to you. 'And we were heartily sorry, that, at last, that was come to pass, 'which (though we hoped for better things) yet our own sad thoughts 'had suggested to us would ensue. If your majesty had rather given 'credit to the friendly remonstrances that were made you by our late 'envoy, the Count de Kaunitz, in our name, than the deceitful insinuations of the French, whose chief aim was, by fomenting continual 'divisions between you and your people, to gain thereby an opportunity to insult the more securely over the rest of Christendom; 'and if your majesty had put a stop, by your force and authority, to 'their many infractions of the peace, of which, by the treaty of Nimegen, you are made the guarantee, and to that end entered into consultations with us, and such others, as have the like just sentiments in 'this matter; we are verily persuaded, that by this means you should 'have, in a great measure, quieted the minds of your people, which were 'much already exasperated through their aversion to our religion*, 'and the public peace had been preserved, as well in your kingdoms as 'here, in the Roman empire. But now we refer it even to your majesty, to judge what condition we can be in to afford you any assistance, we being not only engaged in a war with the Turks, but 'finding ourselves at the same time unjustly and barbarously attacked 'by the French, contrary to, and against the faith of treaties, they then 'reckoning themselves secure of England†. And this ought not to be 'concealed; that the greatest injuries, which have been done to our 'religion‡, have flowed from no other than the French themselves, who 'not only esteem it lawful for them to make perfidious leagues with§ 'the sworn enemies of the holy cross‖, tending to the destruction both 'of us and the whole Christian world, in order to the checking our 'endeavours, which were undertaken for the glory of God, and to stop 'those successes, which it hath pleased Almighty God to give us hitherto; but further, have heaped one treachery on another, even 'within the empire itself¶. The cities of the empire, which were surrendered upon articles, signed by the dauphin himself, have been exhausted by excessive impositions; and, after their being exhausted, 'have been plundered; and, after plundering, have been burned and 'crazed. The palaces of princes, which in all times, and even the 'most destructive wars, have been preserved, are now burnt down 'to the ground. The churches are robbed, and such as submitted 'themselves to them, are, in a most barbarous manner, carried away as 'slaves. In short, it is become a diversion to them, to commit all 'manner of insolences and cruelties in many places, but chiefly in 'Catholick countries, exceeding the cruelties of the Turks themselves;

* Which made use of so many unjust and cruel means to gain its establishment.
† Under a prince, that, to accomplish the slavery of his subjects, was making himself tributary and vassal of France.
‡ Popery.
§ The Turks.
‖ Viz. all Christians.
¶ How justly does this repre the present and late actions of the French in Germany.

'which, having imposed an absolute necessity upon us to secure ourselves, and the Holy Roman Empire, by the best means we can think 'on, and that no less against them than against the Turks; we promise ourselves, from your justice, ready assent to this, that it ought 'not to be imputed to us, if we endeavour to procure, by a just war, 'that security to ourselves, which we could not hitherto obtain by so 'many treaties; and that, in order to the obtaining thereof, we take 'measures for our mutual defence and preservation, with all those who 'are equally concerned in the same design with us. It remains, that 'we beg of God, that he would direct all things to his glory, and that 'he would grant your majesty true and solid comforts under this your 'great calamity; we embrace you with the tender affections of a 'brother.

'At Vienna, the 9th of April, 1689.'

THE SPEECH

OF

HIS HIGHNESS THE LORD PROTECTOR,

Made to both Houses of Parliament at their first Meeting, on Thursday the 27th of January, 1658.

The two following Tracts, which are the genuine Speech and Letter of Richard the Son of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, as they are very scarce, and the former serving to give us a perfect idea of that new Protector; the desire he had to continue his Father's Usurpation; the Contrivance of gaining the Affections of the People, by acknowledging the Excellency of a mixt Government, composed of a Parliament and Chief Magistrate, as you will find in his Speech, which, abstract from the cant of his education and the fulsome encomiums of his deceased father, is a good one; I here endeavour to preserve it as well as his Letter to the Parliament, when he found it resolved to restore the Royal Family to the throne of its ancestors; which shews how far he was degenerated from the vigorous resolutions of his father, and how soon the greatest tyrants are reduced to a state of submission, when God pleases to release his people from their bondage.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

I BELIEVE there are scarce any of you here, who expected some months since to have seen this great assembly at this time, in this place, in peace, considering the great and unexpected change which it hath pleased the all-disposing hand of God to make in the midst of us. I can assure you, that if things had been according to our own fears, and the hopes of our enemies, it had not been thus with us; and therefore, it will become both you and me, in the first place, as to reverence and adore the great God, possessor of heaven and earth, in whose hands our breath is, and whose are all our ways, because of his judgments; so to acknowledge him in his goodness to these lands, in that he hath not added sorrow to sorrow, and made the period of his late

highness* his life, and that of the nation's peace, to have been in one day.

Peace was one of the blessings of my father's government; a mercy after so long a civil war, and in the midst of so great division which that war bred, is not usually afforded by God unto a people in so great a measure.

The cause of God, and these nations, which he was engaged in, met in all the parts of it, as you well know, with many enemies and great opposition; the archers, privily and openly, sorely grieved him, and shot at him, yet his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob.

As to himself, he died full of days, spent in great and sore travail; yet his eyes were not waxed dim, neither was his natural strength abated, as it was said of Moses, He was serviceable even to the last.

As to these nations, he left them in great honour abroad, and in full peace at home. All England, Scotland, and Ireland, dwelling safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan even to Beersheba†.

He is gone to rest, and we are entered into his labours‡; and if the Lord hath still a blessing for these lands (as I trust he hath) as our peace hath been lengthened out to this day, so shall we go on to reap the fruit, and gather the harvest of what his late highness has sown and laid the foundation of.

For my own part, being by the providence of God, and the disposition of the law, my father's successor, and bearing that place in the government that I do, I thought it for the public good to call a parliament of the three nations, now united, and conjoined together into one commonwealth, under one government.

It is agreeable not only to my trust, but to my principles, to govern these nations by the advice of my two houses of parliament; I find it asserted in the humble petition and advice (which is the corner-stone of this building, and that which I shall adhere to), That parliaments are the great council of the chief magistrate, in whose advice both he and these nations may be most safe and happy. I can assure you I have that esteem of them. And as I have made it the first act of my government to call you together, so I shall further let you see the value I have of you, by the answers that I shall return to the advice that shall be given me by you, for the good of these nations.

You are come up from your several countries, as the heads of your tribes, and with hearts, I persuade myself, to consult together their good. I can say I meet you with the same desires, having nothing in my design but the maintenance of the peace, laws, liberties, both civil and christian, of these nations; which I shall always make the measure and rule of my government, and be ready to spend my life for§.

* Oliver Cromwell.

† This panegyric must be remembered to be made by his son; for, though it is confessed, that Oliver was a great man, in the common acceptation of the word, I intend to present the public with a short political discourse, shewing that his administration laid the foundation of the decay of trade in this nation.

‡ The Protectorship.

§ See his following letter to the parliament.

We have summoned you up at this time to let you know the state of our affairs, and to have your advice in them; and, I believe, a parliament was never summoned upon a more important occasion.

It is true, as I have told you, We are, through the goodness of God, at this time in peace; but it is not thus with us, because we have no enemies. There are enough, both within us and without us, who would soon put an end to our peace*, were it in their powers, or should it, at any time, come into their powers.

It will be becoming your wisdoms to consider of the securing of our peace against those who, we all know, are, and ever will be, our implacable enemies†; what the means of doing this are, I shall refer unto you.

This I can assure you, that the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are true and faithful to the peace and good interest of these nations, and it will be found so; and that they are a consisting body, and useful for any good ends; and, if they were not the best army in the world, you would have heard of inconveniencies, by reason of the great arrear of pay, which is now due unto them, whereby some of them are reduced to great necessities. But you shall have a particular account of their arrears, and I doubt not but consideration will be had thereupon, in some speedy and effectual way. And, this being matter of money, I recommend it particularly to the house of commons.

You have, you know, a war with Spain, carried on by the advice of parliament. He is an old enemy, and a potent one; and therefore it will be necessary, both for the honour and safety of these nations, that that war be vigorously prosecuted.

Furthermore, the constitution of affairs in all our neighbour countries, and round about us, as well friends as enemies, are very considerable, and calls upon us to be upon our guard both at land and sea, and to be in a posture able to maintain and conserve our own state and interest.

Great and powerful fleets are preparing to be set forth into these seas, and considerable armies of several nations, and kings are now disputing for the mastery of the Sound, with the adjacent islands and countries; among which is the Roman‡ Emperor, with other Popish states; I need not tell you of what consequence these things are to this state.

We have already interposed in these affairs, in such manner as we found it necessary for the interest of England; and matters are yet in such a condition in those parts, that this state may, with the assistance of God, provide that their differences may not prejudice us.

The other things that are to be said I shall refer to my lord-keeper Fiennes, and close up what I have to say with only adding two or three particulars to what I have already said.

And, first, I recommend to your care the people of God in these nations, with their concernments. The more they are divided among themselves, the greater prudence should be used to cement them.

* Meaning the Royalists, who would re-instate the royal family on the throne.
† Because of the usurpation then renewed in the person of Richard.
‡ Or German.

Secondly, The good and necessary work of reformation, both in manners and in the administration of justice; that profaneness may be discountenanced and suppressed, and that righteousness and justice may be executed in the land.

Thirdly, I recommend unto you the Protestant cause abroad, which seems, at this time, to be in some danger, having great and powerful enemies, and very few friends; and I hope and believe, that the old English zeal to that cause is still among us.

Lastly, My lords, and you gentlemen of the house of commons, that you will, in all your debates, maintain and conserve love and unity among yourselves, that therein you may be the pattern of the nation, who have sent you up in peace, and with their prayers, that the spirit of wisdom and peace may be among you; and this shall also be my prayer for you; and to this let us all add our utmost endeavours for the making this an happy parliament*.

HIS LATE HIGHNESS'S LETTER

TO THE

PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND,

Shewing his willingness to submit to this present Government.† Attested under his own hand, and read in the House on Wednesday the 25th of May, 1659.

I HAVE perused the resolve and declaration which you were pleased to deliver to me the other night; and for your information, touching what is mentioned in the said resolve, I have caused a true state of my debts to be transcribed, and annexed to this paper, which will shew what they are, and how they were contracted.

As to that part of the resolve whereby the committee are to inform themselves how far I do acquiesce in the government of this commonwealth, as it is declared by this parliament; I trust my past carriage, hitherto, hath manifested my acquiescence in the will and disposition of God, and that I love and value the commonwealth much above my own concernments; and I desire, that by this a measure of my future deportment may be taken, which, thro' the assistance of God, shall be such as shall bear the same witness, having, I hope, in some degree, learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of God, than to be unquiet under it. And, as to the late providences that have fallen out among us, however in respect of the particular engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a change in the government of these nations; yet, through the goodness of God, I can freely acquiesce in its being made, and do hold myself obliged, as, with other men, I expect protection from the present government, so to demean myself, with all peaceableness under it, and to procure to the uttermost of my power, that all, in whom I have any interest, do the same.

RICHARD CROMWELL.

* As it proved by restoring monarchical government.

† Intended monarchical government under King Charles II. then to be recalled by the states of the nation.

THE

PLOTS OF THE JESUITS,

VIZ. OF

Adam Contzen, a Moguntine, Thomas Campanella, a Spaniard, and Robert Parsons, an Englishman, &c.

HOW TO

BRING ENGLAND TO THE ROMAN RELIGION,

Without Tumult.

These Jesuitical politicks, which are taken out of the above mentioned authors, were published by Michael Spark, Bookseller, in the year 1653, when there was not that public prospect of Popery, as there is now in this nation; and, therefore, it is, I presume, far from being unseasonable to be reprinted together with 'The Protestant's doom in Popish times', when the whole nation is alarmed with the apprehensions of a Popish invasion, and the constant endeavours of the French and Spaniards to deprive us of our religion and liberty, by attempting to set a Popish governor over a Protestant people. And how far these politicks were copied by James II. and his Counsel, I refer my reader to the history of those times.

The first of these tracts, which immediately follows, contains the directions of Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, that noted traytor to Queen Elizabeth; and employed by the enemies of our church and nation, to foment division, to illegitimise and dethrone, as far as in his power, her sacred Majesty, and to reduce the English State, under the Papal jurisdiction: as also the subtile intreaguing means of the Jesuit Adam Contzen, and Thomas Campanella, a Dominical Friar, to engage the Popish States to concur in the attempt to reinstate Popery in this land.

The other tract, is a most scarce, and ingenious piece; and, as it is supported in every sentence by the best authorities, properly referred to, I need not enter any further into its commendation; only I must do that justice to the memory of the Right Reverend Dr. Bull, to acquaint the reader that it was wrote by his learned and zealous pen, to deter Protestants from admitting, or so much as desiring a Popish king to rule over them.

CONTZEN's PLOT,

To cheat a Church of the Religion established therein, and to bring in Popery without noise or tumult; taken out of the second Book of his Politicks, chap. 18, 19, *page* 103, 104, &c.

IT is difficult to find out truth, but it is more hard to persuade him that erreth: yet, it is the duty of a prince, even in this, to bestir himself earnestly, that wicked opinions be taken away.

The first means. What musicians observe in tuning their instruments, gently setting up the strings by little and little, and, what in curing

diseases, physicians practise, abating noxious humours, by degrees and pauses; the same must be done in a commonwealth, labouring under the malady of errors: although, I approve not lingering bootless proceedings, since they often beget a desisting from the design. Whatever means can be used, my counsel is, that they be attempted; but in a soft and sure pace, for fear of a precipice. Here, mild commands and admonitions do very much further the work.

The second this. It is no hard matter, for any prince in Europe, to call back men's minds to the ancient rites of their predecessors, if he list. A matter heretofore held impossible to be effected; but now men begin again to love the old religion: nor can they be so held in, by their ministers, but that many do every year turn to the Catholick Unity. What they once most greedily desired, they now cast aside with disdain. This levity of the vulgar to admire new things and contemn old, is fatal. Many provinces in Germany have endured many religions; now retain none, being intent on the will of their governors. One cause of this is, as I said but now, levity and ignorance of the truth. Another, the impossibility of holding people long ignorant of the lewdness of heresies; and that they find hereticks to shift their opinions every year. It is as if you set a company of blind men to run a race; sooner will all miss than one get to the mark.

Thirdly, arch-hereticks are to be banished the commonwealth; at once, if it may safely be done; if not, then by degrees. Boisterous winds being sent packing, the sea will become calm; and error, which wanteth a protector, will soon be ruined.

In alterations, I have observed these twelve things following, for the most part out of 'The History of the Change of Religion in the Palatinate,' 'The Acts of Marpurg,' and 'The Edict of Brandenburg.' 1. They concealed their purpose of altering religion, and rooting out Lutheranism; not so that the wiser sort could not perceive it, but that the common people might not see it, and raise tumults. 2. By the art of the Zuinglians, some were suborned, who should crave the exercise of the Reformed Religion, and that with many sugared humble words; that the prince might not be thought, to be of his own accord, inclined to odious novelty, but only graciously indulgent to liberty of conscience, and to love and cherish that. Facility in a prince is commonly extolled; even when he yieldeth to those things which are fitter to be denied. 3. One church or so (and not above) was petitioned for: that this suit might not seem harsh to the multitude, who, in the mean time, were to have many more, and were not very solicitous of any. 4. Notwithstanding, the jealousy of the Lutherans did here oppose itself, seeing that with the Church, the maintenance would be withdrawn; therefore, they think of a conference and pacification. They assemble in the court; the matter is debated before the prince's councel; a notary and witnesses are denied them. [But this course is by no means to be approved, for each part ought to have liberty. Otherwise, if men be borne down with the power of the stronger side, the victors shall ever be esteemed to have had the worst cause. This was the case of Arminians in Holland: whereas, they who had the advantage of the prince's favour, if they had indeed believed the goodness

of their cause, ought to have entred the lists upon equal terms.] 5. An edict was published, that none should cast aspersions upon another; but, by all means, cherish peace and concord. This proved an effectual engine to further the mutation: for hereby, none durst contradict the Calvinists, no, not so much as name them; and the prince was not traduced as a patron of heresies, but applauded as a lover of peace. 6. A disputation was appointed in the University. 7. All this while there was no open shew of making Zuinglianism heir to Lutheranism; but only this, that peace might be settled: for nothing was desired, but that the Lutherans (reserving all their dignities and revenues) would vouchsafe to sit in consistory with the rest, and consult as brethren; which when they refused, they were accused as proud and disobedient to authority, and seemed to deserve a dismission. Hitherto things were thus carried, that trial might be made what the people would bear: for if any tumult had arose, a fair excuse might have been made for all things hitherto. 8. When the people of Heidelberg petitioned for the continuance of their Lutheran preachers, the matter was passed over in silence, without answer; and care taken, that those men who were petitioned for, should be traduced, as too furious and heady. And the people were fed so long with hope, till at length they laid aside all care of Lutheranism and hope together. 9. When all things now seemed ripe, the Lutherans were commanded to depart from their parochial charge, and all the churches bestowed upon the Calvinists: nor durst they complain, for if they did, they were banished. But now, betaking themselves to domestic care, they only sued for a pension, immunity from taxes, and the like: the Calvinists, in the mean while, laughing, to see a matter of such height and consequence brought so low as to make such humble and abject petitions. 10. Whereas the young scholars of the University were Lutherans, upon them also they practised with divers arts. Stipendiaries, such as were maintained at the elector's charge, were put to their choice; whether they would be Calvinists, or be expelled. And thus, an exceeding great alteration came on a sudden, without any tumult; for the country preachers followed the motion of the superior wheels. 11. When the Lutherans (professors in the University, and country preachers) refused to yield up their dignities, the prince told them, he wondered at them, seeing he had never taken them into his protection, nor given them any new possession of their places. For in that country, all places and offices become void upon the death of the prince, and the power of bestowing them is in the successor. 12. In Hassia, they went on very slowly, and by little and little. Nor was Calvinism offered them at once, but only a small part of it. And the people come on much more willingly, if at the same time they be whistled another way, as to Arminianism, or some other sect, which may seem more odious. Lastly, both sides fell to writing; but that party, which was most favoured at court, quickly prevailed. And the wickedness of the Lutherans (which upon all occasions was made known) did much advance the cause of their adversaries.

The fourth means, which I have seen put in execution heretofore, and still kept on foot, is this: viz. That such as are adverse to the Roman Catholic religion, be put by their honours, dignities, and public offices.

Nor is this unequal, that he who hindereth the welfare of the commonwealth, should be kept from the honours and commodities of it. Men guilty of great crimes are thrust from their dignities; why then should blasphemers and contemners of truth be admitted thereto?

A fifth means. Let those particular tenents, which at first hear ill among the vulgar, and at first sight seem absurd, be culled out, and load laid upon them.

A sixth. Make profit of the quarrels of erring men.

A seventh. Let all secret conventicles and public meetings be strictly forbidden.

Eighthly. By the severity of laws and punishments, compel the obstinate to duty; but let the rigour of laws be slowly drawn out, unless where there is danger of a contagion. Let those which be most dangerous be taken away, the rest by the authority of the prince will soon be brought into order. Within these few late years, a hundred thousand have been converted to the Roman religion in France; in Germany more. Not one of the German princes, that hath assayed to draw his subjects on to the Catholic religion, hath ever met with any power, resisting his decrees in that behalf, made and executed. Only the Netherlanders broke out into rebellion: but the cause thereof was not religion alone, nor was that pretended; but their privileges and liberty. The dominion of a foreign nation over them (a thing abhorred by ingenuous men) and the exaction of tenths, stirred up that people to sedition.

It is, I confess, the opinion of some politicians, that men are not to be compelled. But those which so advise are in an error; and give counsel not against the safety of religion only, but even of the commonwealth. For, by a wholesome law, men may be over-ruled, that they shall not do evil. And a good law will soon reduce those, who, being of tender years, are either not at all, or very little tainted with heresy. And so, if a compulsory reformation should not do good upon old men, it may make the younger Catholic. And I know many children have been a means of converting their parents. There are many examples of this in Bavaria, Stiria, Carinthia, and the Low Countries.

Ninthly. Care is to be taken for integrity of manners, and purity of life. For the filthy lives of Roman clergymen have made, augmented, and still do uphold heresies. And oftentimes, in my disputes with heretics, I have observed, that after very weak arguments, they fall to accusing the ill lives of our clergymen, and speak of things which can neither be denied nor defended. If the bishops be not able to amend this, God will send an avenger, who will take away the wicked men and their wickedness both together. Thus have the Turks got possession of Asia, Ægypt, Greece, &c. And religion will be rooted out of Europe, unless the manners of men be answerable to the sanctity of their doctrine.

Other helps there be, which wisdom may suggest, according to the variety of time and place. The Chineses are taken with the mathematicks; the Japonians with ethicks; the Americans with ceremonies and musick: all ways are to be tried.

And first, Musick. Paulus Samosatenus turned certain ecclesiastical hymns into obscene and enticing rimes. Thus the Arians and Pelagians destroyed the faith and discipline of the church. Why then should not an orthodox prince make use of that for curing, which impostors have found to be a means of destroying?

Secondly, Before the banes of matrimony be publickly asked, let both the man and the woman be ordered, and compelled to yield an account of their faith. Upon this occasion they may be instructed in the true [Roman] religion: and so while they promise to continue in the church, and ever to hold fast the ancient faith, they are by degrees fastened to the truth, and cannot but love it.

Thirdly, To this of marriage, other things are to be adjoined. Let no ceremonies, but those of the Catholick church, approach the font. Let none have the honour to be god-fathers, unless they have given good testimony of their sincerity in the faith. Let no man have the honour of Christian burial, unless he hath been a partaker of the sacraments of the church.

Fourthly, If it fall out, that wandering souls must be leisurely reclaimed, and by art; and that the propagators of perverse opinions cannot be put from the places they once enjoyed; then, let an orthodox magistrate so bring it about, that the instituting, presenting, confirming, and examining of such men be committed to him. For so he may chace away every one that is apt to do mischief. Some wrangling fellows, that regard not controversies between Roman Catholicks and Protestants, and study only to enrich themselves, or to comply with the prince, he may (safely, now and then) set over those churches. So shall he be able to abate the rage of heresy, and yet not be troubled to remove the unlearned: for, by that means, error will grow into contempt. And, because unskilful men are wont to err often, all constancy in errors will be taken away by this means.

Fifthly, Likewise, let him nourish the differences of preachers which are in error: and let him so work that they may often confer and wrangle. For by this means, when all shall understand that there is nothing settled and certain among them, they will join in truth.

Sixthly, Many other means there be, which prudent care will dictate to a prince of its own accord. All those things, which draw love and honourable esteem to the prince, are of use, to fetch over the people easily to embrace his opinion in matters of religion. Of this sort are, his easing them of taxes, excise, speedy supplies to any part of the country spoiled by fire, provision of victuals, and other necessaries. Hereby it will come to pass, that whatever they esteem distasteful to the prince, they will hold in detestation. If a prince make use of these means, he may in a short time root out the Protestant religion, although in the beginning it seem too strong for his laws or him.

CAMPANELLA'S PLOT.

CAMPANELLA, in his book, *De Monarchia Hispanica* (printed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth) shewing the King of Spain how to bring England under his own subjection, and to the Roman religion, hath these words, cap. 22. *Instiget primores comitiorum aut Parliamenti ut Angliam in formam Reipublicæ reducant;* that is, let the King of Spain instigate the leading men of the (English) Parliament, to bring England to the form of a commonwealth.* And, *Omnino id agat ut Anglorum vires infringat, ad quod efficiendum naves Hollandiæ & Frisiæ sufficerent; si nimirum classi Anglicæ opponerentur; ut infra palam fiet, &c.* that is, By all means let him make it his business to break the strength of England. To effect which, the ships of Holland and Frisia will be enough, if they be set against the English.

His twenty-fifth chapter beginneth thus, *Quamvis Anglus, &c.* Although the English doth of all nations seem least to affect an universal monarchy, yet they do much hinder Spain's attaining it: Queen Elizabeth hath given us examples; for she hath cherished corrupted humours, and helped Protestants with advice and supplies in the Low Countries against the Catholick king; and in France against the most Christian prince: for she is queen of an island which aboundeth with ships and soldiers, and maketh a prey of all that Spain hath in the north; and they ramble even to America, where, though they cannot erect a new kingdom, yet they do the Spaniard very much harm; for Drake, the Englishman, hath gone round the world more than once, though Magalanes did it before him. And it may come to pass, that all the kingdom of Baccalaos† (which is nearer the English, and more commodious to them, by reason of the temperature of the air) may some time or other be put into their possession: certain it is, and evident enough, that, if the King of Spain could conquer but England and the Low Countries, he would quickly become the Monarch of all Europe, and of the greatest part of the New-found World.

Campanella goes on, advising the Spaniard to erect some new schools or colleges in Flanders, and to usher a new religion into England; first, with a new philosophy: (himself hath furnished us with one) *Anglorum religio facile restingui non potest, nisi aperiantur scholæ in Flandria; interventuque illarum spargautur semina schismatum in scientiis naturalibus, Stoicis videlicet, Peripateticis, & Telesianis,* i.e. The religion of the English cannot be easily brought to nothing, unless schools be opened in Flanders; and, by help of them, the seeds of schisms in natural sciences, and Stoick, Peripatetic, and Telesian philosophy be scattered abroad.‡

* The same advice that Cardinal de Richelieu gave the King of France a little before his death.
† Newfoundland.
‡ There is more to the same purpose in the tenth chapter, which he beginneth thus; *Omnes Magnates Monarchium, &c.* All great men, when they have gone about to set up a monarchy, have altered the sciences, and sometimes religion itself, that they might be admired. In the same chapter, his seventh direction is, To shut up all schools wherein Greek and Hebrew are taught, because they are (says he) the causes of heresies, and so destroy government.

The last page of this twenty-fifth chapter is as followeth: *Cum insula hæc reducetur in formam reipublicæ, quæ perpetuas inimicitias cum Scotia gerat, actionesque suas non nisi lente perficiet*, &c. When this island shall become a republick, it will be at perpetual enmity with Scotland, and move very slowly, and so do the less harm to Spain; whereupon, the King of Spain, as soon as the throne is empty, may step in, pretending to help the English: but let him be sure to keep correspondency with some English noblemen, who have power over the adjacent islands; and let every one of them have full and absolute dominion in his several place, as we read it was in the days of old. Then let him tamper with the nobility of Ireland, that, when the queen is dead, that nation may be formed either into a commonwealth, or, at least, into a kingdom distinct by itself; then let him promise supplies to each of those noblemen apart; and so much the more, because in that kingdom, or island, Catholicks (especially Monks of the Order of St. Francis) are very much beloved. Now the Irish agree better with the Spaniards than with the English, either because their manners or climates are alike, or because their countries are near one another. And there are in Ireland many vagabond persons who cannot endure to be in subjection, and yet they are good Catholicks, and able to do the King of Spain excellent service in the matter which we now speak of.

These and the like things may easily be prepared, that, when Queen Elizabeth is dead, they may be put in execution; for every one knoweth what bloody civil wars, what alterations and changes have been oftentimes in England. So that what I have propounded will not seem strange or impossible.

To conclude: The same Campanella, in his eighth chapter of the same book, lays down this rule or maxim, That the way to keep up, or increase the King of Spain's monarchy, is, to keep his own subjects in peace, and his neighbours in contention.

Tho. Campanella having thus given the King of Spain directions how to get and keep the English nation.

PARSONS'S PLOT.

ROBERT PARSONS goes a step further, and will help him to a title to the crown of England: for, in the year 1593, he published a book under the name of R. Doleman, intituled, 'A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England, divided into two Parts.' The first was for chastising of kings, and proceeding against them, &c. and was lately reprinted by Robert Ibbitson,* in Smithfield, and called, 'Several Speeches made at a Conference.'

*Concerning this book [being condemned in Parliament, ann. 35 Eliz. when it was enacted, That whoever should have it in his house should be guilty of high-treason, and the printer was hanged, drawn, and quartered] see a book intitled, 'His Majesty's Message for Peace,' page 125. Printed by R. Royston, 1648. Or see Mr. Prynne's Speech in the House of Commons, Dec. 4, 1648, page 109, where Mr. Prynne affirmeth, That he himself, and others, complained of this book, but that nothing was done to vindicate the House from this gross imputation; and it may be looked upon as one great means of corrupting the nation, seducing it from its allegiance to the crown, and bringing the king's head to the block.

The second part was to prove, that the Infanta of Spain was the legal heir to the crown of England, the penning whereof did much indear him to the King of Spain, the Pope and cardinals, as Roman priests relate.

Not to repeat any thing of Parsons's Memorial; wherein he adviseth* to destroy the common law of England, &c. and to have no preachers but itinerary: I shall only transcribe a few lines, which you may read in an ordinary book, entitled, 'A Reply to Father Parsons's Libel, written by William Clark, a Roman Priest,' where† are these words, 'Such as have read [Parsons's Memorial for Reformation] being priests and men of credit, unto some of whom Father Parsons himself shewed the said book (as secretly as now it is kept) do report, That his directions are, that the municipal laws of our country [England] shall be so altered, that the civil laws must bear the sway.' And a little after, 'For our clergy also they say, That all men should be put to pensions in the beginning; and the colleges both in Oxford and Cambridge, in the same sort, deprived of their lands and revenues, and become pensioners. All religious orders (except only one, i. e. Jesuits) he excludeth out of England (as they affirm) for the first seven years and more; that Master-Jesuits, in the mean time, may have the sway of all, and enter into the houses, livings, and possessions of other religious orders, &c.'

THE PROTESTANTS' DOOM

IN POPISH TIMES.

A PRINCE putting himself, and his dominions, under the authority of the Pope, and admitting (as he must unavoidably) the laws and decrees of the Romish Church, all his protestant subjects being, by the judgment and sentence of that church, hereticks, do forthwith lie under the penalty which those laws and constitutions will have inflicted upon hereticks; heresy being the highest degree of high-treason: called, therefore, by them, *Læsæ Crimen Majestatis Divinæ:* So the English Protestant must be a traytor, and the worst of traytors, and exposed to the penalties of high treason.

THE LAWS AND DECREES OF THE ROMISH CHURCH AGAINST HERETICKS.

Heresy is denounced infamous, and the heretick must be dealt with as such; which are many penalties in one.

First, Whereby they are deprived of all nobility, jurisdiction, and dignity, and debarred from all offices, and public councils, parliaments

*The same that Gundamore wished a Roman Catholick to expect, and then [and not till then] a toleration of the Roman religion. †Page 72.

as others; being made uncapable of choosing, and being chosen: so that it reacheth all sorts of clergy, laity, noble and ignoble; which is extended to their children also: for, they say, 'The issue of traytors, civil and spiritual, lose their nobility.' And all, that owe any duty to such infamous persons, are discharged and exempted therefrom; as subjects from their prince, servants from their masters, children from their parents; whom they also may lawfully kill.

Whereby we may see a little, to what condition the admission of a Papal authority would reduce us, expelling both nature and humanity, and making the dearest relatives unnatural and barbarous to one another: it would leave no Protestant either dignity or authority, either safety or liberty; nobles are sentenced to peasants, and peasants to slaves.

Secondly, Another penalty, to which hereticks are condemned by their laws, is confiscation of goods and estate; and this they incur *Ipso jure, & ipso facto;* that is, immediately, as soon as they shew themselves hereticks, before any legal sentence have passed: for which there is an express command in the canon-law, *Bona Hæreticorum ipso jure discernemus confiscata;* 'We decree the goods of heretics to be confiscated by sentence of law.' The effect of this confiscation, wherein they all agree, makes the severity of the law apparent, viz. First, All the profits made of the estate, from the first day of their guilt, is to be refunded. Secondly, All alienations, by gift, sale, or otherwise, before sentence, are null and void; and all contracts, for that purpose, rescinded. Thirdly, children, heirs of hereticks, are deprived of their portions; yea, though they be Papists.

Whereby, it appears, that as soon as Papacy is admitted, all title and property is lost and extinct among us: and, therefore, we must not think that Pope acted extravagantly, who declared, 'That all his Majesty's territories were his own, as forfeited to the Holy See for the heresy of prince and people.' Not only abby-lands are in danger, whoever possess them, but all estates are forfeited to his exchequer, and legally confiscated: all is his own, which Protestants, in these three nations, have, or ever had, if he can but meet with a prince so wise, as to help him to catch it; whose process follows them beyond their grave, and ruins their children, and children's children after them. And, when they have stripped the heretick of his all, they provide that no other shall relieve him, viz. 'That none shall receive him into their houses, nor afford him any help, nor shew him any favour, nor give him any counsel.' We are here, in England, zealous for property; and all the reason in the world we should so be: but we must bid adieu to this, when we once come under the Pope's authority; for, as soon as this is admitted, 'all the Protestants in these nations are beggars by law,' viz. by the laws of that church; which will then of necessity be ours, divesting us of all property and title to whatever we count our own.

Thirdly, Another penalty which their law inflicts on hereticks, is death, which is the sentence of the canon-law; and which is so absolute, that no secular judge can remit; and which is the judgment of all the doctors, *Ita docent omnes doctores:* and from which penalties, neither emperors nor kings themselves are to be freed or exempt. And the death

they inflict is burning alive: no death more tolerable, or of less exquisite torture, will satisfy the mercy of that church. The canon saith thus: *Decernimus ut vivi in conspectu hominum comburantur;* 'We decree, That they shall be burnt alive, in the sight of the world.' So our last Popish Successor, Queen Mary, practised upon near three hundred persons, without regard either to age, sex, or quality. The scripture they urge for it, is John xv. 6. *If any one abide not in me, men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burnt.*

So that, as soon as the Papal authority is admitted among us, all the Protestants in these nations are dead men in law; being under a law that hath sentenced us to be burnt alive; and under a power that hath declared it necessary, that no one of us escape with life.

Fourthly, Where legal penalties cannot take place, by reason of opposite strength, they hold war necessary, and lawful, to chastise hereticks: for which we might give you divers authorities; but let Cardinal Allen, our countryman, suffice; who asserts, it is not only lawful, but necessary: his words are these; 'It is clear,' saith he, 'what people or persons soever be declared to be opposite to God's church, with what obligation soever, either of kindred, friendship, loyalty, or subjection, I be bound unto them; I may, or rather must, take up arms against them: and then must we take them for hereticks, when our lawful Popes adjudge them so to be. And which (saith Cardinal Pool) is a war more holy, than that against the Turks.'

Fifthly, To destroy them by massacres, is sometimes held more adviseable, than to run the hazard of war; and which, they say, is both lawful and meritorious, for the rooting out a pestilent heresy, and the promoting the Romish interest. This set a-foot the Irish Massacre, that inhuman, bloody butchery, not so much from the savageness and cruelty of their natures, as the doctrines and principles which directed and encouraged it: as also that of Paris; than which nothing was more grateful and acceptable to their Popes, as their bulls make manifest, and the picturing it in the Pope's chamber; and for which, as a most glorious action, triumphs were made, and public thanksgivings were returned to God. So in Savoy, and elsewhere, both in former and later times. And this was that which the late conspirators aimed at so fully, intending a massacre. 'Those that escaped a massacre,' saith Dugdale,* 'must be cut off by the army.' And Coleman tells the Internuncio, in his letter,† 'That their design prospered so well, that he doubted not, in a little time, their business would be managed, to the utter ruin of the Protestant party: the effecting of whereof was so desirable and meritorious, that if he had a sea of blood, and an hundred lives, he would lose them all, to carry on the design. And if, to effect this, it were necessary to destroy an hundred heretical kings, he would do it.' Singleton, the Priest, affirmed,‡ 'That he would make no more to stab forty parliament-men, than to eat his dinner.' Gerard and Kelley, to encourage Prance to kill Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, told him, 'It was no murder, nor sin; and that to kill twenty of them was nothing in that

* Five Jesuits' Tryal, page 28. † Colman's Letter to the Pope's Nuncio.
‡ See Prance's Narrative, page 4.

case; which was both a charitable and meritorious act.' And Grant, one of the massacring gun-powder traytors, said, upon his execution, to one that urged him to repent of that wicked enterprize, 'That he was so far from counting it a sin, that, on the contrary, he was confident, that that noble design had so much of merit in it, as would be abundantly enough to make satisfaction for all the sins of his whole life.' Sir Everard Digby, speaking to the same purpose also. The Provincial, Garnet, did teach the conspirators the same Catholick doctrine, viz. 'That the king, nobility, clergy, and whole community of the realm of England (Papists excepted) were hereticks; and, that all hereticks were accursed and excommunicated; and, that no heretick could be a king; but that it was lawful and meritorious to kill him, and all other hereticks, within this realm of England, for the advancement and inlargement of the authority and jurisdiction of the Pope, and for the restoring of the Romish religion.' This was that Garnet whom the Papists here honoured as a Pope, and kissed his feet, and reverenced his judgment as an oracle; and, since his death, have given him the honour of saintship and martyrdom. Dugdale deposed,* 'That after they had dispatched the king, a massacre was to follow.'

But surely, it may be supposed, that the temper of such a prince, or his interest, would oblige him to forbid or restrain such violent executions in England: I, but what if his temper be to comply with such courses? Or if his temper be better? What if it be over-ruled? What if he be persuaded, as all other Catholicks are, that he must in conscience proceed thus? What if he cannot do otherwise, without hazard of his crown and life? For he is not to hold the reins of government alone, he will not be allowed to be much more than the Pope's postilion; and must look to be dismounted, if he act not according to order. The law† tells us, 'That it is not in the power of any civil magistrate, to remit the penalty, or abate the rigour of the law.' Nay, if the prince should plight his faith by oath, that he would not suffer their bloody laws to be executed upon his dissenting subjects, this would signify nothing; for they would soon tell him, 'That contracts made against the canon-law are invalid, though confirmed by oath; and, that he is not bound to stand to his promise, though he had sworn to it: and, that faith is no more to be kept with hereticks, than the Council of Constance would have it.' So that Protestants are to be burnt, as John Huss and Jerom of Prague were by that Council, though the Emperor had given them his safe conduct in that solemn manner, which could secure them only (as they said) from the civil, but not church process, which was the greatest. For it is their general rule, 'That faith is either not to be given or not to be kept with hereticks. Therefore, saith Simanca, 'That faith engaged to hereticks, though confirmed by oath, is in no wise to be performed; for,' saith he, 'if faith is not to be kept with tyrants and pirates, and others who kill the body, much less with hereticks who kill the souls;' and that the oath, in favour of them, is but *Vinculum Iniquitatis*, 'a bond of iniquity.' Though Popish princes, the better to promote their interests, and to insnare their Protestant subjects, to get

* See the Tryal of the Five Jesuits, page 25.
† Viz, The Law of the Romish Church, which begins, *Caput Officium.*

advantage upon them, to their ruin, have made large promises, and plighted their faiths to them, when they did not intend to keep it; as the emperor to John Huss and Jerom; Charles the Ninth of France to his Protestant subjects before the massacre; the Duke of Savoy to his Protestant subjects, before their designed ruin; and Queen Mary, before her burning of them. But if there were neither law nor conscience to hinder, yet in point of interest he must not shew favour to hereticks, without apparent hazard, both of crown and life; for he forfeits both if he doth. The Pope every year doth not only curse hereticks, but every favourer of them, from which none but himself can absolve. Becanus very elegantly tells us, 'If a prince be a dull cur, and fly 'not upon hereticks, he is to be beaten out, and a keener dog must be 'got in his stead.' Henry the Third and Henry the Fourth*, were both assassinated upon this account, and because they were suspected to favour hereticks. And are we not told by the discoverers of the Popish Plott, That, after they had dispatched the king, they would depose his brother also, that was to succeed him, if he did not answer their expectations, for rooting out the Protestant religion.

But may not parliaments secure us by laws and provisions, restraining the power which endangers us? Not possible, if once they secure and settle the throne for popery: For,

First, They can avoid parliaments as long as they please, and a government, that is more arbitrary and violent, is more agreeable to their designs and principles; it being apparent, that the English Papists have lost the spirit of their ancestors, who so well asserted the English liberties, being so generally now fixed for the Pope's universal monarchy, sacrificing all to that Roman Moloch; being much more his subjects than the king's; and, though natives by birth, yet are foreigners as to government, principle, interest, affection, and design; and therefore no friends to parliaments, as our experience hath told us.

But secondly, If their necessity should require a parliament, there is no question but they may get such a one as will serve their turns. For so have every of our former princes in all the changes of religion that have been amongst us; as Henry VIII. when he was both for and against popery; Edward VI. when he was wholly Protestant; Queen Mary, when she was for burning alive; and Queen Elizabeth, when she ran so counter to her sister. And the reason is clear, that he, who has the making of publick officers and the keys of preferment and profit, influenceth and swayeth elections and votes as he pleaseth. And, by how much the throne comes to be fixed in Popery, the Protestants must expect to be excluded from both houses, as they have excluded the Papists; for, as hereticks and traitors, they, as ignominious persons, &c. you have heard, forfeit all right, either to chuse or to be chosen in any publick councils; and then all laws, which have been made for the Protestants, and against the Popish religion, will be null and void, as being enacted by an in incompetent authority, as being the acts of hereticks, kings, lords, and commons, who had forfeited all their rights and privileges.

* Kings of France. † See Oat's Nar. p. 4. &c.

But, thirdly, Suppose our laws were valid, as enacted by competent authority, and such good and wholesome provisions, as were those statutes made by our Popish ancestors, in those statutes of provisoes in Edward the First's and Edward the Third's time; and that of premunire in Richard the Second's and Henry the Fourth's, for relief against papal incroachments and oppressions; yet being against the laws and canons of Holy Church, the sovereign authority, they will be all superseded; for so they determine, 'That when the canon and the civil laws 'clash, one requiring what the other allows not, the church law must 'have the observance, and that of the state neglected; and constitutions,' say they, 'made against the canons and decrees of the Roman bishops, 'are of no moment; their best authors are positive in it.' And our own experience and histories testify the truth thereof; for how were those good laws before-mentioned defeated by the Pope's authority, so that there was no effectual execution thereof till Henry the Eighth's time, as Dr. Burnet tells us? And how have the good laws, to suppress and prevent Popery, been very much obstructed in their execution by popish influence*.

THE PRESENT CASE OF ENGLAND,

AND THE

PROTESTANT INTEREST.

SINCE the present condition of the kingdom†, and the whole protestant interest by the conjunction of France and Spain abroad, and a more horrid combination of several at home, must needs affect with the most melancholy reflexions all true English hearts, all such as have any real love or zeal for their religion, or their native country; I cannot think it amiss to present a short and impartial view to such as have not considered the same.

In the beginning of the last‡ age, the Protestant interest in Europe, was more than a match for the Roman Catholick; the kingdom of Bohemia was almost all Protestant; near half the subjects of Hungaria, of Austria, and Moravia, were Protestant, and did many times defend themselves by force against the emperor himself, when oppressed by him for the sake of their religion. That, in Germany, the houses of Newburgh were Protestant, the Palatinates, for the most part of them, Prostestant of the strictest sort; the Saxons entirely Protestant, and, being hearty, unanimous, and seated

* In the reign of King Charles II. who was too often influenced by his Popish Brother.
† In the year 1690. ‡ Or Sixteenth.

in the midst of Germany, were a bulwark and defence to the Protestants of many other lesser states, as often as they were oppressed for their religion, by their own or their neighbouring princes; that many of the subjects of Bavaria, Bamburgh, Cologn, Wurtzburgh, and Worms, were Protestants. Besides these, that the Protestants of France were so powerful as to maintain eight or nine civil wars in defence of their religion, and always came off with advantage. The Vaudois in Italy were all of them Protestant, and great numbers of the inhabitants of the Spanish Low Countries* were of the reformed religion. Besides, England and Holland, and the northern kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, and the dutchy of Brandenburgh, were intirely Protestant. But now, instead of this, Is not the Protestant power destroyed almost over Europe? The whole kingdom of Bohemia intirely Popish? Are not the Protestants of Poland, Austria, Moravia, utterly destroyed? Is not their destruction now carrying on, and almost finished in Hungary? In Germany the Newburghers of Protestants are become fierce enemies of the Protestant religion. The Protestants of Bavaria, Bamburgh, Cologn, Wurtzburgh, and Worms, are all destroyed. In France, the Spanish Low Countries, Savoy, and Vaudois, after long and mighty struggles, the religion is utterly extinguished. Against the poor Palatines the persecution is now carrying on with its usual barbarity, and their neighbours, the Saxons, are so far from being able to help them, that they are under the fearful apprehension of suffering the like from their own prince†, lately turned Roman Catholick to obtain the kingdom of Poland, so soon as his wars with Sweden, and other troubles, created him by his Polish and Lithuanian subjects, will give him leave. Besides this, two northern princes have given great cause to suspect their conversion to the Roman religion. That Sweden, by its separation from the rest of Europe by the Baltick, is unable to give assistance to the Protestants in any part of Europe, without the consent of the German Princes bordering on the Baltick, which will never be granted by Papists in favour of the Protestants.

Thus the Protestant religion, which had spread itself over almost all Europe, which had gained the intire possessions of some countries, the greater part of others, and mighty interest in most, has, through the restless malice and endeavours of its enemies, been subverted and destroyed in country after country, till it is at last reduced to a little corner of what it once‡ possessed, England and Holland. And do we think our enemies will not accomplish, what they have thus prosperously carried on so far, our utter destruction? Is it not high time then to think ourselves in danger, to look about us to enquire what it is hath thus weakened us, brought us so near our ruin, what measures will certainly accomplish it, and what we must take for the prevention of it.

The Romish methods of converting the Protestants have been in all countries the same, viz. Confiscation of their estates, goals, and imprisonments, fire and sword, dragooning and massacring, and inflicting the

* Now divided between France and the House of Austria.
† Father to the present Elector of Saxony and King of Poland.
‡ In the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

most inhuman torments, that rage and fury could invent, upon such, whose resolution and zeal for their religion could not be moved by the former means*.

If this be the true case of England and the Protestant religion, then what is wanting to give the finishing stroke to our destruction, but only an ability in the king of France, to break the powers of England and Holland? And when we consider, how, in the year 1672, the king of France marched his army through the midst of Flanders, fell directly upon Holland, then unprovided, entered their strongest towns like open villages, some without defence, or almost denial, most of them without any blows at all, and all of them with very few, and made himself master of three parts of Holland in two months' time, for which Sir William Temple, king Charles the Second's ambassador, then in Holland, tells us the reason was, 'That the Dutch, then not suspecting 'such a thing, had no field army, sufficient to encounter their enemies, 'or succour any town; that walled towns will not defend the men 'within, unless the hearts of the men will defend their walls; that no 'garrison will make any resolute defence, without the prospect or 'hopes at least of relief.' It is true, that the French king, having then all Flanders on his back, garrisoned with Spanish troops (then his implacable enemies) a powerful army of the German princes marching upon him down the Rhine; Spain and England, alarmed by his successes, preparing to attack him in all quarters, was glad to vomit up all again, and return home with as much precipitancy as he had invaded them, lest the provisions and retreat of his army through Flanders should be cut off. But now the case is otherwise, he has possessed himself of Flanders, extended his dominion to the very frontiers of Holland; Spain is all united to him; some German Princes, then his enemies, are now become his friends; others entered into conditions of neutrality with him; and should he now, by a fatal battle, which God of his infinite mercy forbid, break the Dutch army, which they have, with infinite charge and matchless vigour, gathered up from Denmark, Brandenburgh, and other remote countries of Germany, might he not enter the heart of their country? And whence then can their strong cities depend upon relief? May he not, as formerly, possess himself of their whole country in less than one campaign? It was the opinion of that great statesman, Sir William Temple, 'That Holland would make a 'stout resistance in any quarrel remote from their own doors; but 'that which enables them (their wealth) to carry on a foreign war with 'vigour, would in a war at home render them defenceless: rich and 'populous towns are not fit for sieges, or were ever known to make 'any long and resolute defence.' If this be our case? if the whole power of the Protestant religion rests now in a manner, in England and Holland? if the destruction of England, as well as of our holy religion, must inevitably follow the loss of Holland? if Holland, by one unfortunate battle, might happen to be lost in one campaign or less, are we not in a most sad and deplorable condition? And, if some men are without their fears, have we not the

* See this particularly described on page, 36, &c.

greater reason to fear for ourselves, our religion, and our country? What should we judge of those who tell us, it is too early yet for England to declare? The enemy has raised his armies, furnished his magazines; and it is too early for us to think of raising a man. The enemy is before our outworks; and it is too soon for us to prepare ourselves to be on our guard. Will not those men tell us, when Holland is lost, it will then be too late? To what purpose, will they say, now do you think of raising forces? Is not the French king master of Holland? Possessed of all their ports? Where will you land them! To what use will you put them? Does not such language as this plainly shew the intention of the authors? Is it not plainly to deliver us blindfold, bound hand and foot, into the enemies' hand? Is not their design now so visible as not to be disguised? Do not some of the party begin to throw off the mask, and tell us, It will not be well with us till our old master* returns, till the government returns to its natural channel†. And are not those that were the very tools and instruments of Popery and arbitrary power in former reigns, and that owe their lives to acts of indemnity in this, industriously represented by some as the patriots of their country; and by a strange kind of paradox, those that have been always hearty for the church, and were for defending of it when others were for pulling it down; that were hearty for the king's‡ accession to the throne, and to his person and government ever since, are presented as betrayers of us, as having sold us to France. Would it not be a piece of rare refined policy, if France could hang up her greatest enemies, under the notion of her dearest friends, and give encouragement to her ancient friends under the notion of being her enemies?

Let us, therefore, while it is yet in our power (as we tender our religion and our country) use our utmost endeavours, by all legal ways, to assist his majesty and his government against all his and our enemies, both at home and abroad.

* Viz. King James.

† Is not this the language of the disaffected to a Protestant succession to this day? who are always plotting to disturb the quiet of that happy government under which we all enjoy our liberty, property, and religion; and combine with the enemies of our Church and State to reduce them to Popery and Slavery, by force of arms; which has been no less than five times threatened or attempted by France, since the publication of this pamphlet in the year 1690.

‡ King William and Queen Mary.

THE

Pre-eminence and Pedigree of Parliament.

By JAMES HOWELL, Esq.

PRINTED AT LONDON IN THE YEAR MDCLXXVII.

I AM a free-born subject of the realm of England, whereby I claim, as my native inheritance, an undoubted right, propriety, and portion in the laws of the land; and this distinguisheth me from a slave. I claim also an interest and common right in the high national court of parliament, and in the power, the privileges, and jurisdiction thereof, which I put in equal balance with the laws, in regard it is the fountain whence they spring; and this I hold also to be a principal part of my birth-right. Which great council I honour, respect, value, and love, in as high a degree as can be, as being the bulwark of our liberties, the main boundary and bank which keeps us from slavery, from the inundations of tyrannical rule, and unbounded will-go-government. And I hold myself obliged, in a tye of indispensable obedience, to conform and submit myself to whatsoever shall be transacted, concluded, and constituted, by its authority, in church or state; whether it be by making, enlarging, altering, diminishing, disannulling, repealing, or reviving of any law, statute, act, or ordinance whatsoever, either touching matters ecclesiastical, civil, common, capital, criminal, martial, maritime, municipal, or any other: of all which the transcendent and uncontroulable jurisdiction of that court is capable to take cognizance.

Amongst the three things which the Athenian captain thanked the Gods for, one was, That he was born a Grecian, and not a Barbarian. For such was the vanity of the Greeks, and, after them, of the Romans, in the flourish of their monarchy, to arrogate all civility to themselves, and to term all the world besides, Barbarians. So I may say, to have cause to rejoice, that I was born a vassal to the crown of England; that I was born under so well moulded and tempered a government, which endows the subject with such liberties and infranchisements, that bear up his natural courage, and keep him still in heart; such liberties, that fence and secure him eternally from the gripes and tallons of tyranny. And all this may be imputed to the authority and wisdom of this high court of parliament; wherein there is such a rare co-ordination of power (though the sovereignty remain still intire and untransferable in the person of the prince), there is, I say, such a wholesome mixture betwixt monarchy, optimacy, and democracy, betwixt prince, peers, and commonalty, during the time of consultation, that, of so many distinct parts, by a rare co-operation and unanimity, they make but one body

politick (like that sheaf of arrows in the emblem) one entire concentrical piece; and the results of their deliberations, but as so many harmonious diapasons arising from different strings. And what greater immunity and happiness can there be to a people, than to be liable to no laws, but what they make themselves? to be subject to no contribution, assessment, or any pecuniar levy whatsoever, but what they vote, and voluntarily yield unto themselves? For, in this compacted politick body, there be all degrees of people represented; both the mechanick, tradesmen, merchant, and yeoman, have their inclusive vote, as well as the gentry, in the persons of their trustees, their knights and burgesses, in passing of all things. Nor is this sovereign superintendent council an epitome of this kingdom only; but it may be said to have a representation of the whole universe; as I heard a fluent well-worded knight deliver in the last parliament, who compared the beautiful composure of that high court to the great work of God, the world itself. The king is as the sun, the nobles the fixed stars, the itinerant judges and other officers, that go upon messages betwixt both houses, to the planets; the clergy to the element of fire; the commons to the solid body of the earth, and the rest of the elements. And, to pursue this comparison a little further: as the heavenly bodies, when three of them meet in conjunction, do use to produce some admirable effects in the elementary world; so when these three states convene and assemble in one solemn great junta, some notable and extraordinary things are brought forth, tending to the welfare of the whole kingdom, our microcosm.

He, that is never so little versed in the annals of this isle, will find, that it hath been her fate to be four times conquered. I exclude the Scot; for the situation of his country, and the quality of the clime, hath been such an advantage and security to him, that neither the Roman eagles would fly thither for fear of freezing their wings, nor any other nation attempt the work.

These so many conquests must needs bring with them many tumblings and tossings, many disturbances and changes in government; yet I have observed, that, notwithstanding these tumblings, it retained still the form of a monarchy, and something there was always, that had analogy with the great assembly, the parliament.

The first conquest, I find, was made by Claudius Cæsar; at which time, as some well observe, the Roman ensigns and the standard of Christ, came in together. It is well known what laws the Roman had; he had his comitia, which bore a resemblance with our convention in parliament; the place of their meeting was called Prætorium*, and the laws which they enacted, Plebiscita†.

The Saxon conquest succeeded next, which were the English, there being no name in Welch or Irish for an Englishman, but Saxon, to this day. They governed by Parliament, though it were under other names, as Michel Sinoth, Michel Gemote, and Witenage Mote.

There are records above a thousand years old, of these parliaments, in the reigns of King Ina, Offa, Ethelbert, and the rest of the seven kings, during the heptarchy. The British kings also, who retained a

* The Senate or Parliament House.
† *i. e.* The voluntary acts or laws made by the representatives of the People.

great while some part of the isle unconquered, governed and made laws by a kind of parliamentary way; witness the famous laws of prince Howel, called Howel Dha (the good Prince Howel) whereof there are yet extant some Welch records. Parliaments were also used after the heptarchy, by King Kenulphus, Alphred, and others, witness that renowned parliament held at Grately, by King Athelstan.

The third conquest was by the Danes, and they governed also by such general assemblies (as they do to this day) witness that great and so much celebrated parliament, held by that mighty monarch Canutus, who was king of England, Denmark, Norway, and other regions, 150 years before the compiling of Magna Charta; and this the learned in the laws do hold to be one of the specialest, and most authentick pieces of antiquity we have extant. Edward the Confessor made all his laws thus (and he was a great legislator) which the Norman conqueror did ratify and establish, and digested them into one intire methodical system, which, being violated by Rufus* (who came to such a disastrous end as to be shot to death in lieu of a buck, for his sacrileges) were restored by Henry the First, and so they continued in force till King John, whose reign is renowned for first confirming Magna Charta, the foundation of our liberties ever since; which may be compared to divers outlandish grafts set upon our English stock, or to a posy of sundry fragrant flowers: for, the choicest of the British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman laws, being culled and picked out, and gathered, as it were, into one bundle; out of them the aforesaid Grand Charter was extracted: And the establishment of this great charter was the work of a parliament.

Nor are the laws of this island only, and the freedom of the subject, conserved by parliament; but all the best policed countries of Europe have the like. The Germans have their *Diets*, the Danes and Swedes their *Rücks Dachs*; the Spaniard calls his parliament *Las Cortes*; and the French have, or should have, at least, their *Assembly of Three States*, though it be grown now in a manner obsolete, because the authority thereof was, by accident, devolved to the king. And very remarkable it is how this happened; for when the English had taken such large footing in most parts of France, having advanced as as far as Orleans, and driven their then King Charles the Seventh, to Bourges in Berry, the Assembly of the Three States, in these pressures, being not able to meet after the usual manner, in full parliament; because the country was unpassable, the enemy having made such firm invasions up and down through the very bowels of the kingdom; that power, which formerly was inherent in the parliamentary assembly, of making laws, of assessing the subject with taxes, subsidiary levies, and other impositions, was transmitted to the king, during the war; which, continuing many years, that intrusted power, by length of time, grew, as it were, habitual in him, and could never after be re-assumed, and taken from him; so that, ever since, his edicts countervail acts of parliament: And that which made the business more feasible was, that the burthen fell most upon the commonalty (the clergy and nobility not feeling the weight of it) who were willing to see the peasant pulled

* William the Second, son and succesor to the Conqueror.

down a little; because, not many years before, in that notable rebellion, called *La Jaquerie de Beauvosin*, which was suppressed by Charles the Wise, the common people put themselves boldly in arms against the nobility and gentry, to lessen their power. Add hereunto, as an advantage to the work, that the next succeeding king, Lewis the Eleventh, was a close, cunning prince, and could well tell how to play his game, and draw water to his own mill; for, amongst all the rest, he was said to be the first that put the Kings of France, *hors de page*, out of their minority, or from being pages* any more, tho' thereby, he brought the poor peasants to be worse than lacquies.

With the fall, or, at least, the discountenance of that usual Parliamentary Assembly of the Three States, the liberty of the French nation utterly fell; the poor roturier and vine-yard man, with the rest of the yeomanry, being reduced ever since to such an abject *asinine* condition, that they serve but as sponges for the king to squeese when he list. Nevertheless, as that king hath an advantage hereby one way, to monarchise more absolutely, and never to want money, but to ballast his purse when he will: So there is another mighty inconvenience ariseth to him and his whole kingdom another way; for this illegal peeling of the poor peasant hath so dejected him, and cowed his native courage so much, by the sense of poverty (which brings along with it a narrowness of soul) that he is little useful for the war: Which puts the French king to make other nations mercenary to him, to fill up his infantry; insomuch, that the kingdom of France may be not unfitly compared to a body that hath all its blood drawn up intothe arms, breast, and back, and scarce any left from the girdle downwards, to cherish and bear up the lower parts, and keep them from starving.

All this seriously considered, there cannot be a more proper and pregnant example than this of our next neighbours, to prove how infinitely necessary the parliament is, to assert, to prop up, and preserve the public liberty and national rights of the people, with the incolumity and welfare of a country.

Nor doth the subject only reap benefit thus by parliament, but the prince, if it be well considered, hath equal advantage thereby; it rendereth him a king of free and able men, which is far more glorious than to be a king of slaves, beggars, and bankrupts; men, that by their freedom, and competency of wealth, are kept still in heart to do him service against any foreign force. And it is a true maxim in all states, that it is less danger and dishonour for the prince to be poor, than his people: Rich subjects can make their king rich, when they please; if he gain their hearts, he will quickly get their purses. Parliament increaseth love and good intelligence betwixt him and his people; it acquaints him with the reality of things, and with the true state and diseases of his kingdom; it brings him to the knowledge of his better sort of subjects, and of their abilities, which he may employ accordingly upon all occasions; it provides for his royal issue, pays his debts, finds means to fill his coffers: And it is no ill observation, The parliamen tary-monies (the great aid) have prospered best with the kings of Eng

† Minors.

land; it exceedingly raiseth his repute abroad, and enableth him to keep his foes in fear, his subjects in awe, his neighbours and confederates in security; the three main things which go to aggrandise a prince, and render him glorious. In sum, it is the parliament that supports and bears up the honour of his crown, and settles his throne in safety, which is the chief end of all their consultations: For whosoever is entrusted to be a member of this high court, carrieth with him a double capacity; he sits there as a patriot, and as a subject: As he is the one, the country is his object, his duty being to vindicate the publick liberty, to make wholesome laws, to put his hand to the pump, and stop the leaks of the great vessel of the state; to pry into, and punish corruption and oppression: to improve and advance trade; to have the grievances of the place he serves for redressed, and cast about how to find something that may tend to the advantage of it.

But he must not forget that he sits there also as a subject, and according to that capacity, he must apply himself to do his sovereign's business, to provide not only for his publick, but his personal wants; to bear up the lustre and glory of his court; to consider what occasions of extraordinary expences he may have, by increase of royal issue, or maintenance of any of them abroad; to enable him to vindicate any affront or indignity, that might be offered to his person, crown, or dignity, by any foreign state or kingdom; to consult what may inlarge his honour, contentment, and pleasure. And as the French Tacitus (Comines) hath it, The English nation was used to be more forward and zealous in this particular than any other; according to that ancient eloquent speech of a great lawyer, *Domus Regis vigilia defendit omnium, otium iltius labor omnium, deliciæ illius industria omnium, vacatio illius occupatio omnium, salus illius periculum omnium, honor illius objectum omnium.* i. e. Every one should stand centinel, to defend the king's houses; his danger should be the safety of all, his pleasures the industry of all, his ease should be the labour of all, his honour the object of all.

Out of these premisses this conclusion may be easily deduced, that, The principal fountain, whence the king derives his happiness and safety, is his parliament: It is that great conduit-pipe which conveighs unto him his people's bounty and gratitude; the truest looking-glass, wherein he discerns their loves; now the subjects' love hath been always accounted the prime cittadel of a prince. In his parliament he appears as the sun in the meridian, in the altitude of his glory, in his highest state royal, as the law tells us.

Therefore whosoever is averse or disaffected to this sovereign law-making court, cannot have his heart well planted within him: He can be neither good subject, nor good patriot; and therefore unworthy to breathe the English air, or have any benefit, advantage, or protection from the laws.

THE

MISCHIEFS AND UNREASONABLENESS

OF ENDEAVOURING TO DEPRIVE

HIS MAJESTY OF THE AFFECTIONS OF HIS SUBJECTS,

By misrepresenting him and his Ministers.

Cum hominum animi vanis timoribus & suspicionibus implentur, calumniæ & maledicta in Principes sine ullo veri falsive discrimine avidè accipiuntur, avidè communicantur.
Fam. Strada de bello Belg.

This Loyal Tract, containing the true sense of every good subject, was originally published to deter the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, from fomenting that discontent against kingly government, which brought these nations into that horrid rebellion, that began in the year 1641, and deserves to be recorded, so long as monarchy sways these kingdoms; and always necessary to be read, so long as that best of governments is struck at by by designing men; or ignorantly traversed in the conversation of the causelessly discontented subject.
have only taken the liberty to strike out some expressions that were temporary, in order to render it the more general and useful at all times.

IT is the common unhappiness of all states, that some persons every where are proud of being thought wise at suspecting, and of an extraordinary reach in foreseeing evils, which, perhaps, never come to pass. The vanity of appearing more acute and sagacious than their neighbours does so possess them, that they make it their business and employment, to discover or to invent approaching mischiefs. And, if we look into those histories which give us an account of the grand transactions and revolutions of kingdoms; which do not barely tell things as tales, and say, only such and such things happened, but do search into the real causes of, and acquaint us what occasioned them; We shall find, that this humour has frequently been of greatest consequence, and that none have contributed more to the unhappiness and destruction of a nation, than the over-politick and notable men; who, by shew of concern for the publick, and great insight into intrigues and cabals, have laboured to bring the government into suspicion, and to alienate the hearts of the people from their prince. But we need not appeal to foreign occurrences, or elder times. The miseries which these three kingdoms for several years groaned under, do sufficiently attest it; and they who understand any thing of England's troubles*, in the grand rebellion, are not ignorant that the grave men of fears and jealousies, who discovered what no man could ever find out since; and the seditious preachers, who endeavoured to gain the people's hearts by

* *Vid.* The view of the late troubles in England, p. 96. & *alibi.*

aspersing their king, and shewing them dangers and enemies round about them, where none meant to hurt them; who with scripture phrases, and sacred railing, and profane abuse of God's word to base and malicious purposes, demonstrated their governors to be the designers of their ruin, were not the least promoters of all our shameful confusions.

But either we are so unwilling to reflect upon what then followed, or so inclinable to gratify our own little humour that way, that we too generally tread in the steps of the fomenters of those disturbances, without the least misgivings of what it may end in. We are as politick and as sharp-sighted, and as disingenuous as they were in 1641. We do, indeed, enjoy our liberties and properties, and the free exercise of our religion, peace, and plenty, justice equally distributed to all, are governed by known laws, and no man is oppressed, and yet we have grievances to complain of; dangers we foresee do threaten us; we groan, and sigh, and cry out at the badness of the times, are apprehensive of strange designs on foot, and cannot afford our governors one good word. Indeed, they among us who have a great reach, and would be thought politicians of the first rate, do give only notable hints, emphatical nods, intimate somewhat of our fears, but darkly; speak dubiously of what may happen, wish the king better advised, whisper somewhat about evil counsellors, and the like. But the vulgar part of us are more rash, and blunder it out more plainly, and prophesy of arbitrary government; cry out that we are sold and betrayed, and not far from being enslaved.

Some men have so strange fond conceits of themselves, that they are too ready to fancy their own petty interests and absurd desires so twisted and interwoven with the publick happiness of the nation, that, from any little disppointment of their ill-laid projects, they will take occasion to predict some signal mischiefs, if not ruin to the commonwealth. For they look on themselves as persons no less in favour with God, nor less wise in their designs than others; and how can publick mischiefs be brought on us, but by the ill administration of those who are concerned in the government? And when this prophetical foundation is once laid, then every accident which happens shall minister some jealousies and suspicions; every suspicion shall beget another; and can a man think much, and say nothing of such matters?

Besides, some men strangely affect the favour and good word of the common people; and what readier way to obtain it, than by persuading them that they are not so well governed as they ought to be? Some things will happen amiss, let men do what they can; and the common people who see the immediate and obvious effects of some inconveniencies, to which all sorts of governments are subject, have not the judgment to discern the secret lets and difficulties, which in publick proceedings are innumerable and inevitable. And does not the reproving the supposed disorders of state shew the persons, who do so, to be principal friends to the common interest, and honest men of singular freedom of mind? And what can be more popular and plausible?

Once more. When every private and ordinary person turns states-

man, and with a judicious gravity canvasses and determines the particular interests and designs of kings and princes; when he, perhaps, who has hardly wit enough to govern his own little family, takes upon him to settle the affairs of Christendom, and fancies himself able to give this or the other prince advice how to govern his subjects, and enlarge his dominions: In fine, when men spend their time, they should employ in their several callings to gain their livelihood, in running about after news, and make themselves poor by idleness and negligence; what can we expect among these people but perverse censures and silly conclusions, seditious repinings and discontents?

But, certainly, no wise man can think the worse of any government, because unthinking people speak ill of it; nor will he, who is but a little above the multitude, think himself in danger, and bound to vex and to be discontented, because they are not pleased.

Indeed, we have been so long used to concern ourselves in matters that do not belong to us, to arraign, and, at our pleasure, to condemn the government; that either our governors must publish to the world all their designs and consultations, and inform the people of all their motives to such or such resolutions (which would be the most absurd thing in the world, and the greatest contradiction to all the uses and ends of government), or else they must expect to have evil censures passed on them for all they do, to be complained of as enemies to their country, and betrayers of their trust. A humour fit for the senseless rabble, but below any one of parts and ingenuity.

But now let us think a little what will be the end of all these things? The most experienced and ablest disturbers have always first struck at the reputation of the government, and frequently with great success. For can there be obedience where there is not so much as respect? Will their knees bow whilst their hearts insult? and their actions submit, whilst their apprehensions and tongues do rebel?

And when the people are thus prepared with jealousies and discontents, and some accidents happen, which offer an opportunity, then out steps some bold hypocritical rebel, and heads the discontented party; puts forth remonstrances of grievances and misdemeanors in the government, and engages to remedy them; and the devil, who is never wanting to men, that are set upon mischief, sets forward the work, till it improve into an open and detestable civil war. All histories are full of examples; and we are not so happy as not to know, and to be one.

Away, therefore, with our murmuring and querulousness; we do but assist evil men, and vex and trouble ourselves by them. Let us do our duty, every one in his place, and leave the great business of all to God, and to the king, whom he has given us. Let not our curiosity, or what is worse, make us over-careful and solicitous about many things which belong not to us, but rather take the advice given us in scripture, 'Study to be quiet, and do our own business, and wait with patience and modesty.' The reports, which we hear concerning our governor's determinations, are very uncertain, and often false; and set about by seditious and unquiet men, who perhaps underhand work for that design, which they seem to the world to be most violently set

against. And as to those, which are true, we, who know not the circumstances of them, must be very arrogant and presumptuous, if we take upon us to judge of their conveniency or inconveniency. But this we may be assured of, that all our malicious and seditious discourses will very little promote the safety of ourselves, or of our governors; and that there are those who have better information and greater abilities than we, who will be as much concerned for their lives, their liberties, and their religion, as any of us can pretend to be. Let us assist them with our prayers, and the reformation of our lives; which are the most effectual means to secure our other interests.

To inforce this yet farther. It is by God that kings reign, and from him alone can they receive their authority; and since he has sufficiently declared that he would have us be submissive and respectful, patient and obedient; if we murmur against them, we murmur at God's management of the world; we arraign Providence, and shew, that, let us talk as much as we will of it, we are not for it but when it is for us.

Let us question, as a good man among the Jews did: 'Whose ox has our king taken, or whose ass has he taken? or whom has he defrauded? Whom has he oppressed? or of whose hands has he received any bribes, to blind his eyes therewith?'

We talk of arbitrary government; What man has lost his life or estate under his government, but by due form and procedure of law? We talk of tyranny; can any man charge this prince with the least act of cruelty? Did he ever shew any thing of a bloody revengeful spirit? Or can we read of a more merciful, and condescending, and obliging king that ever ruled in Europe? And all the returns that we make to so much justice, and sweetness, and goodness, are unkind, and rude, and undutiful reflexions. We most ungratefully endeavour to render him as odious in the eyes of the world as we can; and not only so, but settle a way of putting a most invidious interpretation on all his future actions. But, should we endeavour to ruin the reputation of one of the meanest of our neighbours, would it not be a great sin in the eyes of God, and a great injury and wrong to him; and would not we esteem it so in our own case, if we were so dealt with by others? and do we not think it a sin of much greater magnitude, to speak evil of dignities, to revile God's vice-gerent, and to lay his honour in the dust? Certainly we must be very partial to ourselves if we judge otherwise. And indeed, this is a crime of so extensive a bad influence, and so much mischief, that they who consider the injury the publick receives by it, admire that no severer punishments are appointed by the laws for those who are guilty of it; and they who consider the heinousness of the sin, do not less wonder that our divines do not more frequently lay open the guilt of it to the people.

To make an end. Could all our complaints and unquietness take away the pretended occasions of them; could our fancying ourselves in an ill condition deliver us out of it; could our persuading ourselves that our liberty and religion is in danger, make both secure; and our wilful fears and jealous surmises prevent real evils: It were unkind to dissuade you from murmuring, and he would prove your enemy

who would make you so yourselves. Could groundless fears and imaginary dangers establish peace on a lasting foundation; could false alarms and mutinous discourses contribute any thing to the plenty and quiet of the kingdom: Could our suspecting our governors render our fellow-subjects more obedient, and our aspersing those, who are concerned in the management of highest affairs, strengthen your hands, and inspire their resolutions; then we could have some pretence for our restlessness and clamorousness.

But since it stands upon record in the histories of all ages; since we have had late and dismal effects of such practices, and have too frequently found that jealousies and suspicions, out-cries and complaints, vain fears and imaginary grievances, have produced real mischief, and brought on us those misfortunes, which they seemed only to foretel: Since they are the most effectual incouragements to seditious persons, and aspiring disturbers need no greater than to have their pretences abetted by sober, grave men, and their cause voted up by the common cry of the whole people; it cannot be thought indiscreet, or useless, or pragmatical in any one to intreat you to live at ease, and to enjoy yourselves, the blessed serenity of an undisturbed mind; to banish out of your hearts and mouths such hurtful follies; and to persuade you to let peace and prosperity continue among you, whilst they seem to court you, and to beg only your consent.

Dublin, May 24, 1681.

A WORD WITHOUT-DOORS,

CONCERNING

THE BILL OF SUCCESSION.

The occasion of writing this Pamphlet was the great dispute concerning the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne of these kingdoms, upon the death of King Charles II. his brother, on account of his religion, having professed himself a Papist, and openly declared himself a zealous protector of such as were so affected.

The Argument is founded upon the divine institution and proper end of government; the laws of the land; the reasons that may warrant such an exclusion; examples of the like proceedings and the impossibility that a popish king can ever prove a true defender of the Protestant Christian Faith; all which equally serves to justify the Revolution in 1688, and the Protestant Establishment of the Crown in the Protestant House of Hanover, and the necessity of preserving the said establishment, as to perpetuate a memorial of that noble stand against Popery, and the utmost effort of that Parliament here mentioned, to secure our religion and laws; even at the hazard of their own dissolution, which the duke was able to obtain.

SIR,

I AM very sensible of the great honour you were pleased to do me in your last, which I received immediately after our late unhappy dissolution; but could have wished you would have laid your com-

mands on some more able person, to have given you satisfaction in the matter you there propose relating to the Duke,* who, you seem to insinuate, was like (if the Parliament had continued) to have received hard measure.† I must ingenuously confess to you, I was not long since perfectly of your opinion, and thought it the highest injustice imaginable, for any prince to be debarred of his native right of succession upon any pretence whatsoever. But, upon a more mature deliberation and enquiry, I found my error proceeded principally from the false notions I had took up of government itself, and from my ignorance of the practices of all communities of men in all ages, whenever self-preservation and the necessity of their affairs obliged them to declare their opinion in cases of the like nature: to the knowledge of all which, the following accident, I shall relate to you, did very much contribute.

My occasions obliging me one day to attend the coming of a friend in a coffee-house near Charing-cross, there happened to sit at the same table with me two ingenious gentlemen, who, according to the frankness of conversation now used in the town, began a discourse on the same subject‡ you desire to be more particularly informed in; and having extolled the late House of Commons, as the best number of men that had ever sat within these walls;‖ and that no house had ever more vigorously maintained and asserted English liberty and Protestant religion than they had done, as far as the nature of the things that came before them, and the circumstances of time would admit; to all which I very readily and heartily assented. They then added, that the great wisdom and zeal of that house had appeared in nothing more, than in ordering a bill to be brought in for debarring the Duke of York from inheriting the crown: a law they affirmed to be the most just and reasonable in the world, and the only proper remedy to establish this nation on a true and solid interest, both in relation to the present and future times.§

To which I could not but reply, That I begged their pardon if I differed from them in opinion; and did believe, that how honestly soever the House of Commons might intend in that matter, yet that the point of successson was so sacred a thing, and of so high a nature, that it was not subjected to their cognizance; that monarchy was of divine right; that princes succeeded by nature and generation only, and not by authority, admission, or approbation of the people; and consequently, that neither the merit or demerit of their persons, nor the different influences from thence upon the people, were to be respected or had in consideration; but the commonwealth ought to obey and submit to the next heir, without any further inquisition; and, if he proved a worthy, virtuous, and just prince, it was a great happiness; if unjust, barbarous, and tyrannical, there was no other remedy, but prayer, patience,

* Of York, afterwards King James II.

† i. e. To have been excluded from succeeding to the Crown of England, upon the demise of his brother, King Charles II. who said that he had no lawful issue.

‡ Of the succession to the Crown.

‖ Because they, without respect to persons, would have excluded the enemies of our holy religion from the throne, and established a true Protestant succession, under which only it is possible for us to be happy.

§ As it has been long since manifested, both in King James II.'s male-administration, and the happiness we now enjoy under a Protestant King.

and an entire submission to so difficult a dispensation of God's providence.

I had no sooner ended my discourse, but one of the gentlemen, that was the most serious in the company, seeing me a young man, gravely replied, That he could not but be extremely concerned to hear, that such pernicious notions against all lawful government had been taught in the world; that he believed, they were in me purely the effects of an university-education; and, that it had been my misfortune, to have had a very high churchman* for my tutor, who had endeavoured (as it was their constant practice to all young gentlemen under their care) to debauch me with such principles as would enslave my mind to their hierarchy and the monarchical part of the government, without any regard at all to the aristocratical and popular; and that fat parsonages, prebendships, deanries, and episcopal sees, were the certain and constant rewards of such services;† that the place we were in was a little too publick for discourses of this nature; but, if I would accept of a bottle of wine at the next tavern, he would undertake to give me juster measures; adding, It was a pity so hopeful a gentleman should be tainted with bad principles. My friend coming in at the same time, proved to be one of their particular acquaintance; and both he and I readily complied with so generous a motion.

We had no sooner drank a glass round, but the old gentleman was pleased to renew his discourse, and said, It was undoubtedly true, that the inclination of mankind to live in company (from whence come towns, cities, and commonwealths) did proceed of nature, and consequently of God, the Author of Nature. So likewise government, and the jurisdiction of magistrates in general (which does necessarily flow from the living together in society) is also of nature, and ordained by God for the common good of mankind; but that the particular species and forms of this or that government, in this or that manner, to have many, few, or one governor; or that they should have this or that authority, more or less, for a longer or a shorter time; or whether ordinarily by succession or by election; all these things, he said, are ordained and diversified by the particular laws of every country, and are not established either by law natural or divine, but left by God unto every nation and country, to pitch upon what form of government they shall think most proper to promote the common good of the whole, and best adapted to the natures, constitutions, and other circumstances of the people; which accordingly, for the same reasons, may be altered or amended in any of its parts, by the mutual consent of the governors and governed, whenever they shall see reasonable cause so to do; all which appears plainly, both from the diversity of governments extant in the world, and by the same nations living sometimes under one sort of government, and sometimes under another. So we see God himself permitted his peculiar people, the Jews, to live under divers forms of government: as, first, under patriarchs; then under captains; then

* Which, in those days, signified one that was ready to turn Papist as soon as the Prince should countenance that superstition.

† This describes the way to preferment in the Church, when the Duke of York influenced his brother's counsels, and disposed of his places in Church and State.

under judges; then under high-priests; next under kings; and then under captains and high-priests again; until they were conquered by the Romans, who themselves also first lived under kings and then consuls, whose authority they afterwards limited by a senate, by adding tribunes of the people; and, in extraordinary emergencies of the commonwealth, they were governed by dictators, and last of all by emperors. So that it is plain, no magistrate has his particular government, or an interest of succession in it, by any institution of nature, but only by the particular constitution of the commonwealth within itself. And as the kinds of government are different, so also are the measures of power and authority in the same kind, in different countries.

I shall begin, said he, with that of the Roman empire, which, though it be the first in dignity amongst Christian princes, yet it is so restrained and limited by the particular laws of the empire, that he can do much less in his state, than other kings in theirs. He can neither make war, nor exact any contribution of men or money, but by the consent of all the states of the German Diet: and as for his children and relations, they have no interest or pretence to succed, but only by election, if they shall be thought worthy. Nay, the chiefest article the emperor swears to keep, at his admission to that honour, is, That he shall never endeavour to make the dignity of the empire hereditary to his family.

In Spain and in France the privileges of kings are much more eminent, both in power and succession; their authority is more absolute; every order of theirs having the validity of a law, and their next of blood does ordinarily inherit, though in a different manner. In Spain the next heir cannot succeed, but by the approbation of the nobility, bishops, and states of the realm. In France the women are not admitted to succeed, let them be never so lineally descended. In England our kings are much more limited and confined in their power than either of the two former; for here no law can be made, but by consent and authority of parliament; and as to the point of succession, the next of kin is admitted, unless in extraordinary cases, and when important reasons of state require an alteration: and then the parliaments of England, according to the antient laws and statutes of the realm, have frequently directed and appointed the succession of the crown in other manner than in course it would have gone; of which I shall give you some examples in order.

But first let us look abroad, and see how things have been carried, as to this point, in other countries.

Amongst the Jews, the laws of succession did ordinarily hold; and accordingly Rehoboam, the lawful son and heir of Solomon, after his father's decease, went to Sichem, to be crowned and admitted by the people; and the whole body of the people of Israel, being there gathered together, did (before they would admit him their lawful king) make unto him certain propositions for taking away some heavy taxes that had been imposed on them by his father Solomon; which he refusing to gratify them in, and following the advice of young men, ten of the twelve tribes immediately chose Jeroboam, a servant of Rehoboam's, a meer stranger, and of mean parentage, and made him their king; and God approved thereof, as the scriptures in express words do

testify: for when Rehoboam had raised an army of one hundred and fourscore thousand men, intending by force of arms to have justified his claim, God appeared unto Semajah, and commanded him to go to Rehoboam, and to the house of Judah and Benjamin, saying, 'Return every man to his house, for this thing is of me, saith the Lord.' So that, since God did permit and allow this in his own commonwealth, which was to be the pattern for all others, no doubt he will approve the same in other kingdoms, whenever his service and glory, or the happiness of the weal-publick, shall require it.

The next instance I shall give you shall be in Spain, where Don Alonso de la Cerda, having been admitted Prince of Spain, in his father's life-time (according to the custom of that realm) married Blancha, daughter of Lewis the First, King of France, and had by her two sons, named Alonso and Hernando de la Cerda; but their father (who was only prince) dying before Alonso the Ninth, then king, he recommended them to the realm, as lawful heirs apparent to the crown; but Don Sancho, their father's younger brother, who was a great warrior, and sirnamed El Bravo,* was admitted prince, and they put by, in their grand-father's life-time, by his and the states' consent; and this was done at a parliament† held at Segovia, in the year 1276; and in the year 1284 (Alonso the Ninth being dead) Don Sancho was acknowledged king, and the two princes imprisoned; but at the mediation of Philip the third, King of France, their uncle, they were set free, and endowed with considerable revenues in land; and from them do descend the Dukes de Medina Celi at this day; and the present King of Spain that is in possession,‡ descendeth from Don Sancho.

In France, Lewis the Fourth had two sons, Lotharin, who succeeded him, and Charles, whom he made Duke of Lorrain. Lotharin dying, left an only son, named Lewis, who dying without issue, after he had reigned two years, the crown was to have descended on his uncle Charles, Duke of Lorrain. But the States of France did exclude him, and chose Hugo Capetus, Earl of Paris, for their king; and, in an oration made by their ambassador to Charles of Lorrain, did give an account of their reasons for so doing, as it is related by Belforest, a French historian, in these very words:

"Every man knoweth, Lord Charles, that the succession of the crown and kingdom of France, according to the ordinary rights and laws of the same belongeth unto you, and not unto Hugh Capet now our king: but yet the same laws, which do give unto you such right of succession, do judge you also unworthy of the same: for that you have not endeavoured, hitherto, to frame your life according to the prescript of those laws, nor according to the use and custom of the kingdom of France; but rather have allied yourselves with the Germans, our old enemies, and have accustomed yourself to their vile and base manners. Wherefore, since you have abandoned and forsaken the antient virtue, amity, and sweetness of your country, your country has abandoned and forsaken you; for we have chosen Hugh Capet for our King, and have put you by,

* The Valiant. † Or Cortes, i. e. The general meeting of the States. ‡ Anno 1678.

and this without any scruple in our consciences at all; esteeming it far better, and more just, to live under Hugh Capet, the possessor of the crown, with enjoying the ancient use of our laws, customs, privileges, and liberties, than under you, the next heir, by blood, in oppression, strange customs, and cruelty. For as they, who are to make a voyage in a ship on a dangerous sea, do not so much respect, whether the pilot claims title to the ship or no, but rather whether he be skilful, valiant, and like to bring them in safety to their way's end; even so our principal care is to have a good prince to lead and guide us happily in this way of civil and politick life; which is the end for which princes are appointed."

And with this message ended his succession and life, he dying not long after in prison.

And now I shall come home, and give you an instance or two in England since the conquest, and so conclude.

William Rufus, second son of William the Conqueror, by the assistance of Lantrank, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had a great opinion of his virtue and probity, was admitted king by the consent of the realm, his elder brother Robert, Duke of Normandy, being then in the war at Jerusalem. William dying, his younger brother Henry, by his ingenuity and fair carriage, and by the assistance of Henry Earl of Warwick, who had greatest interest in the nobility, and Maurice, Bishop of London, a leading-man amongst the clergy, obtained also the crown. And Robert, Duke of Normandy, was a second time excluded. And though this King Henry could pretend no other title to the crown, than the election and admission of the realm; yet he defended it so well, and God prospered him with such success, that, when his eldest brother Robert came to claim the kingdom by force of arms, he beat him in a pitched battle, took him prisoner, and so he died miserably in bonds.

King Henry had one only daughter named Maud, or Matilda, who was married to the emperor; and he dying without issue, she was afterwards married to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou, in France, by whom she had a son named Henry, whom his grandfather declared heir-apparent to the crown in his life-time; yet, after his death, Henry was excluded, and Stephen, Earl of Bulloine, Son of Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, was, by the states, thought more fit to govern than Prince Henry, who was then but a child. And this was done by the persuasion of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and at the sollicitation of the Abbot of Glastenbury, and others, who thought they might do the same lawfully, and with a good conscience, for the publick good of the realm.

But the event did not prove so well as they intended; for this occasioned great factions and divisions in the kingdom; for the quieting of which, there was a parliament held at Wallingford, which passed a law, 'That Stephen should be king only during his life, and that Prince Henry and his off-spring should succeed him;' and by the same law debarred William, son of King Stephen, from inheriting the crown, and only made him Earl of Norfolk.

Thus did the parliament dispose of the crown in those days, which was in the year 1153, which sufficiently proves what I have asserted.

The sum of all I have said, amounts to this: That government

in general is by the law of nature, and consequently the ordinance of God; but that the different forms of government, whether to reside in one, few, or many; or whether it shall be continued by succession or by election, together with the different measures and limitations of power and authority in governors of the same kind in several countries: All these things, I say, are ordained by, and purely depend upon, positive and human laws. From whence it will necessarily follow, that the same human authority (residing in king, lords, and commons, here in England) which gave being to those laws for the good of the community, is superintendent over them, and both may and ought to make any addition to, or alteration of them, when the publick good and welfare of the nation shall require it; unless you will admit, that an human authority, establishing any thing intentionally for the common good of the society, which in tract of time, by reason of unforeseen circumstances and emergencies, proves destructive of it, has by that act concluded itself, and made that accidental evil, moral and unchangeable; which to affirm, is senseless and repugnant.

And now, Sir, I hope, by this time, said the old gentleman, you begin to think that the bill for disabling the duke was not so unjust and unreasonable as was pretended; and that the course of succession, being founded upon the same bottom with other civil constitutions, might likewise as justly have been altered by the king, lords, and commons, as any other law or custom whatever.

And here I might conclude; but because a late pensionary pen has publicly arraigned the wisdom, loyalty, and justice of the honourable house of commons, on the account of this bill, I will, *ex abundanti*, add a word or two more to that particular.

Whereupon he plucked a paper out of his pocket, intituled, 'Great and weighty considerations relating to the duke, and successor of the crown, &c.;' Which, as soon as he had read unto us, You see here, said he, the true temper of those men, of whom I first gave you caution. There never was an endeavour (though in a legal and parliamentary way) after any reformation either in church or state, but the promoters of it were sure to be branded by them with the odious imputations of fanaticism and faction: Nay, if the country electors of parliament-men will not pitch upon such rake-hells of the nation as are usually proposed by them, but, on the contrary, make use of their freedom and consciences in chusing able, upright, and deserving persons; and if good men, thus chosen, do but, according to their duty in the house, enquire into publick grievances, pursue in a legal course notorious offenders, and consult and advise the security of the government and Protestant religion, the time-server immediately swells, and, in a passion, tells you, that all this proceeds from the old phanatick leven, not yet worn out amongst the people; that we are going back again to forty-one*; and acting over afresh the sins of our forefathers.

Thus ignorantly do they compliment the times and persons they endeavour to expose, by appropriating to them such virtues as were common to good men in all ages. But enough of this.

* Viz. To grow seditious.

In the next place, pray observe how hypocritically the considerer puts this question, viz.:

'Whether Protestant religion was not settled in this nation by the same mighty hand of God that established Jeroboam in the kingdom of Israel?' And then adds, 'Whether we, like that wicked king, should so far despair of God's providence in preserving the work of his own hands, as never to think it safe, unless it be established on the quick-sands of our own wicked inventions?' viz. the Bill against the Duke.

And, throughout his whole discourse, he frequently calls all care of preserving our religion, a mistrust of God's Providence; and on that score calls out to the nation, 'O ye of little faith,' &c. Now I will allow him, That the least evil is not to be done, that the greatest and most important good may ensue; but that the bill for disabling the duke is highly justifiable both by the laws of God, and constitution of our government, I think by my former discourse I have left no room to doubt; and, the considerer having scarce attempted to prove the contrary, it is preposterously done of him, to give us his use of reproof, before he has cleared his doctrine.

However, I owe him many thanks for putting me in mind how Protestant religion was first established here in England; it was, indeed, by the mighty hand of God influencing the publick councils of the nation, so that all imaginable care was taken both by prince and people, to rescue themselves from under the Romish yoke; and, accordingly, most excellent laws were made against the usurpation and tyranny of that man of sin*. Our noble ancestors, in those days, did not palliate a want of zeal for their religion, with a lazy pretence of trusting in God's providence; but, together with their prayers to, and affiance in heaven, they joined the acts of their own duty, without which, they very well knew, they had no reason to expect a blessing from it.

But now be pleased to take notice of the candor of this worthy considerer: nothing less will serve his turn, than the proving all the voters for the bill guilty of the highest perjury: 'For,' says he, 'they have all sworn in the oath of allegiance, to bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, his heirs and successors: but the duke is heir, ergo, &c.' A very hopeful argument, indeed! But what if it should happen (as it is neither impossible, nor very improbable to imagine it) that the next heir to the crown should commit treason, and conspire the death of the present possessor†, and for this treason should not only be attainted by parliament, but executed too! pray, Mr. Considerer, would the parliament, in this case, be guilty of murder and perjury? I am confident you will not say it. If, therefore, the next heir become obnoxious to the government in a lower degree, why may not the same authority proportion the punishment, and leave him his life, but debar him of the succession? This I say, only to shew the absurdity of his argument.

My answer is this: 'No man can bear allegiance to two persons at the same time, nor can allegiance be ever due to a subject; and,

* The Pope.
† This was laid to the charge of the Duke of York.

therefore, my obligation by the word *heir*, in the oath, does not commence till such heir has a present right* to, or actual possession of the crown; which, if he never attains, either by reason of death, or any other act that incapacitates and bars him, then can my obligation to him by the word *heir* in the oath never have a beginning.

But, besides all this, it cannot be denied but that Mr. Considerer's doctrine does bring great inconveniences on succession; for the next heir, by his way of arguing, is let loose from all the restrictions and penalties of human laws, and has no other ties upon him not to snatch the crown out of the hands of the possessor, than purely those of his own conscience; which is worthy Mr. Considerer's highest consideration.

I shall only take notice of one objection more, and then conclude, fearing I have too much trespassed on your patience already.

'It is very hard, says he, 'that a man should lose his inheritance, because he is of this or that persuasion in matters of religion.'

And, truly, gentlemen, were the case only so, I should be intirely of his mind. But, alas! Popery, whatever Mr. Considerer is pleased to insinuate, is not an harmless innocent persuasion of a number of men differing in matters relating to Christian religion; but is really and truly a different religion from Christianity itself. Nor is the inheritance, he there mentions, an inheritance only of Black Acre and White Acre, without any office annexed, which requires him to be *par officio*: But the government and protection of several nations; the making of war and peace for them; the preservation of their religion; the disposal of publick places and revenues; the execution of all laws; together with many other things of the greatest importance, are, in this case, claimed by the word inheritance; which, if you consider, and at the same time reflect upon the enslaving and bloody tenets of the Church of Rome, more particularly the hellish and damnable conspiracy those of that communion are now carrying on against our lives, our religion, and our government; I am confident you will think it as proper for a wolf to be a shepherd, as it is for a papist to be the defender of our faith, &c.

The old gentleman had no sooner ended his discourse, but I returned him my hearty thanks for the trouble he had been pleased to give himself on this occasion; and I could not but acknowledge, he had given me great satisfaction in that affair; what it will give thee, Charles, I know not. I am sure I parted with him very melancholy, for having been a fool so long. Adieu.

I am thy affectionate,

J. D.

* Alluding to the possibility that King Charles the Second might have a legitimate child before he died.

ROBIN CONSCIENCE;

OR,

CONSCIONABLE ROBIN:

HIS PROGRESS THROUGH COURT, CITY, AND COUNTRY,

With his bad Entertainment at each several Place, &c.

EDINBURGH, PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1683.

I HAVE been quite through England wide,
With many a faint and weary stride,
To see what people there abide,
That loves me.
Poor Robin Conscience is my name,
Sore vexed with reproach and blame:
For all, wherever yet I came,
reprove me.
Few now endure my presence here:
I shall be banish'd quite I fear;
I am despised every where,
and scorned.
Yet is my fortune now and then
To meet some good woman or man,
Who have (when they my woes did scan)
sore mourned,
To think that Conscience is despised,
Which ought to be most highly priz'd:
This trick the devil hath devised,
to blind men.
'Cause Conscience tells them of their ways,
Which are so wicked now-a-days,
They stop their ears to what he says,
unkind men.
I first of all went to the court,
Where lords and ladies did resort,
My entertainment there was short,
cold welcome.
As soon as e'er my name they heard,
They ran away full sore afraid,
And thought some goblin had appear'd,
from hell come.

Conscience, quoth one, be gone with speed,
The court few of thy name doth breed,
We of thy presence have no need,
be walking.
Thou tell'st us of our pride and lust,
Which, spight of thee, we follow must,
So out of court was Conscience thrust;
no talking.
Thus banish'd, from the court I went
To Westminster incontinent,
Where I, alas! was sorely shent
for coming.
The lawyers did against me plead:
'Twas no great matter, some there said,
If Conscience quite were knock'd in th' head.
Then running
From them I fled with winged haste,
They did so threaten me to baste,
Thought, it was vain my breath to waste
in counsel.
For lawyers cannot me abide,
Because for falshood I them chide,
And he, that holds not on their side,
must down still.
Unto the city hied I then,
To try what welcome there trades-men
Would give poor Robin Conscience, when
I came there.
The shop-keepers, that use deceit,
Did come about me and did threat,
Unless I would be gone, to beat
me lame there.
And every one, both high and low,
Held Conscience as a mortal foe,
Because he doth ill vices show
each minute.
Therefore the city in uproar
Against me rose, and me so tore,
That I'm resolved, I'll never more
come in it.
On Friday I to Smithfield went,
Where being come incontinent,
The horse-coursers, with one consent,
did chide me.
They said, that I was not myself,
And said, I was a pinching elf,
And they could get more store of pelf
beside me.

I told them of a cheating trick,
Which makes the horses run and kik,
By putting in an eel that's quick,
i'th belly.
Another which they use full oft,
To bear their lame jades heads aloft,
And beat their buttocks till they're soft,
as jelly.
I told them that their wealth would rot,
That they by cheating men thus got,
But they for this same tale would not
abide me.
And charg'd me quickly to be gone:
Quoth they of Conscience we use none.
Those, whom I follow with my mone.
out-ride me.
From thence I stepp'd into Long-lane,
Where many brokers did remain,
To try how they would entertain
poor Conscience.
But my name when I to them told,
The women did begin to scold,
The men said, they that word did hold
but nonsense.
For Conscience is so hard a word,
That scarce the broker can afford
To read it, for his mouth is stor'd
with lying;
He knows not what this Conscience means,
That is no cause unto his gains;
Thus I was scorned for my pains,
all crying,
Away with Conscience from this lane,
For we his presence do disdain.
They said, if I come there again
among them,
They said, they'd band me back and side.
Being menaced, away I hie'd;
Thus worldlings think that, when I chide,
I wrong them.
Among the butchers then went I,
As soon as e'er they did me spy,
They threaten'd me most spightfully,
to kill me.
Quoth one, if Conscience here should dwell,
We were not able to live well,
Nor could we gain, by'th meat we sell,
nor will we

Be bound to follow Conscience nice,
Which would confine us to a price:
Robin be rul'd by my advice,
quoth he then,
And get thee to some other place,
We hate to look thee in the face.
I, hearing this, from thence a-pace
did fly them.
To New-gate market went I then,
Where country-women, maids, and men
Were selling needful things; and when
they saw me;
At me the butter-woman rails,
Whose butter weigh'd not down the scales;
Another comes, and with her nails
did claw me;
The bakers, which stood in a row,
Began to brawl at me also,
And charged me away to go,
because I
Told them they did make lesser bread;
Did not the law put them in dread;
There's some of them would wish them dead,
might laws die.
Thus chid of them, my way I took,
Unto Pye-corner, where a cook
Glanc'd at me as the devil did look
o'er Lincoln.
Conscience, quoth he, thou shew'st not wit,
In coming to this place unfit:
I'll run thee thorow with a spit;
then think on
Those words to thee which I have said,
I cannot well live by my trade,
If I should still require thy aid
in selling;
Sometimes one joint I must roast thrice
'Ere I can sell it at my price,
Then here's for thee (who art so nice)
no dwelling.
Perforce he drave me backward still,
Until I came unto Snow-hill,
The sale-men there with voices shrill
fell on me.
I was so irksome in their sight
That they conjured me to flight,
Or else they swore (such was their spight)
they'd stone me.

At Turn-again lane, the fish-wives there,
And wenches did so rail and swear,
Quoth they, no Conscience shall come here,
we hate him:
Their bodges, which for half-pecks go,
They vowed at my head to throw:
No Conscience they were bred to know,
but prating.
Away thus frighted by those scolds,
To Fleet-street straight my love it holds,
Where men, whose tongues were made in moulds
of flattery,
Did cry, what lack you country-men?
But seeing me away they ran,
As though the enemy had began
his battery.
One said to others, sir, ill news,
Here Conscience comes us to abuse,
Let us his presence all refuse
together;
And boldly stand against him all,
We ne'er had use of him, nor shall
He live with us, what chance did call
him hither?
The haberdashers, that sell hats,
Hit Robin Conscience many pats,
And, like a company of cats,
they scratch'd him:
Quoth they, why com'st thou unto us?
We love not Conscience, rufaing thus,
They gave him words opprobrious,
and match'd him.
The mercers and silk-men also,
That live in Pater-noster Row,
Their hate against poor Conscience show:
and, when I
Came to that place, they all did set
On me, 'cause I their gain would let,
Who will both swear and lye to get
one penny.
From thence unto Cheapside I past,
Where words in vain I long did waste,
Out of the place I soon was chac'd.
Quoth one man,
Conscience, for thy presumption base,
Intruding to this golden place,
Thou death deserv'st, therefore a-pace,
begone, man:

Think'st thou, that we have so much gold,
Before our eyes still to behold,
Will this by Conscience be controll'd,
and curb'd!
Oh no, poor fellow, haste away,
For, if long in this place thou stay,
Thou shalt be (I'll be bold to say)
disturbed.
From thence I turned down Bread-street,
A cheese-monger I there did meet,
He hied away with winged feet
to shun me.
How now, quoth I, why run ye so?
Quoth he, because I well do know,
That thou art Conscience, my old foe,
thou'st done me
Great wrong; while I made use of thee,
And dealt with all men honestly,
A rich man I could never be:
but since then,
I banish'd have thy company,
And us'd deceit with those that buy,
I thrive, and therefore Robin hie
thee hence then.
I left him with his bad intent,
And unto Fish-street straight I went,
Among those lads, who wish that Lent
were all year:
As soon as e'er they me espy'd.
They all at once upon me cry'd,
And swore that Conscience should not guide
a stall there,
I seeing things thus seeming strange,
That all men did from goodness range,
Did hie me straight to the Exchange:
a merchant
Was so affrighted when I came,
But presently he blush'd for shame,
His countenance did shew the same
in searchant.
Quoth he, Friend Robin, what dost thou,
Here among us merchants now,
Our business will not allow
to use thee:
For we have traffick without thee,
And thrive best, if thou absent be;
I, for my part, will utterly
refuse thee.

I, being thus abus'd below,
Did walk up stairs, where on a row,
Brave shops of ware did make a show
most sumptuous;
But, when the shop folk me did spy,
They drew their dark light instantly,
And said, in coming there was I
presumptuous.
The gallant girls, that there sold knacks,
Which ladies and brave women lacks,
When they did see me, they did wax
In choler.
Quoth they, we ne'er knew Conscience yet,
And, if he comes our gains to let,
We'll banish him, he'll here not get
one scholar.
I, being jeered thus and scorn'd,
Went down the stairs, and sorely mourn'd,
To think that I should thus be turn'd
a begging.
To Gracechurch-street I went along,
Where dwell a great ungracious throng,
That will deceive both old and young
with cogging:
As drapers, poulterers, and such,
Who think they never get too much:
The word Conscience to them is Dutch,
or Spanish;
And harder too, for speech they'll learn,
With all their heart, to serve their turn,
But Conscience, when they him discern,
they banish.
I, seeing all the city given
To use deceit in spite of heaven,
To leave their company I was driven
perforce then.
So over London-bridge, in haste,
I hiss'd and scoff'd of all men past,
Then I to Southwark took, at last,
my course then.
When I came there, I hop'd to find
Welcome according to my mind,
But they were rather more unkind
than London:
All sorts of men and women, there,
Ask'd how I durst to them appear,
And swore my presence they would clear
abandon.

I, being sore athirst, did go
Unto an ale-house in the row,
Meaning a penny to bestow
on strong beer;
But, 'cause I for a quart did call,
My hostess swore she'd bring me small,
Or else I should have none at all.
Thus wrong'd there,
I bade her on her licence look;
Oh, sir, quoth she, ye are mistook,
I have a lesson without book,
most perfect.
If I my licence should observe,
And not in any point to swerve,
Both I and mine, alas! should starve,
not surfeit:
Instead of quart-pot of pewter,
I fill small jugs, and need no tutor;
I quartridge give to the geometer
most duly;
And he will see, and yet be blind,
A knave, made much of, will be kind,
If you be one, sir, tell your mind,
no truly;
No, no, quoth I, I am no knave,
No fellowship with such I have;
My name is Robin Conscience, brave,
that wander
From place to place, in hope that some
Will as a servant give me room:
But all abuse me, where I come.
with slander.
Now, when my hostess heard me tell
My name, she swore I should not dwell
With her, for I would make her sell
full measure;
She did conjure me to depart;
Hang Conscience, quoth she, give me art,
I have not got, by a penny a quart,
my treasure.
So out of doors I went with speed,
And glad she was to be thus freed
Of Conscience, that she might speed
in frothing.
To the King's Bench I needs would go,
The jailor did me backward throw:
Quoth he, for conscience here ye know
is nothing.

Through Blackman-street I went, where whores
Stood gazing, there is many doors,
There two or three bawds against me roars
most loudly;
And bade me get hence a-pace,
Or else they'd claw me by the face;
They swore they scorn'd me and all grace,
most proudly.
I walk'd into St. George's Field,
Where rooking rascals I beheld,
That all the year their hopes did build
on cheating;
They were close playing at nine pins,
I came and told them of their sins:
Then one among the rest begins
intreating,
That I would not torment them so:
I told them that I would not go:
Why then, quoth he, I'll let thee know,
we care not:
And yet we'll banish thee perforce:
Then he began to swear and curse,
And said, prate on till thou art hoarse,
and spare not.
I left them in their wickedness,
And went along in great distress,
Bewailing of my bad success,
and speed.
A wind-mill standing there hard by,
Towards the same then passed I,
But when the miller did me spy,
he cryed,
Away with Conscience I'll none such,
That smell with honesty so much,
I shall not quickly fill my hutch
by due toll;
I must, for every bushel of meal,
A peck if not three gallons steal,
Therefore with thee I will not deal,
thou true soul.
Then leaving cities, skirts and all,
Where my welcome it was but small,
I went to try what would befal
i' th' country;
There thought I to be entertain'd:
But I was likewise there disdain'd;
A long time bootless I complain'd
to th' gentry.

And yet no service could I have,
Yet, if I would have play'd the knave,
I might have had maintenance brave
among them ;
Because that I was Conscience poor,
Alas! they thrust me out of door,
For Conscience, many of them swore,
Did wrong them.
Then went I to the yeomanry,
And farmers all of the country,
Desiring them most heartily
to take me;
I told them I would sell their corn
Unto the poor; but then did turn
Me out of doors, and with great scorn
forsake me;
One said, he had no use of me,
To sell his corn, for I, quoth he,
Must not be only rul'd by thee,
in selling;
If I shall Conscience entertain,
He'd make me live in grossing gain,
Here is for thee, I tell thee plain,
no dwelling.
Thus, from the rich men of the world,
Poor Conscience up and down is hurl'd,
Like angry curs at me they snarl'd,
and check'd me.
Alas! what shall I do, thought I,
Poor Robin, must I starve and die?
I, that I must, if nobody
respect me.
At last I to myself bethought,
Where I must go; and heaven brought
Me to a place, where poor folks wrought
most sorely,
And there they entertain'd me well
With whom I ever mean to dwell,
With them to stay, it thus befel
though poorly.
Thus people, that do labour hard,
Have Robin Conscience in regard;
For which they shall have their reward
in heaven ;
For all their sorrows here on earth,
They shall be filled with true mirth,
Crowns shall to them, atsecond birth,
be given.

And all those caitiffs, that deny'd
To entertain him for their guide,
When they by Conscience shall be try'd
and judged.
Then will they wish that they had us'd
Poor Conscience whom they have refus'd,
Whose company they have abus'd,
and grudged.
Thus Robin Conscience that hath had,
Amongst most men, but welcome bad,
He now hath found, to make him glad,
abiding.
'Mong honest folks that hath no lands,
But got their living with their hands,
These are the friends that to him stands,
and's guiding.
These still keep Conscience from grim death,
And ne'er gainsay whate'er he saith:
These lead their lives so here beneath,
That dying,
They may ascend from poverty,
To glory and great dignity,
Where they shall live, and never die:
while frying
In hell the wicked lie, who would
Not use true Conscience as they should:
This is but for a moral told
you in it.
He that observes may somewhat spy,
That savours of divinity,
For conscionable folks do I
begin it.
And so I'll bring all to an end;
It can no honest man offend:
For those, that Conscience do defend,
it praises.
And if that any gall'd jade kick,
The author hath devis'd a trick,
To turn him loose i' th' fields to pick
up daisies.

AN ADDRESS

AGREED UPON AT

THE COMMITTEE FOR THE FRENCH WAR,

And read in the House of Commons, April the 19th, 1689.

WE your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, have taken into our most serious consideration the condition and state of this nation, in respect of France, and foreign alliances; in order to which, we have examined the mischiefs brought upon Christendom, in late years, by the French King, who, without any respect to justice, has, by fraud and force, endeavoured to subject it to an arbitrary and universal monarchy.

In prosecution of this design, so pernicious to the repose and safety of Europe, he has neglected none of those means, how indirect soever, which his ambition or avarice could suggest to him. The faith of treaties, among all princes, especially Christian princes, ever held most inviolable, has never been able to restrain him, nor the solemnest oaths to bind him, when any occasion presented itself for extending the limits of his kingdom, or oppressing those, whom his interest inclined him to qualify by the name of his enemies. Witness his haughty and groundless declaration of war against the States General of the United Provinces, in the year 1672, in which he assigned no other reason for disturbing that profound peace, which, thro' God's mercy, all Europe enjoyed at that time; but his own glory, and his resolution to punish the Dutch, for some imaginary slights and disrespects, which he would have had the world believe, they had put upon him: whereas, the true occasion of that war was nothing else but a formed design, laid down and agreed upon by that king and his accomplices, for the subversion of the liberties of Europe, and for abolishing the Commonwealth of Holland, as being too dangerous an example of liberty to the subjects of neighbouring monarchs. The zeal for Catholick religion, which was pretended by him in this and the following wars, did afterwards sufficiently appear to the world, to be no other than a cloak for his unmeasurable ambition; for, at the same time when the persecution grew hottest against the protestants of France, letters were intercepted, and published, from him to Count Teckely, to give him the greatest encouragement, and promise him the utmost assistance in the war, which, in conjunction with the Turk, he then managed against* the first and greatest of all Roman Catholick princes.

Witness, also, the many open infractions of the treaties, both of Aix la Chapelle and Nimenguen, (whereof your Majesty† is the strongest

* The King of Hungary, &c.

† As King of England. See the Emperor's Letter to King James the Second, page 23.

gauarranty) upon the most frivolous pretences imaginable, of which the most usual was that of dependencies; an invention set on foot on purpose to serve for a pretext of rupture with all his neighbours, unless they chose rather to satisfy his endless demands, by abandoning one place after another, to his insatiable appetite of empire, and for maintaining whereof, the two chambers of Metz and Brissach were erected to find out and forge titles, and to invent equivocal constructions for eluding the plain meaning of treaties concluded and sworn with the greatest solemnity, and than which nothing can be more sacred among mankind.

From hence it was, also, that Strasburg was so infamously surprised by the French King, in a time of full peace; and though great conditions were agreed and promised to the inhabitants of that city, yet no sooner was he in possession of it, but all stipulations were forgotten, and that ancient free city doth now groan under the same yoke with the rest of that* king's subjects.

The building the fort of Hunninghen, contrary to so many solemn assurances given to the Swiss, and the affair of Luxemburgh, are too well known, to need a particular deduction. In a word, the whole series of the French King's actions, for many years last past, has been so ordered, as if it were his intention, not only to render his own people extremely miserable, by intolerable imposition of taxes, to be employed in maintaining an incredible number of dragoons, and other soldiers, to be the instruments of his cruelty upon such of them as refuse in all things to comply with his unjust commands, but likewise to hold all the neighbouring powers in perpetual alarm and expence, for the maintaining armies and fleets, that they may be in a posture to defend themselves against the invador of their common safety and liberties.

Examples of this sort might be innumerable; but his invasion of Flanders and Holland, since the last truce of 1684, and the outrages committed upon the empire, by attacking the fort of Philipsburg, without any declaration of war, at the same time that his imperial Majesty was employing all his forces against† the common enemy of the Christian faith, and his wasting the Palatinate with fire and sword, and murdering an infinite number of innocent persons, for no other reasons, as himself hath publickly declared, but because he thought the Elector Palatine faithful to the interest of the empire, and an obstacle to the compassing his ambitious designs, are sufficient instances of this.

To these we cannot, but with a particular resentment, add the injuries done to your Majesty, in the most unjust and violent seizing of your Principality of Orange, and the utmost insolencies committed on the persons of your Majesty's subjects there: and how, to facilitate his conquests upon his neighbour princes, he engaged the Turks in a war against Christendom at the same time.

And, as if violating of treaties, and ravaging the countries of his neighbours states, were not sufficient means of advancing his exorbitant power and greatness, he has constantly had recourse to the vilest and meanest arts, for the ruin of those whom he had taken upon him to subdue to his will and power, insinuating himself, by his emissaries, un-

* French. † The Turk.

der the sacred name and character of publick ministers, into those who were intrusted in the government of kingdoms and states, suborning them, by gifts and pensions, to the selling their masters, and betraying their trusts, and descending even to intrigues by women, who were sent or married into the countries of diverse potent princes, to lie as snakes in their bosoms, to eat out their bowels, or to instil that poison into them, which might prove the destruction of them and their countries, of which Poland, Savoy, and Spain, to mention no more at present, can give but too ample testimonies.

The insolent use he has made of his ill-gotten greatness, has been as extravagant as the means of procuring it. For this the single instance of Genoa may suffice; which, without the least notice or any ground of a quarrel whatsoever, was bombarded by the French fleet, and the doge, four principal senators of that free state, constrained in person to humble themselves at that monarch's feet; which, in the style of France, was called 'chastising sovereigns for casting umbrage upon his greatness.'

His practices against England have been of the same nature, and by corrupt means he has constantly, and with too much success, endeavoured to get such power in the court of England, in the time of King Charles the Second, and the late King James, as might by degrees undermine the government, and true interest of this flourishing kingdom.*

Another art which he has used to weaken England, and subject it to his aspiring designs, was never to admit an equal balance of trade, nor consent to any just treaty or settlement of commerce, by which he promoted our ruin at our own charge.

When, from a just apprehension of this formidable growing power of France, the nation became zealous to right themselves; and the House of Commons, in the year 1677, being assured they should have an actual war against France, cheerfully raised a great sum of money, and an army as readily appeared to carry on the war; that interest of France had still power enough to render all this ineffectual, and to frustrate the nation of all their hopes and expectations.

Nor did France only render this desired war ineffectual, but had power enough to make us practise their injustice and irregularites, some years before, by turning our force against our next neighbours,† by assaulting their Smyrna fleet.

Nor were they more industrious, by corrupt means, to obtain this power, than careful, by the same ways, to support it; and knowing that from parliaments only could probably proceed an obstruction to their secret practices, they attempted to make a bargain‡, That they should not meet in such a time; in which they might hope to perfect their designs of enslaving the nation.

In the same confidence of this power, they violently seized upon part of Hudson's Bay; and, when the matter was complained of by the company, and the injury offered to be proved, the best expedient France could find to cover their injustice, and prevent satisfaction, was to make use of their great interest in the Court of England to keep it from ever coming to be heard.

* See the Emperor's Letter, in page 23. † The Dutch. ‡ With the King and Ministry.

The French king, in pursuance of his usual methods, of laying hold of any opportunity that might increase his power, and give disturbance to others, has now* carried on an actual war in Ireland, sending thither a great number of officers with money, arms, and ammunition, and, under the pretence of assisting the late King James, he has taken the government of affairs into his hands, by putting all officers into commands, and managing the whole business by his ministers, and has already begun to use the same cruelties and violences upon your majesty's subjects, as he has lately practised in his own dominions, and in all other places, where he has got power enough to destroy.

Lastly, The French king's declaration of war against the crown of Spain, is wholly grounded upon its friendship to your majesty's royal person, and no other cause of denouncing war against it is therein alledged, than the resolution taken in that court, to favour your majesty, whom he most injuriously terms the Usurper of England, an insolence never-enough to be resented and detested by your majesty's subjects.

After our humble representation of all these particulars to your majesty, if your majesty shall think fit to enter into a war against France, we humbly assure your majesty, That we will give you such assistance in a parliamentary way, as shall enable your majesty to support and go through the same; and we shall not doubt, but by the blessing of God, upon your majesty's prudent conduct, a stop may be put to that growing greatness of the French king, which threatens all Christendom with no less than absolute slavery; the incredible quantity of innocent blood shed may be revenged; his oppressed neighbours restored to their just rights and possessions; your majesty's alliances, and the treaty of Nimenguen† supported to that degree, that all Europe in general, and this nation, in particular, may for ever have occasion to celebrate your majesty as the great maintainer of justice and liberty, and the opposer and overthrower of all violence, cruelty, and arbitrary power.

* In the Year 1689.

† By which, proper caution was taken to curb the haughty designs of France, to maintain the balance of Europe, and to secure the prosperity of the Protestant States.

MACHIAVEL'S VINDICATION

OF

HIMSELF AND HIS WRITINGS,

AGAINST THE

IMPUTATION OF IMPIETY, ATHEISM, AND OTHER HIGH CRIMES;

EXTRACTED FROM HIS LETTER TO HIS FRIEND ZENOBIUS.

In this Apologetical Letter, Machiavel endeavours to clear himself of three accusations: 1. Of his favouring democracy. 2. Of his vilifying the church, as author of all the misgovernment in the world; and by such contempts, making way for profaneness and atheism. 3. Of teaching monarchs, in his book of the Prince, all the execrable villanies that can be invented, and instructing them how to break faith, and so to oppress and enslave their subjects; which particulars are generally laid to his charge.

I. To the first, he answers, 'That being born and brought up in a commonwealth, viz. Florence, and having had his share in the managing affairs, sometimes in the quality of secretary to that city, and sometimes employed in embassages abroad; to quit himself of his duty, he began to read the histories of ancient and modern times, and thereupon made some observations on Livy, wherein he carefully avoided all dogmaticalness, and never concluded, from the excellency of the Roman counsels and atchievements, that they naturally proceeded from their government, and were a plain effect and consequence of the perfection of their commonwealth. 'But,' says he, 'if readers will thus judge, how can I in reason be accused for that?'

Then he gives you a description of rebellion, which he extends not only to a rising in arms against any government we live under, but to all clandestine conspiracies too, and believes it to be the greatest crime that can be committed amongst men; and yet a sin which will be committed, while the world lasts, as often as princes tyrannise over their subjects; for, let the horror and guilt be never so great, it is impossible that human nature, which consists of passion, as well as virtue, can support, with patience and submission, the greatest cruelty and injustice, whenever either the weakness of their princes, the unanimity of the people, or any other favourable accident shall give them reasonable hopes to mend their condition, and provide better for their own interest by insurrection.

But as to those who take up arms to maintain the politick constitution or government of their country, in the condition it then is, and to defend it from being changed or invaded by the craft or force of any man, though it were the prince, or chief magistrate himself; if such taking up of arms be commanded or authorised by those who are, by the orders of that government, legally intrusted with the custody of the liberty of the people, and foundation of the government: Our author is so far from accounting it a rebellion, that he believes it laudable, and the duty of every member of such commonwealth.——If this be not granted, it will be in vain to frame any mixt monarchies in the world.

II. As to the accusation of impiety, Machiavel denies, that his laying the blame upon the church of Rome, not only for all the misgovernment of Christendom, but even for the depravation, and almost total destruction of the Christian religion in Italy; he denies, I say, that such a blame should make way for atheism. In order to a further clearing of himself, he makes a most pure profession of

faith, and then goes on to prove, that the Popes have corrupted the Christianism: 'Nay,' adds he, 'we have something more to say against those sacrilegious pretenders to God's power; for whereas all other false worships have been set up by some politick legislators, for the support and preservation of government; this false, this spurious religion, brought in upon the ruins of Christianity, by the Popes, has deformed the face of the government in Europe, destroying all the good principles and morality left us by the heathens themselves; and introduced, instead thereof, sordid, cowardly, and impolitick notions, whereby they have subjected mankind, and even great princes and states to their empire; and never suffered any orders or maxims to take place (where they had power) that might make a nation wise, honest, great, and wealthy This I have set down so plainly in those passages of my book, which are complained of,' &c. And, indeed, I remember to have read many things to that purpose, in his observations on Livy. True, it is, that he does not there express his mind so fully, but what may be written in a letter to particular friends, may not be allowed in a book, especially under the tyranny of the inquisition, to which he was subject.

Afterwards he pursues to enumerate the prevarications of the Church of Rome, and shews, that the Popes are so far from being the successors of St. Peter, and the vicars of Christ, that they are rather the antichrist and man of sin. He briefly confutes the worship of images, the invocation of saints, the persecution of hereticks, the indulgences and purgatory, the immunities of the clergy and monks, &c. There he says something, by the way, worthy our observation, namely, 'That the very same year in which Luther began to thunder against the Pope's indulgences, our author prophesies, that the scourge of the church was not far off.' What kind of prophecies those of Machiavel might be, I leave politicians to judge. However, this undeniably proves, that this letter is genuine. I might add, that these, who are excellently learned in that science, have something divine in them; and, because of the great chain of consequences they foresee, may foretel several things some ages before the event. The prophecy of our author, concerning the reformation, and the reviving of Popery, may be an instance of it.

III. Concerning the last accusation, That he teaches princes how to enslave and oppress their subjects: He answers, That his treatise is both a satyre against tyrants, and a true character of them; and that he only designed to draw such monsters to the life, that people might the better know and avoid them. Just as a physician describes a foul disease, to the end men may be deterred, and shun the infection of it, or may discern and cure it, if it comes upon them. And as to what he affirmed in another book, That in what way soever men defended their country, whether by breaking or keeping their faith, 'It was ever well defended;' he says, he meaned it not in a strict moral sense, or point of honour; but would only signify, that the infamy of the breach of word would quickly be forgotten and pardoned by the world; which is so true, that even good success, a far less consideration than piety to our country, commonly cancels the blame of such a perfidy. As we see Cæsar (though not a whit better than Cataline) not only not detested by posterity, but even crowned with renown and immortal fame.

THE discourse we had lately, dear Zenobio, and the pressing importunity of Guilio Salviati, that I would use some means to wipe off the many aspersions cast upon my writings, gives you the present trouble of reading this letter, and me the pleasure of writing it.

I have yielded, you see, to the intreaty of Guilio, and the rest of that company, for that I esteem it a duty to clear that excellent society from the scandal of having so dangerous and pernicious a person to be a member of their conversation. For by reason of my age, and since the loss of my liberty, and my sufferings under that monster of lust and cruelty, Alexander de Medici, set over us by the divine vengeance for our sins, I can be capable of no other design or enjoyment, than to delight and be delighted in the company of so many choice and vir-

tuous persons, who now assemble themselves with all security, under the happy and hopeful reign of our new prince Cosimo; and, we may say, that, though our commonwealth be not restored, our slavery is at an end, and, that he, coming in by our own choice, may prove, if I have as good skill in prophesying, as I have had formerly, ancestor to many renowned princes, who will govern this state in great quietness, and with great clemency; so that our posterity is like to enjoy ease and security, though not that greatness, wealth, and glory, by which our city hath for some years past, even in the most factious and tumultuous times of our democracy, given law to Italy, and bridled the ambition of foreign princes. But that I may avoid the loquacity incident to old men, I will come to the business; if I remember well, the exceptions, that are taken to these poor things I have published, are reducible to three.

First, That in all my writings I insinuate my great affection to the democratical government, even so much as to undervalue that of monarchy in respect of it; which last I do not obscurely in many passages teach, and, as it were, persuade the people to throw off.

Next, That in some places I vent very great impieties, slighting and vilifying the church as author of all the misgovernment in the world, and by such contempt make way for atheism and profaneness.

And lastly, That in my Book of the Prince, I teach monarchs all the execrable villanies that can be invented, and instruct them how to break faith, and to oppress and to enslave their subjects.

I shall answer something to every one of these; and, that I may observe a right method, will begin with the first.—

I shall speak to that which is indeed fit to be wiped off, and which, if it were true, would not only justly expose me to the hatred and vengeance of God, and all good men, but even destroy the design and purpose of all my writings; which is to treat in some sort, as well as one of my small parts can hope to do, of the politicks. And how can any man pretend to write concerning policy, who destroys the most essential part of it, which is obedience to all governments? It will be very easy then for Guilio Salviati, or any other member of our society, to believe the protestation I make, That the animating of private men, either directly or indirectly, to disobey, much less to shake off any government, how despotical soever, was never in my thoughts or writings; those, who are unwilling to give credit to this, may take the pains to assign, in any of my books, the passages they imagine to tend that way (for I can think of none myself) that so I may give such person more particular satisfaction.

I must confess I have a discourse in one of my books to encourage the Italian nation, to assume their ancient valour, and to expel the Barbarians, meaning, as the ancient Romans use the word, all strangers from among us; but that was before the kings of Spain had quiet possession of the kingdom of Naples, or the emperor of the duchy of Milan; so that I could not be interpreted to mean that the people of those two dominions should be stirred up to shake off their princes, because they were foreigners; since at that time Lodovic Sforza was in the possession of the one, and king Frederick restored to the other, both natives of

Italy. But my design was to exhort our country-men not to suffer this province to be the scene of the arms and ambition of Charles VIII. or King Lewis his successor, who, when they had a mind to renew the old title of the house of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples, came with such force into Italy, that not only our goods were plundered, and our lands wasted; but even the liberty of our cities and government endangered; but to unite and oppose them, and to keep this province in the hands of princes of our own nation; this my intention is so visible in the chapter itself, that I need but refer you to it. Yet, that I may not answer this imputation barely by denying, I shall assert in this place what my principles are in that which the world calls rebellion; which I believe to be, not only a rising in arms against any government we live under, but to acknowledge that word to extend to all clandestine conspiracies too, by which the peace and quiet of any country may be interrupted, and, by consequence, the lives and estates of innocent persons endangered. Rebellion, then, so described, I hold to be the greatest crime that can be committed among men, both against policy, morality, and in *foro conscientiæ*; but, notwithstanding all this, it is an offence, which will be committed whilst the world lasts, as often as princes tyrannise, and, by enslaving and oppressing their subjects, make magistracy, which was intended for the benefit of mankind, prove a plague and destruction to it. For, let the terror and the guilt be never so great, it is impossible that human nature, which consists of passion, as well as virtue, can support, with patience and submission, the greatest cruelty and injustice, whenever either the weakness of their princes, the unanimity of the people, or any other favourable accident, shall give them reasonable hopes to mend their condition, and provide better for their own interest by insurrection. So that princes and states, ought, in the conduct of their affairs, not only to consider what their people are bound to submit to, if they were inspired from heaven, or were all moral philosophers; but to weigh likewise what is probable, *de facto*, to fall out in this corrupt age of the world, and to reflect upon those dangerous tumults which have happened frequently, not only upon oppression, but even by reason of malversation, and how some monarchies have been wholly subverted, and changed into democracies, by the tyranny of their princes; as we see, to say nothing of Rome, the powerful cantons of Switzerland, brought, by that means, a little before the last age, to a considerable commonwealth, courted and sought to by all the potentates in Christendom. If princes will seriously consider this matter, I make no question, but they will rule with clemency and moderation, and return to that excellent maxim of the ancients, almost exploded in this age, That the interest of kings and of their people is the same: Which truth, it hath been the whole design of my writings, to convince them of.

Now, having gone thus far in the description of rebellion, I think myself obliged to tell you, what I conceive not to be rebellion. Whosoever then takes arms to maintain the politick constitution or government of the country in the condition it then is, I mean, to defend it from being changed or invaded by the craft or force of any man (although it be the prince or chief magistrate himself) provided that such taking up

of arms, be commanded or authorised by those, who are, by the order of that government, legally entrusted with the custody of the liberty of the people, and foundation of the government; this I hold to be so far from rebellion, that I believe it laudable, nay, the duty of every member of such commonwealth; for that he who fights to support and defend the government he was born and lives under, cannot deserve the odious name of rebel, but he who endeavours to destroy it. If this be not granted, it will be in vain to frame any mixt government in the world. Yet such is, at this day, the happy form under which almost all Europe lives, as the people of France, Spain, Germany, Poland, Swedeland, Denmark, &c. wherein the prince hath his share, and the people theirs: Which last, if they had no means of recovering their right, if taken away from them, or defending them, if invaded, would be in the same estate as if they had no title to them, but lived under the empire of Turky or Muscovy; and since they have no other remedy but by arms, and that it would be of ill consequence to make every private man judge when the rights of the people are invaded (to which they have as lawful a claim as a prince to his) which would be apt to produce frequent, and sometimes causeless tumults; therefore, it hath been the great wisdom of the founders of such monarchies, to appoint guardians to their liberty, which, if it be not otherwise expressed, is, and ought to be understood, to reside in the estates of the country; which, for that reason (as also to exercise their shares in the sovereignty, as making laws, levying money) are to be frequently assembled in all the regions of Europe, before-mentioned: These are to assert and maintain the orders of the government and the laws established, and, if it cannot be done otherwise, to arm the people to defend and repel the force that is upon them: Nay, the government of Arragon goes farther, and, because, in the intervals of the estates or courts, many accidents may intervene to the prejudice of their rights, or juros, as they call them, they having, during the intermission, appointed a magistrate called El Justicia, who is, by the law and constitution of that kingdom, to assemble the whole people to his banner, whenever such rights are incroached upon; who are not only justified by the laws, for such coming together, but are severely punishable in case of refusal; so that there is no question, but that if the kings of Arragon, at this day, very powerful by the addition of the kingdom of Naples, and of Sicily, and the union with Castile, should in time to come invade their kingdom of Arragon, with the forces of their new dominions, and endeavour to take from them the rights and privileges, they enjoy lawfully, by their constitution, there is no question, I say, but they may (though their king be there in person against them) assemble under Justicia, and defend their liberties with as much justice, as if they were invaded by the French, or by the Turk: For it were absurd to think, since the people may be legally assembled to apprehend robbers; nay, to deliver possession forcibly detained against the sentence of some inferior court, that they may, and ought not to bestir themselves, to keep in being, and preserve that government which maintains them in possession of their liberties and properties, and defends their lives too, from being arbitrarily taken away. But I know,

this clear truth receives opposition in this unseasonable and corrupt age, when men are more prone to flatter the lust of princes than formerly, and the favourites are more impatient to bear the impartiality of laws, than the sons of Brutus were, who complained *Leges esse surdas*; that is, though they were fine gentlemen, in favour with the ladies, and ministers of king's pleasure, yet they could not oppress, drink, whore, nor kill the officers of justice in the streets, returning from their night revels, but the execution of the laws would reach them, as well as others, who, in the time of Tarquin, it seems, found the prince more clozable. Nay, the divines* themselves help with their fallacies to oppugn this doctrine, by making us believe, as I said before, that it is God's will, all princes should be absolute; and are so far in conspiracy against all mankind, that they assert, that in the text, this shall be the manner of your kings, God was giving that people the *Jus Divinum* of government, when in truth he was threatening them with the plagues of tyrants. But I spare the divines here, since I shall have occasion, in the discoursing of my next accusation, to shew how that sort of people have dealt with God's truth, and with the interest of men; and to be as good as my word, I shall presently fall upon that point, having been tedious already in the former.

I am charged then, in the second place, with impiety, in vilifying the Church†, and so to make way for Atheism. I do not deny, but I have very frequently in my writings laid the blame upon the Church of Rome, not only for all the misgovernment of Christendom, but even for the depravation, and almost total destruction of Christian religion itself, in this province‡; but that this discourse of mine doth or can tend to teach men impiety, or to make way for atheism, I peremptorily deny: And, although, for proof of my innocence herein, I need but refer you and all others to my papers themselves, as they are now published, where you will find all my reasons drawn from experience and frequent example cited, which is ever my way of arguing; yet since I am put upon it, I shall, in a few lines, make that matter possibly a little clearer, and shall first make protestation, 'That, as I do undoubtedly hope by the merits of Christ and by faith in him to attain eternal salvation, so I do firmly believe the Christian profession, to be the only true religion now in the world. Next, I am fully persuaded that all divine virtues, which God then designed to teach the world, are contained in the books of the holy scripture, as they are now extant and received among us. From them I understand, that God created man in purity and innocence, and that the first of the species, by their frailty, lost at once their integrity and their paradise, and entailed sin and misery upon their posterity: That Almighty God, to repair this loss, did out of his infinite mercy, and with unparallelled grace and goodness, send his only begotten son into the world to teach us new truths, to be a perfect example of virtue, goodness, and obedience to restore true religion, degenerated among the Jews into superstition, formality, and hypocrisy, to die for the salvation of mankind, and, in fine, to give to us the holy spirit to regenerate our hearts, support our faith, and lead us into all truth.'

* Of the Church of Rome, and such as would make their court to an arbitrary prince.
† Of Rome. ‡ Viz. Italy, or wherever Popery sways the people.

Now, if it shall appear, that as the lust of our first parents did, at that time, disappoint the good intention of God in making a pure world, and brought in by their disobedience the corruptions that are now in it; so that since likewise the bishops of Rome, by their unsatiable ambition and avarice, have designedly, as much as in them lies, frustrated the merciful purpose, he had in the happy restoration he intended the world by his son, and in the renewing and reforming of human nature, and have wholly defaced and spoiled Christian religion, and made it a worldly and heathenish thing, and altogether uncapable, as it is practised among them, either of directing the ways of its professors to virtue and good life, or of saving their souls hereafter; if, I say, this do appear, I know no reason why I, for detecting thus much, and for giving warning to the world to take heed of their ways, should be accused of impiety or atheism; or why his holiness should be so inraged against the poor inhabitants of the vallies in Savoy, and against the Albigenses for calling him Antichrist. But to find that this is an undoubted truth, I mean, that the Popes have corrupted Christian religion, we need but read the New Testament, acknowledged by themselves to be of infallible truth, and there we shall see that the faith and religion preached by Christ, and settled afterwards by his apostles, and cultivated by their sacred epistles, is so different a thing from the Christianity that is now professed and taught at Rome, that we should be convinced, that, if those holy men should be sent by God again into the world, they would take more pains to confute this gallimaufry, than ever they did to preach down the tradition of the Pharisees, or the fables and idolatry of the Gentiles, and would, in probability, suffer a new martyrdom in that city under the vicar of Christ, for the same doctrine which once animated the Heathen tyrants against them. Nay, we have something more to say against these sacrilegious pretenders to God's power; for, whereas all other false worships have been set up by some politick legislators, for the support and preservation of government, this false, this spurious religion brought in upon the ruins of Christianity by the Popes, hath deformed the face of government in Europe, destroying all the good principles and morality left us by the heathens themselves, and introduced, instead thereof, sordid, cowardly, impolitick notions, whereby they have subjected mankind, and even great princes and states to their own empire, and never suffered any orders or maxims to take place, where they have power, that might make a nation wise, honest, great, or wealthy; this I have set down so plainly in those passages of my book which are complained of, that I shall say nothing at all for the proof of it in this place, but refer you thither; and come to speak a little more particularly of my first assertion, That the Pope and his clergy have depraved Christian religion: Upon this subject I could infinitely wish, now letters begin to revive again, that some learned pen would employ itself, and that some person, versed in the chronology of the church, as they call it, would deduce, out of the ecclesiastical writers, the time and manner how these abuses crept in*, and by what art and steps this Babel, that reaches at heaven, was built

* This shall be done in the course of this collection.

by these sons of the earth. But this matter, as unsuitable to the brevity of a letter, and, indeed, more to my small parts and learning, I shall not pretend to, being one who never hitherto studied or writ of theology, further than it did naturally concern the politicks; therefore I shall not deal by the New Testament as I have done formerly by Titus Livius, that is, make observations or reflexions upon it, and leave you, and Mr. Guilio, and the rest of our society, to make their judgment, not citing, like preachers, the chapter or verse, because the reading the holy scripture is little used, and, indeed, hardly permitted among us*.

To begin at the top, I would have any reasonable man tell me, whence this unmeasurable power, long claimed, and now possessed by the Bishop of Rome, is derived, first, of being Christ's vicar, and by that, as I may so say, pretending to a monopoly of the holy spirit, which was promised and given to the whole Church, that is, to the elect or saints, as is plain by a clause in St. Peter's sermon, made the very same time that the miraculous gifts of the spirit of God were first given to the apostles, who says to the Jews and Gentiles, 'Repent and be baptised every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and you shall receive the gift of the holy ghost; for this promise is to you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.'

Next to judge infallibly of divine truth, and to forgive sins as Christ did, then to be the head of all ecclesiastical persons and causes in the world, to be so far above kings and princes, as to judge, depose, and deprive them, and to have an absolute jurisdiction over all the affairs in Christendom, *in ordine ad spiritualia*; yet all this the canonists allow him, and he makes no scruple to assume, whilst it is plain, that, in the whole New Testament, there is no description made of such an officer to be at any time in the Church, except it be in the Prophecy of the Apocalypse, or in one of St. Paul's epistles, where he says, 'who it is that shall sit in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.' Christ tells us his kingdom is not of this world, and if any will be the greatest among his disciples, that he must be servant to the rest; which shews that his followers were to be great in sanctity and humility, and not in worldly power.

The Apostle Paul, writing to the Christians of those times, almost in every epistle commands them, to be obedient to the higher powers or magistrates set over them: And St. Peter himself (from whom this extravagant empire is pretended to be derived) in his first epistle bids us 'submit ourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the kings, or,' &c. And this is enjoined, although it is plain, that they who governed the world, in those days, were both heathens, tyrants, and usurpers; and in this submission there is no exception or proviso for ecclesiastical immunity. The practice as well as precepts of these holy men shews plainly that they had no intention to leave successors, who should deprive hereditary princes, from their right of reigning, for differing in religion†, who, without all doubt, are by the ap-

* Roman Catholicks in Popish states.

† Alluding to Doleman, or Father Parson's Book against Queen Elizabeth; and to the Popish doctrine of deposing kings for their religion. See page 35.

pointment of the apostle, and by the principles of Christianity, to be obeyed and submitted to in things wherein the fundamental laws of the government give them the power, tho' they were Jews or Gentiles. If I should tell you by what texts in scripture the Popes claim the powers before-mentioned, it would stir up your laughter, and prove too light for so serious a matter; yet, because possibly you may never have heard so much of this subject before, I shall instance in a few; they tell you, therefore, that the jurisdiction they pretend over the church, and the power of pardoning sins comes from Christ, to St. Peter, and from him to them. 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth', &c. From these two texts, ridiculously applied, comes this great tree, which hath, with its branches, overspread the whole earth, and killed all the good and wholesome plants growing upon it: The first text will never by any man of sense be understood to say more than that the 'preachings, sufferings, and ministry of Peter was like to be a great foundation and pillar of the doctrine of Christ:' The other text, as also another spoken by our Saviour and his apostles, 'Whose sins ye remit they are remitted, and whose sins ye retain they are retained,' are, by all primitive fathers, interpreted in this manner, 'Wheresoever you shall effectually preach the gospel, you shall carry with you grace and remission of sins to them which shall follow your instructions: But the people, who shall not have these joyful tidings communicated by you to them, shall remain in darkness and in their sins.' But if any will contest, that, by some of these last texts, that evangelical excommunication, which was afterwards brought into the Church by the apostles, was here presignified by our great master, how unlike were those censures, to those now thundered out, as he calls it, by the Pope. These were for edification and not destruction, to afflict the flesh for the salvation of the soul; that apostolical ordinance was pronounced for some notorious scandal or apostasy from the faith, and first decreed by the Church, that is, the whole congregation present, and then denounced by the pastor, and reached only to debar such person from partaking of the communion of fellowship of that Church, till repentance should re-admit him, but was followed by no other prosecution or chastisement, as is now practised*. But suppose all these texts had been as they would have them, how does this make for the successors of St. Peter, or the rest? Or, how can this prove the bishops of Rome to have right to such succession? But I make haste from this subject, and shall urge but one text more, which is, 'the spiritual man judgeth all men, but is himself judged of none;' from whence it is inferred by the Canonists, that, first, 'the Pope is the spiritual man;' and then, that 'he is to be judge of all the world;' and last, 'that he is never to be liable to any judgment himself;' whereas it is obvious to the meanest understanding, that St. Paul, in this text, means to distinguish between a person inspired with the spirit of God, and one remaining in the state of nature; which latter, he says, cannot judge of those heavenly gifts and graces, as he explains himself,

* In the Church of Rome.

when he says, 'The natural man cannot discern the things of the spirit, because they are foolishness unto him.'

To take my leave of this matter wholly out of the way of my studies, I beg of you Zenobio, and of Guilio, and the rest of our society, to read over, carefully, the New Testament, and then to see what ground there is for purgatory, by which all the wealth and greatness hath accrued to these men; what colour for their idolatrous worship of saints and their images, and particularly for speaking in their hymns and prayers to a piece of wood, the cross I mean, *salve lignum*, &c. And then *fac nos dignos beneficiorum Christi*, as you may read in that office*; what colour, or rather what excuse for that horrid, unchristian, and barbarous engine, called the Inquisition, brought in by the command and authority of the Pope, the inventor of which Peter, a Dominican friar, having been slain among the Albigenses, as he well deserved, is now canonised for a saint, and stiled San Pietro Martine?

In the dreadful prisons of this inquisition, many faithful and pious Christians, to say nothing of honest moral Moors, or Mahometans, are tormented and famished, or, if they outlive their sufferings, burnt publickly to death, and that only for differing in religion from the Pope, without having any crime or the least misdemeanor proved or alledged against them; and this is inflicted upon these poor creatures, by those who profess to believe the scripture; which tells us, that 'faith is the gift of God,' without whose special illumination no man can obtain it; and therefore is not in reason or humanity to be punished for wanting it? And Christ himself hath so clearly decided that point in bidding us let the 'tares and wheat grow together till the harvest,' that I shall never make any difficulty to call him Antichrist, who shall use the least persecution whatsoever, against any differing in matters of faith from himself, whether the person, so dissenting, be Heretick, Jew, Gentile, or Mahometan.

Next, I beseech you to observe in reading that holy book, though Christian fasts are doubtless of divine right, 'what ground there is for enjoining fish to be eaten, at least flesh to be abstained from one third part of the year,' by which they put the poor to great hardship, who not having purses to buy wholsome fish, are subjected to all the miseries and diseases incident to a bad and unhealthful diet; whilst the rich, and chiefly themselves and their cardinals, exceed Lucullus in their luxury of oysters, turbats, tender crabs, and carps, brought some hundreds of miles to feed their gluttony, upon these penitential days of abstinence from beef and pork. It may be it will lie in the way of those who observe this, to enquire what St. Paul means, when he says, 'That in the latter days some shall depart from the faith, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving;' but all these things, and many other abuses brought in by these perverters of Christianity, will, I hope, ere long be enquired into by some of the disciples of that bold friar†, who, the very same year‡ in which I prophesied that the scourge of the Church was not far off, began to thunder against their indulgences; and since, hath ques-

* The adoration of the cross on Good Friday.
† Martin Luther, who was an Augustine Friar. ‡ 1517.

tioned many tenets long received and imposed upon the world. I shall conclude this discourse, after I have said a word of the most hellish of all the innovations brought in by the Popes, which is, the clergy; these are a sort of men, under pretence of ministring to the people in holy things, set a-part and separated from the rest of mankind, from whom they have a very distinct and a very opposite interest by a human ceremony, called by a divine name, viz. Ordination; these, wherever they are found, with the whole body of the Monks and Friars, who are called the regular clergy, 'make a band which may be called the Janizaries of the Papacy;' these have been the causes of all the solecisms and immoralities in government, and of all the impieties and abominations in religion; and by consequence, of all the disorder, villany, and corruption we suffer under in this detestable age; these men, by the Bishop of Rome's help, 'have crept into all the governments of Christendom, where there is any mixture of monarchy, and made themselves a third estate;' that is, have by their temporalities, which are almost a third part of all the land in Europe, given them by the blind zeal, or rather folly of the northern people, who over-ran this part of the world, stepped into the throne, and what they cannot perform by these secular helps, and by the dependency their vassals have upon them, they fail not to claim and to usurp by the power they pretend to have from God and his vicegerent at Rome. They* exempt themselves, their lands, and goods, from all secular jurisdiction, that is, from all courts of justice and magistracy, and will be judges in their own causes, as in matters of tythe, &c. and not content with this, will appoint courts of their own to decide sovereignty in testamentary matters and many other causes, and take upon them to be the sole punishers of many great crimes, as witchcraft, sorcery, adultery, and all uncleanness. To say nothing of the forementioned judicatory of the inquisition; in these last cases, 'they turn the offenders over to be punished (when they have given sentence) by the secular arm (so they call the magistrate) who is blindly to execute their decrees under pain of hell-fire; as if Christian princes and governors were appointed only by God to be their bravo's or hangmen.' They give protection and sanctuary to all execrable offenders†, even to murderers themselves, whom God commanded to be indispensably punished with death. If they come within their Churches, cloysters, or any other place, which they will please to call holy ground; and if the ordinary justice, nay, the sovereign power, do proceed against such offender, they thunder out their excommunication; that is, cut off from the body of Christ not the prince only, but the whole nation and people, shutting the church doors, and commanding divine offices to cease, and sometimes even authorising the people to rise up in arms, and constrain their governors to a submission, as happened to this poor city in the time of our ancestors; when, for but forbidding the servant of a poor Carmelite friar who had vowed poverty, and should have kept none to go armed, and punishing his disobedience with imprisonment, our whole senate, with their Gonfalonier, were constrained to go to Avignon for absolution; and, in case of refusal, had been mas-

* In the Church of Rome.

† In Popish states, whoever flees to a convent, church, or other place set apart for religious exercises, is protected from justice.

sacred by the people. It would almost astonish a wise man to imagine how these folks should acquire an empire so destructive to Christian religion, and so pernicious to the interests of men; but it will not seem so miraculous to them who shall seriously consider, that the clergy hath been for more than this thousand years upon the catch, and a formed united corporation against the purity of religion and interest of mankind, and have not only wrested the holy scriptures to their own advantage, which they have kept from the laity in unknown languages, and by prohibiting the reading thereof; but made use likewise, first, of the blind devotion and ignorance of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, &c. and since, of the ambition and avarice of Christian princes, stirring them up, one against another, and sending them upon foolish errands to the Holy Land* to lose their lives and to leave their dominions, in the mean time, exposed to themselves and their complices; they have, besides, kept learning and knowledge among themselves, stifling the light of the gospel, crying down moral virtues as splendid sins, defacing human policy, destroying the purity of the Christian faith and profession, and all that was virtuous, prudent, regular, and orderly upon earth, so that whoever would do good and good men service, get himself immortal honour in this life, and eternal glory in the next, would restore the good policy (I had almost said with my author, Livy, the sanctity too) of the heathens, with all their valour and other glorious endowments; I say, whoever would do this, must make himself powerful enough to extirpate this cursed and apostate race† out of the world.

I hope I shall not be thought impious any longer upon this point, I mean for vindicating Christian religion from the assaults of these men, who having the confidence to believe, or, at least, profess themselves the only instruments which God hath chosen, or can choose, to teach and reform the world, though they have neither moral virtues nor natural parts equal to other men, for the most part, have by this pretence prevailed so far upon the common sort of people, and upon some too of a better quality, that they are persuaded their salvation, or eternal damnation, depends upon believing or not believing of what they say. I would not be understood to dissuade any from honouring the 'true apostolick teachers,' when they shall be re-established among us, or 'from allowing them' (even of right, and not of alms or courtesy) 'such emoluments as may enable them cheerfully to perform the duties of their charge, to provide for their children, and even to use hospitality,' as they are commanded by St. Paul. But this 'I will prophesy' before I conclude, That 'if princes shall perform this business by halves, and leave any root of this clergy, or priestcraft, as it now is, in the ground; then I say, I must foretel, that the magistrates will find themselves deceived in their expectation; and that the least fibre of this plant will over-run again the whole vineyard of the Lord,' and turn to a diffusive papacy in every diocess, perhaps in every parish: 'So that God in his mercy inspire them to cut out the core of the ulcer, and the bag of this imposture, that it may never rankle or fester any more, nor break out hereafter to diffuse new corruption and putrefaction through the body of Christ, which is his

* To recover Jerusalem from the Turk. † Of Popery.

Holy Church, to viciate and infect the good order and true policy of government.'

I come now to the last branch of my charge, which is, 'That I teach princes villany, and how to enslave and oppress their subjects.' If any man will read over my book of the prince with impartiality and ordinary charity, he will easily perceive, that it is not my intention therein to recommend that government, or those men there described to the world; much less to teach men to trample upon good men, and all that is sacred and venerable upon earth, laws, religion, honesty, and what not. If I have been a little too punctual in describing these monsters, and drawn them to the life in all their lineaments and colours, I hope mankind will know them the better, to avoid them, my treatise being both a satyre against them, and a true character of them.——

'Whoever, in his empire, is tied to no other rules than those of his own will and lust, must either be a saint or else a very devil incarnate; or, if he be neither of these, both his life and his reign are like to be very short; for whosoever takes upon him so execrable an employment, as to rule men against the laws of nature and reason, must turn all topsy turvy, and never stick at any thing;' for, if he once halt, he will fall and never rise again, &c. And so I bid you farewell. (1 April, 1537.)

THE HISTORY OF THE MOST UNFORTUNATE PRINCE,

KING EDWARD THE SECOND;

With choice Political Observations on him and his unhappy Favourites,

GAVESTON AND SPENCER:

Containing several rare passages of those times, not found in other historians; found among the papers of, and supposed to be writ by, the Right Honourable Henry Viscount Faulkland, sometime Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Henry Cary, Viscount Faulkland, (among whose papers the following history was found) was born at Aldnam, in Hertfordshire; his extraordinary parts, being a most accomplished gentleman, and a compleat courtier, got him such an esteem with King James the First, that he thought him a person fitly qualified to be Lord Deputy of Ireland (the government of which place required, at that time, a man of more than ordinary abilities) which trust he very well discharged. Being recalled into England, he lived honourable here, until, by an unfortunate accident, he broke his leg in Theobald's Park; of which, soon after, he died. He was a person of great gallantry, the ornament and support of his country, which he served with no less faithfulness and prudence abroad, than honour and justice at home, being an excellent statesman. During his stay at the University of Oxford, his chamber was the rendesvouz of all the eminent wits, divines, philosophers, lawyers, historians, and politicians of that time; for whose conversation he became eminent in all those qualifications.

The subject of the following history (supposed to be written by the above-mentioned nobleman) is the unhappy lives, and untimely deaths, of that unfortunate English King, Edward the Second, and his two Favourites, Gaveston and Spencer;

'for his immoderate love to whom,' says Dr. Heylin, 'he was hated by the nobles, and contemned by the Commons.' 'This King,' saith Sir Richard Baker, 'was a comely person, and of great strength, but much given to drink, which rendered him unapt to keep any thing secret. His greatest fault was, he loved but one: for, if his love had been divided, it could not have been so violent; and, though love moderated be the best of affections, yet the extremity of it is the worst of passions. Two virtues were eminent in him, above all his predecessors, continence and abstinence; so continent, that he left no base issue behind him; so abstinent, that he took no base courses for raising money.'

Our author closes his history without declaring the particulars of the murder of this Prince; wherefore I shall give you an account thereof, as I find it set down by the aforesaid Sir Richard Baker.

'Many ways were attempted to take away his life. First, they vexed him in his diet, allowing him nothing that he could well endure to eat, but this succeeded not: then they lodged him in a chamber over carrion, and dead carcases, enough to have poisoned him; and, indeed, he told a workman at his window, he never endured so great a misery in all his life; but neither did this succeed. Then they attempted it by poisons, but whether by the strength of his constitution, or by the Divine Providence, neither did this succeed. At last the Pestilent Achitophel, the Bishop of Hereford, devised a letter to his keepers, Sir Thomas Gourney and Sir John Mattrevers, blaming them for giving him too much liberty, and for not doing the service which was expected from them; and in the end of his letter wrote this line, *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*; craftily contriving it in this doubtful sense, that both the keepers might find sufficient warrant, and himself excuse. The keepers, guessing at his meaning, took it in the worst sense, and accordingly put it into execution. They took him in his bed, and casting heavy bolsters upon him, and pressing him down, stifled him; and, not content with that, they heated an iron red-hot, and, through a pipe, thrust it up into his fundament, that no marks of violence might be seen; but, though none were seen, yet some were heard: for, when the fact was in doing, he was heard to roar and cry all the castle over. This was the lamentable end of King Edward of Carnarvan, Son of King Edward the First.'

What became of the actors and abettors of this deep tragedy, Sir Winston Churchill tells us, in these words:

'Poor Prince, how unkindly was he treated, upon no other account but that of his overgreat kindness! Other princes are blamed for not being ruled by their counsellors, he for being so; who, whilst he lived, they would have thought him to be a sot, but, being dead, they could have found in their hearts to have made him a saint. How far he wronged his people doth not appear, there being few or no taxations laid upon them all his time; but, how rude and unjust they were towards him, is but too manifest. But their violence was severely paid by divine vengeance, not only upon the whole kingdom, (when every vein in the body politick was afterwards opened, to the endangering the letting out the life-blood of the monarchy in the age following) but upon every particular person consenting to, or concerned in his death. For as the throne of his son, that was thus set in blood, (though without his own guilt) continued to be imbrued all his reign, which lasted above fifty years, with frequent executions, battles, or slaughters; the sword of justice, or his own, being hardly ever sheathed all his time: so it is said, that the queen herself died mad, upon the apprehension of her own, in Mortimer's disgrace, who was executed at Tyburn, and hung there two days, to be a spectacle of scorn. The king's brother, Edmond, had this punishment of his disloyalty, to be condemned to lose his head for his loyalty, it being suggested (and happy had it been for him if it had been proved) that he endeavoured the restoration of his brother; his death being embittered by the mockery of fortune, whilst, by keeping him upon the scaffold five hours together before any body could be found that would execute him, he was deluded with a vain hope of being saved. The fiend, Tarlton, Bishop of Hereford, who invented the cursed oracle that justified the murderers, died with the very same torture, as if the hot iron, that seared his conscience, had been thrust into his bowels. Of the two murderers, one was taken and butchered at sea, the other died in exile, perhaps more miserable. And for the nobility in general, that were actors in this tragedy, they had this curse upon them, that most of their race were cut off by those civil discords

of their divided families, to which this strange violation gave the first beginning, not long after. A dreadful example, both to prince and people, that usurp unlawful methods to accomplish their unjust intentions.

EDWARD the Second, born at Carnarvan, was immediately after the death of Edward the First, his father, crowned King of England. If we may credit the historians of those times, this prince was of an aspect fair and lovely, carrying in his outward appearance many promising predictions of a singular expectation. But the judgment, not the eye, must have preheminence in the censure of human passages; the visible calendar is not the true character of inward perfection, evidently proved in the life, reign, and untimely death of this unfortunate monarch.

His story eclipseth this glorious morning, making the noon-tide of his sovereignty full of tyrannical oppressions, and the evening more memorable by his death and ruin. Time, the discoverer of truth, makes evident his imposture, and shews him to the world in conversation light, in will violent, in condition wayward, and in passion irreconcileable.

Edward, his father, a king no less wise than fortunate, by his discreet providence, and the glory of his arms, had laid him the sure foundation of a happy monarchy. He makes it his last care so to inable and instruct him, that he might be powerful enough to keep it so. From this consideration he leads him to the Scotish wars, and brings him home an exact and able scholar in the art military. He shews him the benefit of time and occasion, and makes him understand the right use and advantage. He instructs him with the precious rules of discipline, that he might truly know how to obey, before he came to command a kingdom. Lastly, he opens the closet of his heart, and presents him with the politick mysteries of state, and teacheth him how to use them by his own example; letting him know, that all these helps are little enough to support the weight of a crown, if there were not a correspondent worth in him that wears it.

These principles make the way open, but the prudent father had a remaining task of a much harder temper. He beheld many sad remonstrations of a depraved and vicious inclination; these must be purified, or his other cautions were useless, and to little purpose. A corruption in nature, that by practice hath won itself the habit of being ill, requires a more than ordinary care to give it reformation. Tenderness of fatherly love abuseth his belief, and makes him ascribe the imperfections of the son, to the heat of youth, want of experience, and the wickedness of those that had betrayed his unripe knowledge, and easy nature, with so base impressions. He imagines, age, and the sad burthen of a kingdom, would, in the sense of honour, work him to thoughts more innocent and noble; yet he neglects not the best means to prepare and assure it. He extends the use of intreaty, and useth the befitting severity of his paternal power; making his son know, he must be fit for a scepter, before he enjoy it. He takes from him those tainted humours of his leprosy, and enjoins him by all the ties of duty and obedience, no more to admit the society of so base and unworthy companions. Gaveston, the Ganymede of his affections, a man, as base in birth as conditions, he sentenceth to perpetual exile.

The melancholy apparitions, of this loth to depart, give the aged father an assurance, that this syren had too dear a room in the wanton cabinet of his son's heart. He strives to enlighten his mind, and to make him quit the memory of that dotage, which he foresaw, in time, would be his destruction. But death overtakes him before he could give it perfection; the time is come, that he must, by the law of nature, resign both his life and kingdom.

He summons his son, and bequeaths him this dying legacy; commanding him, as he will in another day answer his disobedience, never to repeal his sentence. To his kindred and peers, that with sad tears and watery eyes, were the companions of his death-bed, he shortly discourseth the base conditions of this parasite, and lets them understand both their own and the kingdom's danger, if they withstood not his return, if it were occasioned. They knew his injunctions were just, and promise to observe them; he is not satisfied till they bind it with an oath, and vow religiously to perform it. This sends him out of the world with more confidence, than in the true knowledge of his son's wilful disposition he had cause to ground on.

The father's funeral rights performed, Edward, in the pride of his years, undertakes the crown and guidance of this glorious kingdom. He glories in the advantage, knowing himself to be an absolute king, and at liberty; yet thinks it not enough, till the belief of the kingdom did equally assure it. He esteems no act more proper to confirm it, than running in a direct strain of opposition against his predecessor's will and pleasure. The strong motive of his violent affection suggests reasons, that the majesty of a king may not be confined from his dearest pleasure. When he was a son, and a subject, he had witnessed his obedience: being now a king and a sovereign, he expects a correspondence of the same nature. Where there was so ready an inclination in the will, reason found strength enough to warrant it; which made him make Gaveston's return the first act of his sovereignty. No protestation of his lords, nor persuasion of his council, can work a diversion, or win so much as a befitting respect. The barons, that were unable to withstand, are contented to obey, attending the issue of this so dangerous a resolution. Where the news was so pleasing, the journey is as sudden; Gaveston loseth not a minute, till he felt the embraces of his royal lord and master.

Edward, having thus regained his beloved Damon, is so transported with his presence, that he forgets the will and ordinary respect, due to the greatest lords and pillars of this kingdom; and hence proceeds their first discontent and murmur. Many ways are invented to dissolve this enchantment, but none more fit and worthy than to engage him in the sacred knot of wedlock. The interest of a wife was believed the only remedy to engross or divert those unsteady affections, which they beheld so loosely and unworthily prostituted. Isabel, the daughter of the French King, the goodliest and beautifullest lady of her time, is moved, and the tender on all sides as plausibly accepted.

This sends Edward, scarce a king of nine months standing, into France, and brings him back, seized of a jewel, which, not being rightly valued, occasioned his ensuing ruin. The excellency of so sweet and virtuous a

companion could not so surprise her bridegroom, but Gaveston still kept possession of the fairest room in his affections. He makes it more notorious by creating him Earl of Cornwall, and the gift of the goodly castle and lordship of Wallingford.

Gaveston applies himself wholly to the humour of the king, and makes each word that falls from his mouth an oracle. Their affections go hand in hand, and the apparent injustice of the one, never found contradiction of the other. The subject's voice was so fortunate, that it was always concurrent where the king maintained the party. If the discourse were arms, Gaveston extolled it as an heroic virtue; if peace, he maintained it not more useful than necessary; unlawful pleasure, he stiled a noble recreation; and unjust actions, the proper and becoming fruits of an absolute monarchy. These glosses so betray the willing ear that heard them, that no honour is thought great and good enough for the reporter.

The greatest command and offices are in the person or disposure of Gaveston. The command of war, and all provisions foreign and domestic, are committed solely to his care and custody. All treaties for peace or war had their success or ruin by his direction and pleasure. The king signed no dispatch, private or publick, but by his consent or appointment: so that all men believed their sovereign to be a meer royal shadow, without a real substance. Neither was it enough to advance him beyond his desert, or the rules of a modest proportion; but his power must be made more extant, in the commitment, to the Tower, of the Bishop of Chester, whom he quarrels, as the occasion of his first banishment.

These insolencies, carried with so great an height and contempt, are accompanied with all the remonstrances of a justly grieved kingdom. The ancient nobility, that disdained such an equal, justly exclaim against the iniquity of the time that made him their superior. The grave senators, that understood their own worths, are discontent to see themselves rejected, while upstarts, by money or favour, possess the higher places. The soldier, that with his blood had purchased his experience, laments his own dishonour; seeing unworthy striplings advanced, while he, like the ruins of a goodly building, is left to the wide world, without use or reparation. The Commons, in a more intemperate fashion, make known their griefs and sad oppressions.

Gaveston, that both saw and knew the general discontent, sought not to redress it; but, with an ill advised confidence, strives to outdare the worst of his approaching danger. Lincoln, Warwick, and Pembroke, whose noble hearts disdained the overgrown height of this untimely mushroom, let the king know their fidelity, and his apparent error. He must free himself, and right them, or else they will seek it in another fashion.

Edward knew their complaints were just, yet was most unwilling to hear or relieve them; till, seeing their strong resolution, and himself wholly unprovided to withstand the danger, he makes his affections stoop to the present necessity, and consents to a second banishment of his so dearly beloved favourite. Gaveston, in the height and pride of his ambition, is forced to leave his protector, and to make Ireland the place of

his abiding. With a sad heart he takes his leave, departing, yet, with a more desire of revenge, than sorrow for his absence.

All things thus reconciled, the kingdom began to receive a new life; men's hopes were suitable to their desires, and all things seem to promise a swift and fair reformation. But the bewitching charms of this wily serpent made it soon evident, that alone his death must prevent his mischief. The personal correspondency taken away, the affections of the restless king becomes far more violent. In the short interim of his absence, many reciprocal and sweet messages interchangeably pass betwixt them: Edward receives none, but he returns with a golden interest. He is not more sensible of his loss, than the affront and injury, which persuades him, it were too great indignity for him to suffer at the hand of a subject: though, with his own hazard, he once more calls him home, pacifying the incensed lords, with an assurance of reconciliation and amendment. Those strict admonitions, so fully expressed, were not powerful enough to reclaim the fondness of the one, and insolency of the other.

The king, regaining thus his beloved minion, doats on him in a far greater measure; and he, to make the musick perfect, is of a far more violent temper. He affronts and condemns his adversaries, the ancient nobility, surreptitiously wasting and imbezeling the revenues of the crown. He inflames the king's heart, so apt to receive it, with all the motives of revenge, unquietness, and disorder. The jewels of the crown, and that rich table and tressels of gold, are purloined and pawned, to supply this wanton riot. He had so true a knowledge of his master's weakness, that he made him solely his. His creatures were alone preferred; his agents were the guides; and no man hath the king's ear, hand, or purse, but such as were by Gaveston preferred or recommended.

Edward, by his voluptuous sensuality, supplies the place; but he had the sole execution of that royal prerogative, that was alone proper to the crown. The nobility, whose lion-hearts struggled betwixt the sense of their just grief and allegiance, at length resolve, the king, as to himself, must be so to them and the kingdom, or they may no more endure it. With grave and weighty reasons, they make the king know both the error and the vanity of his affections; letting him truly understand, that they had a dear interest, both in him and the kingdom, which they would no longer suffer to be so abused and misguided.

Edward, being himself thus hardly pressed, and that no entreaty or dissimulation could prevail, he must now set right the disorders of the kingdom, or have his work done to his hand, with less honour and more danger. Once more he subscribes to their will, which he sees he cannot withstand or alter. Gaveston is again banished, and makes Flanders, the next neighbour, the place of his reception. Infinite was the joy of the kingdom, who expected secure freedom from that dangerous convulsion that threatened so apparent an intestine ruin.

This, their imaginary happiness, was made more real and perfect, in the knowledge, that Windsor had blessed them with an heir apparent. The royal father is pleased with the news, but had not (whether his divining spirit, or Gaveston's absence, were the cause) those true expressions of joy, that in justice became so great a blessing. The absence

of his minions could not lighten his heavy soul; but all other comforts seemed vain and counterfeit; his distracted brains take new and desperate resolutions; he revokes the sentence of his grief, and vows to justify it against the utmost strength of contradiction.

He, that dares do those things that are dishonest and unjust, is not ashamed to justify and maintain them. This error gave this unfortunate king more enemies, than he had friends to defend them. Kings, that once falsify their faiths, more by their proper will, than a necessary impulsion, grow infamous to foreign nations, and fearful or suspected to their own peculiar subjects. He that is guilty of doing ill, and justifies the action, makes it evident, he hath won unto himself a habit of doing so, and a daring impudence to maintain it by the protection, of which he believes all things in a politick wisdom lawful. This position may, for a time, flatter the professor, but it perpetually ends with infamy, which stands with reason and justice; for, as virtue is the roadway to perfection, so is the corruption of a false heart the true path to a certain and an unpitied ruin.

The enraged barons are not more sensible of their own disparagement, than the inconstancy and injustice of their sovereign. They think this affront done to them, and the whole kingdom, of too high a nature to be dispensed with, yet, with a temperate resolution, they a while attend the issue. The actions of injustice seldom lessen; they believe progression to be in all things an excellent moral virtue. He that hath a will to do ill, and doth it, seldom looks back, until he be at the top of the stairs. This makes the ill-affected return of this our favourite, more infamous and hated. With an imperious storm, he lets the lords know, he meditates nothing but revenge, and waits a fit advantage to entertain it. They believe time ill lost in so weighty a cause; and therefore draw themselves and their forces together, before the king could prevent, or his abuser shun it. The clouds presaging so great a storm, he studies the best means he could to avoid it. The general distaste of the kingdom takes from him the hope of an able party. Scarborough castle, his last refuge, he makes his sanctuary; but it was too weak against the number of his enemies, and the justice of their quarrel. He falls at length into the power of those, from whom he had no cause to expect protection or mercy. The butterflies of the time, that were the friends of his fortunes, not him, seeing the season changed, betake themselves into the warmer climate. His greatness had won him many servants; but they were but retainers, that, like rats, forsook the house, when they beheld it falling. The spring was laden with many glorious and goodly blossoms, but the winter of his age leaves him naked, without a leaf to trust to.

In this uncomfortable case, remains this glorious cedar, in the hands of those, whom, in his greater height, he had too much condemned and abused. They resolve to make short and sure work, unwilling to receive a command to the contrary, which they must not obey, though it should come from him to whom they had sworn obedience. Forsaken, unpitied, scorned, and hated, he falls under the hands of justice. Gaverseed is the place which gives the epilogue to this fatal tragedy, whence his adversaries return more satisfied than assured.

Thus fell that glorious minion of Edward the Second, who, for a time, appeared like a blazing comet, and swayed the jurisdiction of the state of England, and her confederates. He did not remember, in the smiles and embraces of his lovely mistress, that she was blind; nor made himself such a refuge as might secure him when she proved unconstant. Such a providence had made his end as glorious as his beginning fortunate; leaving neither to the just censure of time or envy.

The king's vexations, in the knowledge, are as infinite as hopeless; his passions transport him beyond the height of sorrow. He vows a bitter revenge; which, in his weakness, he strives to execute with more speed than advisement. The graver senators, that had most interest in his favour, mildly discourse his loss to the best advantage. They lay before him his contempt and abusive carriage, his insolence, honour beyond his birth, and wealth above his merit; which must, to all ages, give a just cause to approve their actions, and his fortune. The least touch of his memory adds more to the king's affliction, who is fixed not to forget, or forgive, so bold and heinous a trespass.

The operations in the king were yet so powerful, but the jealousies of the actors are as cautelous; so fair a warning-piece bids them in time make good their own security. Lincoln, the principal pillar of this faction, follows his adversary to the grave, but with a much fairer fortune. This man was a goodly piece of true nobility, being in speech and conversation sweet and affable; in resolution grave and weighty; his aged temper active above belief; and his wisdom far more excellent in a solid inward knowledge, than in outward appearance.

When the harbinger of death plucked him by the sleeve, and he saw and knew he must leave the world, he calls unto him Thomas Earl of Lancaster, that had married his daughter, giving him a strict imposition on his death-bed, that he should carefully maintain the welfare of the kingdom, and make good his place among the barons. This reverend old statesman saw the king's ways, and knew him to be a most implacable enemy; and, with a kind of speculative prediction, would often seem to lament the misery of the time, where either the king, kingdom, or both must suffer. The son, whose noble heart was before seasoned with the same impressions, assures it, which he in time as really performs, though it cost him the loss of his estate, life, and honour.

Things are too far past to admit a reconciliation. The king's meditations are solely built upon revenge; and the lords, how they may prevent, or withstand it. The kingdom hangs in a doubtful suspense, and all men's minds are variously carried with the expectation of what would be the issue. Meditation and intercession brings it at length to parliamentary discussion; which, being assembled at London, enacts many excellent laws, and binds both the king and lords by a solemn oath to observe them. Thus the violence of this fire is a while suppressed, and raked up in the embers, that it may (in opportunity and advantage) beget a great danger.

A new occasion presents itself, that makes each part temporise for a while, and smothers the thoughts of the ensuing rumour. Robert le Bruce re-enters Scotland, whence he had been by Edward the First

expulsed, inverting all the English institutions, that had so lately settled the peace and subjection of the kingdom. Edward, tender of his honour, and careful to preserve that purchase, that had proved so dear a bargain, adjourns his private spleen, and provides to suppress this unlooked for rebellion. He knew the justice of his quarrel, and wakens from the dream, that had given him so large a cause of sorrow. He gives his intentions a small intermission, and a less respite; with all speed, he levies an army, and leads it with his own person. Whether it were the justice of heaven, or his own misfortune or improvidence, the Scots attend and encounter him, making Eastrivelyn the fatal witness of his disaster. His army lost and defeated, he returns home laden with his own shame and sorrow. His return is welcomed with a strange impostor, that pretends himself the heir of Edward the First, and the king, the son of a baker. A tale, so weak in truth and probability, wins neither belief or credit. Voidras, this imaginary king, is apprehended, and makes Northampton gallows the first stair of his preferment. His execution is accompanied with as strange a story, which suggests the instigation of a spirit, that, in likeness of a cat, had for two years space advised it.

The king, with a true feeling grief, lamenting his dishonourable return from Scotland, where his noble father had so oft displayed his victorious arms, doth vow with a speedy rescue to revenge it. He communicates his resolution with the whole body of his council, who are, in their advice, equally concurrent in the action. The former loss exacts a more care, and a better provision. York, as the fittest place, is made the senate of this great assembly. Thither resort all the sages of the kingdom, and make it their first deliberation to secure Berwick, that is one of the keys of the kingdom, and exposed to the greatest hazard. This charge is given to Sir Peter Spalden, who was believed able enough both in fidelity and valour. A short time discovers him truly possessed of neither. A small sum of money, with an expectant preferment promised, betrays the trust reposed, and gives the Scots the full possession of the charge to him committed.

The Pope, wisely foreseeing into the misery of this dissension, out of his Christian and pious care, sends over two cardinals, to mediate a peace and agreement. They, being arrived in England, find the king well disposed, so the conditions might be reasonable, and such as might become his interest and honour. They pass from hence into Scotland, and are by the way, with a barbarous example, surprised and robbed. The king is infinitely discontented with so inhuman an act, that threw a taint upon the whole nation. Great inquiry is presently made, which finds out the actors, and sends Sir Peter Middleton, and Sir Walter Selby, to a shameful and untimely execution. Immediately at the heels of this follows another example, no less infamous, and full of danger.

Sir Gilbert Denvil, and others, pretending themselves to be outlaws, with a jolly army, to the number of two-hundred, ramble up and down the country, acting divers notorious insolencies and robberies. The fame of an attempt so new and unexpected, without a speedy prevention, seemed to intimate a greater danger. A commission is immedi-

ately sent out, which apprehends the heads of this increasing mischief, and delivers them over to the hands of justice. They which confessed themselves out of the protection of the law, and glory in their being so, fall under his rigour.

Those, that duly examined the truth of this action, believed the pretence to be but a mask, that hid a more perilous intention. The king, by his untemperate and undiscreet actions, had lost the hearts of his people, and there was a general face of discontent throughout the whole kingdom. The ulcers festered daily, more and more, which seemed to presage and threaten, without some speedy prevention, a dangerous issue. All men discover their ill affections, expecting but a patron that durst declare himself, and adventure to hang the bell about the cat's neck. If this disorderly attempt, which was but to taste the people's inclinations, had succeeded, the king, as it was to be feared, had much sooner felt the general loss, and revolt of his whole kingdom. But this work was reserved to future time, and the operation of those who had the time to effect it with more power and pretence of justice. The crying maladies of this climate were such, that the Divine Power sent down, at one and the self-same instant, his three fatal executioners, plague, dearth, and famine, to call upon us for a repentant reformation. No part of the kingdom is free, but was grievously afflicted by the unmerciful prosecution of one, or all these fatal angry sisters. So great a misery was too much, but it is seconded with a sudden invasion of the hungry Scots, who apprehending the advantage of the present visitation, and ill-estate of their neighbours, like a land-flood, over-run the naked and unprovided borders.

The archbishop of York, a grave and wise prelate in his element, but as far from the nature as name of a soldier, resolves to oppose this over-daring and insolent eruption. He levies in haste an army, in number hopeful; but it was composed of men, fitter to pray for the success of a battle than to fight it. With these, and an undaunted hoping spirit, he affronts the Scots, and gives them battle, makeing Mitton upon Swale, that honoured his enemies with the glory of a second triumph, the place of his disaster. Many religious churchmen, with the purchase of their lives, begin their first apprentiship in arms; whose loss christened this overthrow, *The White Battle.*

The intent of this grave prelate was, questionless, worthy of a great and singular commendation; but the act was wholly inconsiderate, weak, and unadvised. It was not proper for his calling to undertake a military function, in which he had no experience; neither did it agree with his wisdom, or piety, to be an actor in blood, though the occasion were so great and weighty. Too much care and confidence, improperly expressed, doth many times overthrow and ruin the cause it seeks to strengthen and advantage. There ought to be, in all considerations of this nature, a mature deliberation, before we come to action; else we lose the glory of our aims, and commit all to the uncertain hazard of time and fortune. The cardinals are now returned out of Scotland, by whom the king truly understands, that the hopes of peace are desperate. Their leave taken, and losses fairly repaired, they return to Rome, acquainting his holiness with the success of their employment.

The Pope being truly informed that the Scots were neither conformable to his will, or the general good, excommunicates both that usurping king and kingdom.

The king, nearly touched with the loss of Berwick, inflamed with the insolency of his barbarous enemies, and grieved with so great a loss of his people, resolves no more to suffer, but to transport the war into the very bowels of Scotland. To this effect, with speed he hastens out his directions, and gives present order for the levying of men, arms, and money, to begin the war, and continue it. The royal command, and desire of revenge, gives wings to this resolution. An army is ready, and attends the king's pleasure, before he conceits his will truly understood, or bruited. Nothing is wanting but his own person, or a fit commander to lead them; he loseth no time, but appears in the head of his army, before his enemies had the least knowledge of this assembly. With a hopeful expectation he leads them on, and makes Berwick the rendezvous, that should make his number compleat and perfect. Before this strength that had the warranty of art and nature, he makes the first experiment of this expedition. The town, begirt, was not more confident of their own strength, than assured of a speedy supply or rescue. This gave the king a longer delay than he believed, and his enemies leisure to raise and enable their provisions. They saw it a work too full of danger and hazard, to venture the breach of the body of so great an army, that in worth and number so far exceeded. The memory of former passages and trials taught them how to understand their present condition; this begets in them a resolution more solid and hopeful. They leave the road-way, and war rather by discretion than valour? which succeeds so fortunately, that they surprise all the English provisions, and enforce the king to a second return, more fortunate, yet much less honourable. It is true, he retreated, and brought back his army in safety; but he had quitted the siege, which he had vowed to continue against the united power of Scotland, and lost wholly all that wealth and luggage he had carried with him.

This filled all men's mouths with a complaining grief, and made foreign nations think the English had lost their former lustre, and renowned valour. It was wondered that an enemy, so weak and contemptible, should, three several times successively, bear away the garland from those that had so often, and knew the way so well, to win and wear it.

But now begins a second fire of a higher nature, that made the kingdom a theatre stained with the noblest blood, that within her confines had or life or being. The king, discouraged with his foreign fortune, lays aside the thoughts of arms, and recalls into his wanton heart the bewitching vanities of his youth, that had formerly bred him such distemper. He was royally attended; but it was by those that made their tongues rather the orators of a pleasing falshood, than a true sincerity. These were fit instruments for such an ear that would not hear, unless the musick answered in an even correspondency. The infidelity of the servant is, in a true construction, the misery of the master; which is more or less dangerous, as is the weight or measure of his employment. It is in the election of a crown a principal consideration,

to chuse such attendants whose integrity may be the inducement, as well as the ability; else the imaginary help proves rather a danger than assistance. Neither is it safe or honourable, for the majesty of a king, to seem to depend solely on the wisdom, care, or fidelity of one particular servant. Multiplicity of able men is the glory and safety of a crown; which falls by degrees into confusion, when one man alone acts all parts, whence proceeds a world of error and confusion.

The king was not ignorant, that such a course would make such as were his but at second hand; yet he resolves to make a new choice of one to supply the room of his lost beloved Gaveston. Though his diseased court was furnished with a large variety, yet his eye fixeth on Hugh, the younger of the Spencers, who was always tractable and conformable to the king's will and pleasure. This man was in show smooth and humble, of an insinuating spirit, one that knew his master's ways, and was ever careful to observe them. He had applied himself wholly to Edward's will, and fed his wanton pleasures with the strains of their own affection. Heat of spirit, and height of blood, consult more with passion than reason, and a short deliberation may serve, where the subject was so pleasing, and to each side agreeable.

The king, to make his resolutions eminent, with more haste than advisement, makes him his lord chamberlain, and lets the world know, it was his love and will that thus advanced him. Scarcely is this new great officer warm in his unbefitting authority, but he exactly follows his predecessor-precedent to the life, making all things lawful that were agreeable to his master's will, or his fantastical humour.

The peers of the kingdom, that saw this sudden and hasty growth of this undeserving canker, resolve to lop or root it up, before it should overtop their lustre. Spencer, that in the precedent story of Gaveston, beheld the danger of his own condition, begins, in time, to provide and strengthen a party. His aged father, fitter for his beads than action, he makes a young courtier, and wins the king to give him power and assistance. He labours to remove from his master's ear all such as might endanger him, and supplies their places with such as were his creatures. Those that were too high for such a surprisal, by persuasion, money, or alliance, he seeks to engage, and make the parties of this his coming faction. The body of the court thus assured, his actions in the state went in an even correspondency. Those that held him at a distance, valuing their fidelity and honour before so base an advantage, saw themselves disgracefully cashiered, and others installed in their rooms, that had neither worth, birth, or merit. The factious entertainers of his proffered amity, not only enjoy their own, but are advanced higher, which made them but the instruments to act and further the corruptions of his will and wicked nature.

This foundation laid, they now seem to contemn all fear of danger; and in that assurance, express their contempt and scorn against the nobility, who, they knew, would never entertain their society or friendship. While thus the rule and manage of all the royal affairs, in their power, was daily more and more abused, the incensed barons met at Sherborough, where the Earl of Lancaster, the prime agent, lays before them, in a short and grave discourse, the iniquity and danger that

seemed eminently to threaten both them and the whole kingdom, if such a resolution were not taken, as might assure a speedy prevention. The fore-knowledge of their sovereign's behaviour, which would observe no rule or proportion in his immodest affections, gave them small hope to prevail by persuasion or entreaty. They too well understood, that Spencer's pride was too great and haughty to go less without compulsion; and they must sink a key, or neither the kingdom or themselves, against so inveterate a hatred, could expect in reason, safety, or assurance. Hertford, Mowbray, and Clifford, soar a higher pitch, and, in plain terms, affirm, That all other resolutions were vain and hopeless, it was only arms that must right the time and state so much disordered. Benningfield and Mortimer approve this resolution, and as soon give it life and action. They enter furiously on the possessions of their enemies, spoiling and wasting like professed enemies.

Such an outrage flies with a nimble wing to the ears of the owner, who as soon makes the king the sharer of his intelligence, and increaseth it to his own advantage. The king, sensible of so great an affront, and as tender of the one, as cruel to the other, publisheth, by proclamation, the sentence of his royal will and pleasure. The actors of this misdemeanor must appear and justify themselves, or presently forsake the kingdom.

The lords that saw their interest at stake, as they had begun, resolve to maintain the quarrel. New levies and preparations are daily made, to make good the succeeding issue. Yet the more to justify those arms, that in the best construction were deemed rebellious, they send to the king a fair and humble message. The tenor whereof lets him know, their intentions were fair and honest, and the arms, thus levied, were rather to defend, than offend his person; only they, in all humility desire, he would be graciously pleased to remove and punish those vipers, which had too near a room in his royal heart, whereby they had overthrown and undone the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

The king, that fears, is enforced to believe. He knew their informations were just, and he had no power to deny, or withstand them. He assures a reformation; to make it more real, he adjourns it to the ensuing parliament, which is immediately summoned to appear at London. The jealous lords, that too well knew the cunning and hatred of their malicious adversaries, appear like themselves, bravely attended with a crew of lusty yeomen well armed, which stiled this *The Parliament of White Bands*. The mayor, seeing such a confluence from all parts of the kingdom, so ill inclined and well appointed, with a careful providence reinforceth the city guards, and planteth a strong watch throughout all the strengths and parts of his jurisdiction.

This great assembly being now met, the complaining barons find in both houses a ready belief, and as sudden a censure. A solemn declaration gives the king knowledge of their sentence, which commands both the Spencers, father and son, into perpetual exile. The king, as weak in his disability, as wilful in the least advantage, gives a sad and unwilling consent; which, being known, gives the Spencers no time of imparleance; their judgment is immediately put in execution, and they find more servants than they desire to attend them to Dover, where they are

immediately shipped to go and seek a new fortune. The elder, whose snowy age, and more innocence, deserved pity, makes his tears witness his true sorrow, and his tongue unfold them. He taxeth his son's vanity and ambition, and his own weakness, that had so easily consented to his ruin He laments his misfortune, that in the winter of his age had cast him from his inheritance, and had made him the sea-mark and scorn of a whole kingdom. He confesseth the folly that led him, by indirect means, to the preservation of his high and ill-acquired greatness. He wisheth his carriage had been such, that, in this so sad change of fortune, he might have found either pity or assistance. But it is the inseparable companion of greatness that is gotten in the by-way, and not by a just desert or virtue. It labours to support itself more by cunning and falshood, than by a sweet and winning temper, when it is of all others the most erroneous maxim, that believes, affections can be in a subordinate way gotten or assured. They are the proper functions of the soul, which move alone in their own course, without force, or the least impulsion. All other ways are but temporary provisions, that serve the present advantage; but he, that by a just desert wins the love and belief of his worth, hath laid a sure foundation, making his honour his own, and the succession hereditary and permanent, to his everlasting glory.

These imperious servants thus removed, the father, in obedience to his doom, betakes himself to a foreign quietness. The son, of a more turbulent and revengeful spirit, keeps still a sea-board in the skirts of the kingdom, and falling short in power, to requite the authors of his disgrace, he expresseth his malice to the whole nation. The merchants, free from all suspicion, in their voyages and returns, are pillaged and rifled, and he the principal actor.

Such a domestick piracy begets a general terror and exclamation, which fills the king's ears, and presseth, as it required, a speedy prevention or remedy. He knew the action was foul, but it was one of his own that had done it; and such a one that was too dearly valued, to be either persecuted or punished. He studies first to satisfy his own passion, before he right this injurious carriage against the subject. This makes him reject the wholesome admonition of friends, the validity of his laws, and those fearful apparitions that present him with the danger of so foul an enterprise, while, with an example, new, and full of assured hazard, he repeals the sentence of their exile. This act gave him too large a time of repentance, and may be a befitting instance to all ensuing posterity. The actions of a crown are exemplary, and should be clean, pure, and innocent; the stains of their errors die not with them, but are registered in the story of their lives, either with honour or infamy.

But to proceed in this historical relation: The Spencers thus recalled, and reinvested in their former favour, they express themselves in another kind; and now, by a strong hand, strive to crush, by degrees, all those of the adverse faction. Sir Bartholomew Baldsmer was the first that tasted their fury and injustice. His castle of Leedes in Kent, under a pretended and feigned title, is surprised and taken from him, without a due form, or any legal proceeding. Their return, and the abro-

gation of that law that banished them, was provocation enough, there needed not this second motive to inflame the hearts of the angry barons. But when the unjust oppression of the knight, their ally and confederate, was divulged, and came to their ears, they vow a bitter revenge, and make speed to put it in execution. They see the fruits of their dalliance, and long abused confidence, and waken out of that slumber that had fed him with the chimeras of so dull and cold a proceeding.

The king, who formerly had been so often surprised, in time arrives to provide a remedy: He knew his arms, and not his tongue, must plead the injustice of his actions, wherein, if he again failed, he feared another manner of proceeding. The Spencers, that evidently saw the eminency of their own dangers, make it their master-piece to crush the serpent in the head before it grew to perfection. They knew the height of their offences were beyond the hope of mercy, and there was no way left of assurance, but that, which they must wade through in blood, and make good, with the sword, their lives, or else be sure to lose them. An army is provided, and appears at Shrewsbury almost before it was bruited. The first exploit seizeth the two Mortimers, that had begun again their former invasion of the Spencers. Their strength was great enough for such an incursion, but much too weak to withstand or encounter this royal army. This first hansel, so fortunate, gives life to their adversaries, and imprisons them in the tower, before their associates could be truly informed, or ready to relieve them.

There is now left no time to dispute; the barons must with their arms warrant their proceedings, or they must miscarry in the action. They had soon gathered a strength, with which they resolve to encounter the king at Burton. The knowledge of the great power that came against them, and their own weakness, wins them to a retreat, not more dangerous than dishonourable. But their reasons were just and weighty; the Earl of Lancaster had sent Sir Robert Holland to raise his tenants and friends, which he hoped would, in time, reinforce his army.

Valence, Earl of Pembroke, that commands his master's forces, seeing the disorder of their going off, lays hold of the advantage, and chargeth them so hotly, that they break and betake themselves to their heels, with great losses and confusion. Holland, entrusted by the Earl of Lancaster, having accordingly performed the work he was employed in, marching up to the rescue, is advertised of the state of their affairs, which makes him seek his own peace, and resign this supply wholly up, to be disposed at the king's will and pleasure. The supply, so unexpected, is graciously received, and there is a set resolution to employ it to the best advantage.

The despairing lords, with their adherents, with much ado, recover Pomfret; there a second deliberation is taken, which held it the safest course to pass on, and to possess the castle of Donstanborough, which was deemed a strength tenable enough until they could reinforce their party, or work their own conditions. This resolution is presently attempted with more haste than fortune. Sir Andrew Harkely meets and encounters them at Burrowbridge, where Hertford, Clifford, and others, died honourably, in maintaining a brave defence, while Lancaster, Mowbray, and many of their adherents, were taken, and with their heads paid

the ransom of their errors. The Spencers, like two furious tigers that had seized their prey, give not their incensed master leave to deliberate on the weight of so sad a work; the lives of so many brave subjects are taken away in an instant, and each part of the kingdom is stained with loss of that noble blood, that had been much more gloriously spent in a foreign war, than in these domestick and civil tumults.

Edward, who was apparently guilty of too many other vices, drowns their memory in this so cruel and bloody a tyranny. The wreaking blood of so many brave gentlemen, so unfortunately and untimely lost, doth cry for vengeance, and hurry on the destruction of the chief and principal actors. Mercy should precede the severity of justice, if not to all, yet to some, since they were not alike guilty. If Lancaster had been of so unnoble a disposition, the Spencers had neither had time nor cause to rejoice in his ruin. How often had they by a full advantage had power of these their enemies, yet made it evident, their aims were not blood but reformation. And assuredly, in this their last act, their intents towards the crown were innocent in all other respects, than the desire of supporting it with more honour. As things fell afterwards out, it had been to the king a happiness if their arms had prevailed; for this victory was the principal and fundamental cause of his ensuing ruin. Fear, and the expectation of danger, kept both him and his favourites in a better temper, so long as there was so strong a bridle. Certainly, in the regimen of a kingdom, it is a wise and discreet consideration to maintain and uphold a divided faction, and to countenance them so, that the one may be still a counterpoise to the other; by this means the king shall be more truly served and informed.

The subject that is too far exalted, and hath no one to contradict or question him, considers not the justice, but the means to preserve him; by which the judgment of the king is taxed, and he is robbed of the hearts of his people. The greater the height, the stronger is the working to maintain it; which seldom goes alone, but is accompanied, for the most part, with those state-actions of impiety and injustice, which draws with it so perpetual an envy and hatred, that it leads him headlong to a fatal and dishonourable conclusion. Though the fury of this enraged king had so fully acted this bloody tragedy, yet Mortimer is spared, rather out of forgetfulness than pity; whose life had been more available than all these, that with so great a speed had felt his rigour. But he is reserved for a second course, to teach the Spencers the same *legem talionis*, and Edward the plain song of his error. The kingdom seems now in better peace and settled; the principal pillars of the commonwealth were taken away, and those which remained are utterly disheartened in the danger of so fresh an example.

This gains such a liberty to these triumphing sycophants, that they make the whole kingdom, as it were, the just fruits of an absolute conquest. The king approves and maintains their actions, giving them the regal power for their warranty. All kinds of insolent and unjust oppressions are now confidently practised, without contradiction or question. No exaction or unlawful action is left unattempted; while the grieved kingdom languisheth under the burden, yet durst not stir to redress it. The great ones suffer basely beyond their birth or honour,

yet look faintly one upon another, nor daring to revenge their quarrel. The commons murmuring complain, yet find not a man that will give them heart or leading.

The watchful Spencers, that saw and knew the general hatred, and infamy of their own conditions, lessen not their height, or fear the sequel. With a politick care they use their best means to prevent it. The king's humour, naturally vicious, they feed, with all the proper objects, that might please or more betray his senses. They strive to make him alike hateful to his subjects, that in the change of fortune they might together run one and the self-same hazard.

There is yet another piece of state to this great work as proper. Edward is but a man, and a creature in nothing more constant than his affections; yet these with age and time may alter. This gap must be stopped, that they may be more assured. Hugh, the younger of the Spencers, who had a searching brain, wise and active, believes this work had two several dependences, the one to keep him in continual fear, the other in a perpetual want. These, being marshalled with discretion, he knew would knit fast his master's love, and add to the opinion of his wisdom and fidelity; imposing a kind of necessary impulsion still to continue him. In his breast alone were locked all the passages and mysteries of state, whereby he was almost able to provide for the future inconveniencies.

From this ground, with a kind of loose scorn, he continues the French correspondence, and secretly contriveth a continuance of the Scotish rebellion. He omits no act of contempt against the antient nobility, that they might in the sense of their disgrace be, or at least daily threaten some new combustion. The confluence of so many threatening dangers work the wished effect, and keep the king in perpetual fear and agitation. The ill success of his armies, and expeditions in their memory, help strongly to increase it: yet is not his faithful servant neglecting in the second and remaining part. He so orders his business, within doors and without, that the royal treasure of the crown is profusely wasted and spent without account or honour. The ancient plate and jewels of the crown are in the Lombard, and their engagement drowned, before it had the warmth of a sure possession. The subject is racked with strange inventions, and new unheard-of propositions for money, and many great loans required, beyond all proportion or order. Lastly, the royal demeans are set at sale, and all things that might make money within the kingdom.

To supply these inconveniencies, which are now grown to a greater height than the plotter of them intended; a new parliament is called at York, where the elder Spencer is advanced to the earldom of Winchester; and Harkely, another chip of the same block, is made Earl of Carlisle. Baldock, a mean man in birth, worth, and ability, is made Lord Chancellor of England.

In this parliament, which was by fear and favour made to his hand, he makes known the greatness of his want and occasions; the justly aggrieved commons, entering into a deep consideration of the times, freely give the sixth penny of all the temporal goods throughout the whole kingdom.

When this act came to the general knowledge, it utterly estranged the hearts of the subjects, which plead an impossibility to perform it, in respect of those many former exactions. Yet after some light contestation it is levied, no man daring to make so much as a show of resistance.

If we may credit all the antient historians, and who seem to agree in this relation, there were seen, at that time, many sights fearful and prodigious. Amongst them no one was so remarkable, as that which for six hours space shewed the glorious sun cloathed all in perfect blood, to the great admiration and amazement of all those that beheld it. Following times, that had recorded it in their memories by the sequel, believed it the fatal prediction of the ensuing miseries. Those, that more aptly censure the present view of a wonder, conceited, the just heavens shewed their incensed anger, for the noble blood of the Earl of Lancaster, and his adherents, so cruelly shed, without compassion or mercy.

The Scots, working on the condition of the times, so much dejected and amazed, seize the advantage. They saw by the last parliamentary proceedings, that the king was so enabled, as the hope of any attempt, in England, was altogether hopeless. Yet they resolve to be doing somewhere within the king's dominions, or at least his jurisdiction. This draws them to assemble themselves, and to attempt a surprisal of the northern places in Ireland. As the action was vain, so the success proved as unfortunate; they are defeated, slain, overthrown, and return not with the twentieth part of their number.

The king, remembering those many indignities he had suffered, and resenting this their last attempt, with an implacable scorn and anger, resolves to let them speedily know that he meant to call them to an after-reckoning. Upon this he sends out his summons, to call his men of war together, and makes all provisions be prepared, for this so constantly resolved a journey. His former misfortunes had instructed him to undertake this design much more strongly and warily. And this so grave a consideration brought him together the remaining glory and strength of the greater part of his kingdom. With these he marcheth forward and invadeth the nearer parts of Scotland; but, whether it were the infidelity of those about him, the will and pleasure of him that is the guider and director of human actions, or the unfortunate destiny of this unhappy king, he is enforced to return, without doing any act that is truly worthy of his greatness or memory.

The wily Scots, that durst not set upon the face of his army, wait upon the rear, and, in a watched opportunity, surprise his stuff and treasure. This sends him home a third time a discontented man; and, whether with a just guilt, or to transfer his own fault upon others, the newly created Earl of Carlisle is put to a shameful execution. The grounds against him were very probable, but not certain; and it was enough that he is believed, like Judas, for money to have sold his master. The principal motive, that may lead us to think he was deeply faulty, was the honour and gravity of his tryal, which gave him, on a full hearing, so sincere and sharp a sentence.

Scarcely is the king settled, after his tedious journey, when comes a

stranger news, that the French king had made a hostile attempt upon the frontier-parts of Guyenne; which was seconded with a declaration, That he was no longer resolved to entertain the friendship or peace with England.

This feat had been cunningly before-hand wrought by the secret working of Spencer; yet he desired to have it still in agitation, and not in action. He wished his master thence might be possessed with the fear of war, and not feel it. The French were of another mind; they saw into the great disorders and misguidance of England, and thought it a time, either by war or policy, to unite so goodly a branch of their kingdom. It is true, they had matched a daughter of France to the crown of England, and had solemnly swore a peace; but these they thought might be with ease dispensed with on so weighty a cause, and so fair an advantage. Edward seeing into the danger, and taxing bitterly the infidelity of the French, begins to survey his own condition; whereby he might accordingly sort his resolution, either to entertain the war, or to seek peace upon some honourable, or at least reasonable conditions.

He in this passage finds himself more hated and feared than beloved; he saw his coffers empty, the Scotish war and surprisal had quite exhausted the sinews of his last parliamentary contribution. He feared the inclination of the subjects would refuse any further supply; or, in consenting, make it conditional, which he was unwilling to undergo or adventure.

Lastly, The misfortune, that waited on him ever since he was absolute, he feared, had estranged and dejected so the hearts of his soldiers, that they would hardly be drawn forth, or act any thing with their accustomed valour and resolution. In this distraction, he seeks not by the advice of a grave council to qualify or prevent it; this medicine he conceits is worse than the disease, but calls unto him Spencer, the cabinet of his heart; he alone is thought fit to communicate this deep secret, and to give the resolution. His father, Baldock, and the rest of that faction, by his persuasion and entreaty, are admitted to make the party greater, and the discourse more serious and likely. Before them is laid the condition of the king, the estate of the kingdom, their own danger, and the intentions of their foreign adversary. Many several ways are devised and advised, and in conclusion, no one is believed more sound and proper, than that the queen should personally mediate the atonement with her royal brother. This as it was cunningly laid, so had it a double use and reflection. The Spencers saw the subjects more inclinable to adore the rising sun; in which act they thought the queen's mediation and presence would be a dangerous instigator. They believed her absence could not work such and so great an assistance as might countervail the domestick danger. They knew the French light and inconstant, and those which, with a kind of natural fear, abhorred the English wars, out of the limits of their own kingdom. And, in the worst construction, they conceited money, or a resignation of that part which was holden by the king in France, would beget a peace at their own will and pleasure. Yet these considerations

were attended with some doubts, which delayed and put off the execution.

The queen, who had long hated the insolency of the Spencers, and pitying the languishing estate of the kingdom, resolves in her mind all the possible ways to reform them. Love and jealousy, two powerful motives, spurred her on to undertake it. She saw the king a stranger to her bed, and revelling in the embraces of his wanton minions, without so much as a glance or look on her deserving beauty. This contempt had begot in her impressions of a like, though not so wanton and licentious a nature. She wanting a fit subject for her affections to work on (her wedlock being thus estranged) had fixed her wandering eye upon the goodly shape and beauty of the gallant Mortimer. He was not behind-hand in the reception and comely entertainment of so rich and desired a purchase. But his last act had lodged him in the tower, which was a cage too strait to crown their desires with their full perfection. Yet there is a sweet correspondency continued; letters and many loving messages bring their hearts together, tho' their bodies were divided.

By these is Mortimer informed of the resolution for the intended journey of his royal mistress, whom he vows to attend, or lose his life in the adventure. The queen, understanding the intentions of her servant, strives to advance her dispatch, and hasten it with all her best endeavours. But, where was so great an inconstancy, there could be no expectation, that this proposition should be more assured and permanent. New delays and doubts interpose; insomuch, that the hopes of this journey were now grown cold and desperate.

The queen seeing herself deluded, and this opportunity stolen from her, by those whom she before so mortally hated, sets her own brains a working, to invent a speedy remedy. She was therein so fortunate, as to pretend a journey of devotion and pilgrimage to St. Thomas, of Canterbury, which by her overseers was wholly unsuspected. Things thus prepared, by a faithful messenger she gives Mortimer the knowledge of her design, who prepares himself with a more dangerous stratagem to meet it. Her eldest son, her dearest comfort, and the chief spring that must set all these wheels a going, she leaves not behind, but makes him the companion of her travels.

The king's joy was great, that saw, by this occasion, he should gain a free liberty to enjoy his stolen pleasures, which were before so narrowly attended by the jealous eyes of his queen, that in this kind had been so often wronged.

The aspiring Spencers were well pleased, that to be assured would have given a free consent to her perpetual absence. A short time brings her to the end of so short a journey, where she makes her stay of the same measure. Winchelsey had the honour to have the last farewel of this pair of precious jewels. Thither comes Mortimer, having made a fortunate escape; and, with the Earl of Cane, resolves to venture his life in the attendance and service of so brave a mistress. An exploit so weighty and dangerous gave no time of stay or ceremony. They immediately embark, and make a trial where they may find another climate more propitious and fortunate. The watery billows and

the peaceful winds, as if they were consenting to their enterprise, entertain them with an aspect clear and quiet, sending them with a fresh and pleasing gale safe to their desired port of Bulloign.

The king and Spencers, being truly informed, are startled with the matter and manner of their escape. They knew the birds were too far flown to be catched or reclaimed; and did imagine the plot was too surely laid that had so prosperous a beginning. Now all the former resolutions were useless; new deliberations are required how this breach may be handsomely sodered, or the threatening danger prevented. All other ways are deemed short; that one of taking off the King of France, was believed most sure and easy. They knew the French strain to be giddy, light, and covetous, and applied themselves in the right key to fit these several humours.

The king, whose presaging soul misgave his welfare, grows sad and melancholy, calling to mind the injustice of his own actions, and the fair cause his wife had to seek her right and refuge. The neglect and breach of wedlock was so great an error; but so to contemn so sweet and great a queen was a fault, in his own thoughts, deserved a heavy censure. She had not only felt a particular share of her own grief, but suffered deeply in the sorrow of the whole kingdom. Those, which had erected their petty tyrannies over the subjects, were in like sort authorised by him that ought to have had an equal share of her affliction, more and more to abuse her.

The sad impressions of these disorders, and the recking blood of so many noble and brave subjects, so basely spilt, do seem to cry for vengeance. This, for a while, wrought deeply in his distressed thoughts; but a small intermission brings him back to his former temper. A customary habit of a depraved nature dulleth the sense of the soul and conscience; so that, when our better angels summon us to repentance, the want of a lively true apprehension leads us blindfold into a dangerous despairing hazard.

The French king having notice of his sister's arrival, with a wonderous plausible and seeming joy, doth entertain it with an honourable attendance, fitting more her estate, birth, and dignity, than her present miserable condition; she is waited on to Paris, where she is soon visited by the royal king, her brother. When she beheld the refuge of her hopes, she falls upon her knee, and, with a sweetly coming modesty, she thus begins her story:

The king, unwilling to suffer such an idolatry from her that had a father, brother, and husband so great and royal, takes her up in his arms, and then attends her motives:

'Great Sir,' quoth she, 'behold in me your most unfortunate sister, the true picture of a dejected greatness, and the essential substance of an unhappy wedlock. I have, with a suffering beyond the belief of my sex, overcome a world of bitter trials. Time lessens not, but adds to my afflictions; my burthen is grown too heavy for my long abused patience. Yet it is not I alone, but a whole kingdom, heretofore truly glorious, that are thus unjustly wronged. My blushing cheek may give you knowledge, I too much honour the cause of my affliction, to let my tongue discover it. Yet this in duty and modesty I may ingenuously confess, my royal husband is too far seduced, his ear is too open,

his will too violent, and his heart too free, to those bewitching syrens, that makes his errors their profit and glory. All hope of his return is lost, so long as they shall live, and remain his leaders. How many of his noblest and bravest subjects have attempted his freedom, and by an unjust and inglorious death miscarried? Alas! all expectations are vain and desperate; if I had not known the impossibility to disinchant him, I had not in so mean and miserable a case stolen to you for succour. You have a fair way to make known to the world the truth of your own glory and goodness. Fortune leads you by the hand to an action not more just than honourable, if you would dispute it. Can there be a more precious motive to invite you, than the view of these unhappy ruins? See here two royal branches of the flower-de-luce withering, sullied, and depressed. Would you truly consider, how great and noble a work it is, to support those that are unworthily oppressed, heaven and earth must witness the true value of your worth and my petition. Let it not breed a jealousy or discouragement, that I appear before you, and seek your help with so poor a train and mean attendance. Besides the justice of my cause, I bring with me the griefs and hearts of a kingdom, that have both sworn and vowed to defend it. Nor may you with reason doubt their integrity, while you have my wretched self, and the heir-apparent, to be your pawn and warrant. For God's sake, Sir, by your own virtue and goodness I desire it, and, in the challenge of that royal blood, whereof by the laws of God, men, and nature, I have so large a share and interest. Left not after-ages taint your memory with such an aspersion, That you are the first of all the Kings of France, that denied to relieve a sister so deeply wronged and distressed.'

She would have spoken more, but here the big swollen fountains of her watery eyes discharge their heavy burthen. Her tears, like orient pearls, bedew her lovely cheeks, while she with a silent rhetorick invites a noble pity. Her sad complaint now won a general remorse; and her liquid tears, a deep and strong compassion. Her brother vows revenge, and promiseth to make England and the world know she was his sister.

The lords and peers of France tender their ready help and assistance; the service is so hotly pursued, that the poor queen, with an abused confidence, believes she shall be speedily and strongly righted. It was not alone her error; it is a general disease. We easily credit that news we most desire and hope for.

The Spencers, whose watchful eyes were soon informed of these passages, too late condemn their own improvidence and folly, that gave the wronged queen so fit and fair an advantage. They fear not all the power of France, but suspect intestine danger, where they knew the hearts of all were alienated and estranged. They well enough understood the vanity of female passion, but suspect, that the rising son would be followed and admired, whilst their declining master would be left forsaken and dejected. These conceits work so deeply, that they conclude they must fall, if they could not stop the foreign danger. The English were cowed; there was in them no fear, unless the stranger's strength gave them new life and spirit. In so weighty a

cause there was no time left for delay or dalliance. They dispatch presently away their agents to the French court, laden with the treasure of the kingdom, and many glorious promises. They instruct them how to apply themselves to the time and present necessity; and teach them the way to work and undermine the queen's proceedings.

These messengers, arriving at Paris, find the French heat well qualified and cooled. This gave them more time and hope, to bring their master's will and their own employment to a speedy perfection. They set upon the pillars of the state, such as in their master's ear, or in his council, had most sway and pre-eminence; they give freely and promise more, till they have won a firm and fair assurance. No one had an interest, and was known to be a favourer of the adverse party, but his tongue is tied with a golden chain to a perpetual silence.

When thus this practice was ripe, the king is persuaded to the danger and peril of so great and weighty an action. His sister's reputation and intemperate carriage, though tenderly, is often touched. A woman's passion is believed too weak a reason to engage two so warlike nations in a war, wherein themselves had formerly so often suffered.

The king, for all his first great and high expressions, had much rather have to do with the English in their own kingdom than in France, yet was well enough content not to try their arms in either. Yet still he feeds his sorrowing sister with good words, pretending many vain excuses, which made her suspect and doubt his meaning. She arms herself with a noble patience, hopeful, at least, that she and her son might there remain in peace and safety.

By the intercourse of messages that had so often passed and repassed, the Spencers are assured, that their affairs in France went fairly on, by which they were well onward in their journey.

There could be yet no certain or assured confidence, until they had again gotten the queen and her son into possession. No promise or persuasion is left to win her to return, but her ears were stopped; she too well knew the sweet enticements of such alluring serpents. This project falling short, a solemn letter is framed from King Edward to the Pope, and a messenger after their own hearts appointed to carry it. The contents were full of humility and bitterness, complaining to his holiness, that his wife had, without just cause, forsaken both him and his kingdom, carrying away his son, the stay of his age, without his leave or license; a traytor to him and his crown, who had publickly acted a rebellion, and was taken and imprisoned for it, had made an escape, and was now her sole companion; and though he was not hasty to report or credit, yet he had just cause to fear he was the abuser of his wedlock. The King of France, with whom he had sworn so solemn and firm a league, being summoned, had denied to restore her.

These goodly glosses and pretexts find a ready passage, and an easy belief, where there was none to contradict or justify. If these aspersions had been, as they were pretended, just and true, the fact had been odious, and justly deserved a speedy reformation. The greater Cardinals, who were at that time most great and eminent, had tasted deeply of the King's bounty; which gave the Pope a daily instigation to pity and reform so great and gross an error. On which an admonition is pre-

sently sent out to the French King, that he cause immediately the Queen of England to depart forth of his dominions.

Whilst this device was in action, the English discontented barons send privately to the queen, informing her that they were almost crushed to pieces with their suffering. They solicit her to hasten her return, and promise really to engage themselves and their estates in her quarrel. With a joyful heart (as it deserves) she entertains this loving proffer; and, the more to advance her declining affairs, she instantly acquaints her brother with the tender. He had then newly received his summons from the Pope, which taking out of his pocket, he delivers her back, wishing her to peruse and read it. The amazed queen, when she beheld so sad a sentence, falls humbly on her kness, and desires, that his Majesty would grant her but so much favour, that she might more truly inform his Holiness, and justify herself by a fairer and noble trial. With tears, she instanceth the malice of her adversaries, that had taken so strange a course, both to abuse and wrong her. Her brother, glad of such a protection to shadow his dishonourable and unnatural falshood, lets her know the necessity of his obedience, and that he must not, for her sake, adventure the censure and interdiction of himself and a whole kingdom. He wisheth her to arm herself with patience, and to return and make a peace with her husband, in which act himself would use both the persuasion and strength of his best power and interest, letting her withal know, that she had but a short time to deliberate, for she must instantly leave his kingdom. Scarcely had he ended these his last unwelcome words, when away he flings, with a seeming discontented show of sorrow, rejoicing inwardly, that he had freed himself of the expence of her entertainment, and found so fair a colour to avoid the justice of her daily importunity.

The drooping queen, thus abandoned, with an amazed grief, relates this unkind sad passage to her faithful servants, Cane and Mortimer. Their valiant hearts make good the loss of their hopes; they accuse the injustice of time, and exclaim against the French unnatural baseness. Mortimer, whose inflamed passion flew a higher pitch, breaks out, and, with a bold freedom, would have fallen to a bitter expostulation. The Queen, who knew the danger, and was loth to lose that little miserable freedom she had left, with sweet and mild persuasions reclaims him to a milder temper. She had a second doubt, lest in such a contestation she might be sent back, against her will, to her husband. This makes her temporise, and cunningly seem to provide for a voluntary return, which might prevent that danger. She, failing in the master, yet tastes a-new his servants, and leaves no means unattempted, to bring about and alter so hard and strict a censure. They, that were the first betrayers of her hopes, do now with a more confidence and constancy express it, and, with one voice, sing the same tune with their master; declining misery, the touchstone of friendship, finds itself shunned, like some infectious fever. The sunshine of fortune hath as many professors as beams; but, if her glory be once eclipsed, they all, with a coward baseness, seek some other succour. This lesson, that is so frequent and familiar, should guide our election more by judgment than affection. They are not to

be chosen or valued, that in the pretence of love, though it be for our proper good and service, will act any thing that is base and unworthy; the same, in the least change, will not be squeamish, for a poor advantage to confirm their former practice, though it be to our loss or destruction. Where virtue guides our choice, it begins with truth and honour, ending with a like resplendent glory. No worldly cross, nor height of affliction, lessens the worth and value of such a friend; who, like a goodly rock, in fury of the greatest storms, makes good his proper station. Mutual correspondency in affections ought to be pure and innocent; if private respects taint the sincerity of the intentions, it makes this traffick rather a commerce than friendship. Opinion of faith is a powerful motive, yet not weighty enough, unless it become as well with real ability, as appearance, the subject of our election.

But, to proceed, the Queen, being in this distressed agony, finds an unexpected refuge. The gracious God of Heaven, who never forsakes those which are his, sends her a comfort when her dying hopes were almost sunk and desperate.

Robert of Artois, a man as truly valiant as noble, was one of the first that, in the French Court, had tendered the Queen his service. He was a wise, grave, and steddy, well resolved gentleman; his first devotion was not led by matter of form or compliment, but was truly grounded on a true compassion and honour. This brave friend, beholding with a noble eye, the vanity of his fellow-friends and courtiers, and looking into the misery of the queen's forsaken condition, sets up his rest to appear like himself, a friend in all her fortune, firm and constant. In this resolution, he waits a fitting opportunity to let her see and know it. The time was favourable; he finds her in her melancholy chamber, confused in her restless thoughts, with many sad distractions. She, fancying the occasion of the coming of so great a person was great and weighty, with a silent and attentive ear expects his message.

'Madam,' quoth he, 'it is the most excellent part of wisdom, with an equal virtue, to entertain the different kinds of fortune. This world is but a mere composition of troubles, which seems greater or less, as is the quality of the heart that entertains them. I confess the justice of your grief, and truly share it, but tears and sorrow are not means to relieve or right you. The just heavens assist those that with an active and lively hope invoke their succour. The tenderness of your sex, and former free condition, is yet a stranger to these trials: time will let you know they are the familiar attendants of our frail structure of flesh and blood, when you will confess it too great a weakness to sink under the burthen of our afflictions. For your own goodness, noble Queen, erect and elevate your thus dejected spirits. Behold, in me, the character of an unworthy, but true friend, that am resolved my life and state shall attend and run with you the self-same fortune. You may no longer make this unthankful climate, the place of your birth, the stage of your abiding; the way is paved with gold to your destruction. Wherefore, if my advice may sway, let speed prevent your danger. The confines of the sacred empire are near adjoining, where are many brave princes, who may happily afford you a succour; at the worst, you may there enjoy a more assured peace and safety. Neither do I presume to direct this

course, but lay it humbly before you; offering my faithful service to attend you, to what part soever of the universal world your resolution shall fix on, desiring you to be assured, my life, before my faith, shall perish; for I have vowed myself, and will continue your everlasting servant.'

Infinitely was the Queen rejoiced in this so grave and sincere an expression. She doubles a world of promises and thanks for this so free an offer, and with a secret and wary carriage she speedily provides to begin her thus resolved journey. Though here she saw a far less appearance of hope, when her dearest brother, and her native kingdom had forsaken her, yet she resolves the trial rather than to return without a more assurance. She knew she had too far waded, and incensed her malicious adversaries, to expect a reconciliation, and feared to be mewed up from all hope of future advantage. These considerations made her, with a sad heart and weeping eyes, forsake the fruitful limits of ingrateful France, and betake herself to her last but most uncertain refuge. The condition, that is truly miserable, finds few real friends, but never wants infidelity to increase its sorrow.

Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, who had fled to the Queen, and made himself a sharer in this weighty action, forsakes her party. He, seeing the French hopes vanished, and these remaining so poorly grounded, thought to work his peace by losing his faith, and, in this conceit, in haste returns for England. His intelligence reconciles and wins him favour, but it was purchased at too dear a rate, that stained the honour of so high a calling, and made him most unworthy of so divine and grave a profession.

By this treachery, the king and Spencers understand both the queen's resolution and weakness. They fear not the German motions, that were a dull sad nation, that seldom used to fight for nothing. Time hath at last brought our royal English pilgrims to the shrine of their devotion. The Earl of Heinault, a man truly noble and virtuous, understanding her arrival within the precincts of his jurisdiction, gives her a free and loving welcome. This bountiful honest earl esteems it his glory to entertain so princely guests like themselves, and to become the patron of their so weak condition. He had a brother that made his arms the honour of his profession, who thinks the estate of this forsaken queen, in justice, deserved a true relief and pity. He tenders her his service; and believes the occasion happily offered, that might leave to ensuing times the memory of his virtue, worth, and valour.

So fair a morning puts the queen in hope, the evening would prove as fortunate. By all those winning graces of a distressed beauty, she strives to confirm, and more engage, this first and fair affection.

The earl, having knowledge of his brother's resolution, thought the attempt too full of hazard, and, with a grave and mild temper, commending the nobility and greatness of his spirit, adviseth him to quit the action; he lays before him the weakness of the foundation; the queen was in want of men and money, and had not such a correspondency in England, as might warrant her against her incensed husband, who was waited on by so warlike and valiant a nation. He, in like sort, acquaints him, how impossible a thing it was for him to raise such an army,

as might credit the cause, and countenance the beginning; true valour consisting not in daring impossibilities, but exposing itself where reason, judgment, and discretion were the leaders.

Sir John, with a quiet patience, hears his brother's admonitions, which he knew sprung from the freedom of an honest and a loving heart; but he imagined age had robbed his breast and head of all their noble vigour.

"Sir, (quoth he) If you and all the world forsake this noble lady, my single arm shall maintain her quarrel, since I had rather lose my life than my faith, so full and freely engaged. After ages shall not blot the glory of our house, so great and noble, with so inglorious a stain of baseness and infidelity. Such precedents are seldom seen, and ought to be more tenderly regarded. A queen, and the heir apparent of so great a crown, pleading so just a pity, nor may, nor shall be forsaken. If, in the reason of state, you list not to be an actor, reserve yourself, and make not the king of England your enemy. Know, I have both arms and friends; I will pawn them all, rather than, in the least degree, falsify my word and promise."

These words, spoken with such a resolution and fearless bravery, stopped all reply and contradiction. The queen, that had already both a French and an Italian trick, had no less reason here to doubt it. She knew no means would be left unattempted from her domestick spies, to make her once more forsaken. This enforceth her with a more importunity to hasten and advance her enterprise. All the good offices that might spur on the inflamed heart of her brave protector, she makes the handmaids of her female wisdom. But, alas, they needed not her careful agent; they had quickly gotten together a voluntary troop of three hundred well-resolved gallants, that vow themselves to follow him, even into the mouth of the cannon. He stays not to increase his number with a multitude, but believes, if there were an answering correspondency in the English, with these, to over-run the kingdom. Arms, shipping, and all provisions necessary, attend their coming. They, with the glory of their hopes, lead the revived queen a ship-board. Now do they expose themselves to the first trial of their fortune, aiming at Donge Port, to take their hoped possession. The heavens, that favoured their design, out of their present fear, preserve them beyond belief or expectation. Her adversaries had a forerunning knowledge of their intended place of landing, and had there provided to give them a hot and bitter welcome. The raging billows, and the blustering winds, or rather the Divine Providence, after the second day's extremity, brings them a-land safe at Orwel, near Harwich. They were ignorant, being driven to and fro by the violence of the weather, what part of the kingdom they had light on; and were as much distressed with the unshipping of their men and baggage, as with the want of harbour and victuals. Three whole days in disorder and confusion, they make the bleak and yielding sands their habitation, perceiving the vanity of their rash and desperate attempt, which, in the least opposition or encounter, must have wrought their confusion. It was in vain to attend longer here, where they saw so small sign of better entertainment; this makes them march on with this little weather-beaten troop, to win and conquer a kingdom. St. Hammond's, an abby of black monks, was honoured with the welcome

of their long lost mistress. Here she and her princely son had their first reception and entertainment.

The bruit of this novelty, like a Welch hubbub, had quickly overtaken the willing ears of the displeased Commons; who, ever desirous of innovation, like bees in swarms, do run to her assistance. The barons, so depressed, and unjustly grieved, with itching ears, attend the news of this advantage. When the tidings of their arrival came to their knowledge, with so liberal a relation, which made her army ten times greater than it was, they lose no time, for fear of some prevention.

Henry of Lancaster was the first, who was seconded by many others of the braver peers of the kingdom. By this means the queen and her adherent strangers lose the depth of that agitation, that till now had kept them doubtful.

The king, that till this time had slumbered out the prologue of this ensuing danger, secure in the belief of the Spencers' strength and providence, in so general a revolt, awakens from his licentious pleasure, and beholds nothing but a grim and fearful face of sorrow. The council of his cabinet, accompanied with their own guilt, are affrighted in the sad apparitions of their approaching ruin. The time of prevention is lost; their abused confidence had only laboured to shut the gate, but not assured the family. The present necessity admits no long deliberation; this flame was too violent to be quenched; and such a course is to be taken as may rather assure them time to temporise, than with a strong hand to strive to repel it.

The city's guard is recommended to Stapleton, that had so unhappily, and with so little credit changed his master. The king and the Spencers forsaken, but yet strongly attended with the guilt of so many, and so foul errors, fly to Bristol, a town strong enough, and well provided. Arundel, and the elder Spencer, undertake the defence of the city, while the king, and the others, make the castle their hope and refuge.

The queen being informed that the king had forsaken his royal chamber, and had stolen a flight to Bristol, she soon apprehends, and lays hold of the advantage, addressing a fair but mandatory letter to the mayor, to keep the city, to the use of her, and her son, that was so like to be his sovereign. The inconstant citizens, that ever cleave to the stronger party, are easily persuaded and intreated. Stapleton, that foresaw and feared the danger, summons the mayor to surrender him the keys of the gates for his assurance. Chickwell, that was then lord mayor, incensed with the imperiousness and injustice of this demand, apprehends this inconsiderate bishop, and, without all respect to his place or dignity, makes his head the sacrifice to appease the angry commons. This act had too far engaged him to recoil; he must now wholly adhere to the queen's faction. Four of the gravest and most substantial burghers are sent, to let her truly understand their devotion. They are graciously and lovingly received; the mayor hath thanks for his late bloody act, which was stiled an excellent piece of justice.

This gap thus stopped, with her army she marched to the cage that kept those birds, whose wings she would be clipping. She knew, if she struck not while the iron was hot, the heat of a popular faction would quickly sink and lessen. All the way of her journey she finds,

according to heart's desire, a free and noble welcome. Her troops, like snow balls, in her motion, more and more increasing. When she came before this great and goodly city, she saw it was a strength by art and nature, and did believe it furnished to out-wear a siege of long continuance, which made both her and her adherents more jealous, and suspect the issue. Where the person of an anointed king was at stake, there could be no assurance. But smiling fortune, that had turned her wheel, resolves this doubt, and makes the action easy. The citizens, that knew not the laws of war or honour, will not expose their lives and goods to the mercy of the strangers, and the hazard of an unruly conquest. They had too much tasted the afflictions of the kingdom to think the quarrel just. or to adventure their protection at so dear a hazard, for those that had been the cause and instrument of so much blood and trouble.

From this consideration, they send an humble message to the queen, and desire as well to capitulate for their commanders, as their own interest. All other conditions are despised and disdained; if they will have grace, they must purchase it with the resignation and delivering up their captains. This doom was esteemed heavy; they would have been glad, that she had her will, but were themselves unwilling to be the actors. But the time no more imparleance admitted, neither could they have a delay or remedy. The queen, that had won so far upon their yielding hearts, knew their condition well enough, and would not give them respite, but calls upon their present answer.

This round and smart summons brings, with one and the same art, Arundel, Spencer, and the city, into her possession. This part of the prey thus gotten, no time is lost to call them to a reckoning. Sir Thomas Wadge, the marshal of the army, recites a short calendar of their large offences, when, by a general consent, they are approved guilty, and, without judge, or other jury, they are sentenced to be drawn and hanged, and their bodies to remain upon the gibbet. The rigour of this doom, Spencer, the father, feels, that was ninety years old, and could not long have lived by the course of nature.

The castle-walls, and the eyes of the king, and his unhappy son, were witnesses of this sad spectacle and his disaster. This præludium gives them the sense of their ensuing story, which, with a world of melancholy thoughts, they study to prevent or alter. A despairing resolution at length wins them to a desperate hazard. While the queen was labouring to surprise their fortress, which was like too long to hold good, if some stratagem were not found to get it; there were no citizens to betray them; it needed not, themselves were soon the actors. They steal into a small bark, that rode within the harbour, hoping by this means, to make an escape undiscovered; they find the merciless waves and winds a like cruel. Twice had they gained St. Vincent's Rock; but, from that reach, were hurried back, with sudden gusts and tempests. The often going off and return of this unguided pinnace, begets a shrewd suspicion. At length she is surprised; and in her bulk is found that treasure that ends the war, and gave the work perfection.

The king is comforted with the smooth language of those which had the honour to take him; and believes the title of a king, father, and husband, would preserve his life, if not his sovereignty.

The queen, having now made the victory perfect, no enemy or other work remaining, resolves with herself to use it to her best advantage. Yet she gives her incensed passion preheminence, revenge must precede her desire and strong ambition. No sooner had Sir Henry Beamond brought the imprisoned king and his dejected favourite to the army, but she dispatcheth away her husband to Barkley-castle, and Spencer is delivered over to the Martial, and immediately hath the like entertainment; only he hath somewhat a longer time, and a far more cruel sentence than his father. All things thus ordered, the queen removes to Hereford, and in all the places of her passage is welcomed with joyful acclamations. With a kind of insultant triumphing tyranny, far unworthy the nobility of her sex and virtue, she makes her poor condemned adversary, in a strange disguise, attend her progress. He was set upon a poor, lean, deformed jade, and cloathed in a tabarce, the robe, in those days, due to the basest thieves and rascals, and so was led through all the market-towns and villages, with trumpets sounding before him, and all the spightful disgraces and affronts that they could devise to cast upon him.

Certainly this man was infinitely tyrannical and vicious, deserving more than could be laid upon him; yet it had been much more to the queen's reputation and honour, if she had given him a fair and legal trial, by his peers, according to that ancient and laudable custom of England, wherein, by his death, he might have given both the law and his adversaries a full satisfaction. It is certainly, give it what other title you will, an argument of a wonderous base condition, to insult or to tyrannise over those poor ruins, which fortune hath thrown into our power. A noble pity is the argument of an honourable and sweet disposition; and the life of man is great enough to expiate all offences. To satisfy our passions, with the bitterest extremity of our power, may justly be stiled rather a savage and barbarous cruelty, than true and perfect justice. No question it was a pleasing sight to all the wronged subjects, to see such a leprous monster so monstrously used. But when the heat of blood was past, and men had recollected their senses, it then appeared to be too great a blemish to a queen, a woman, and a victor. But whether she were now weary with imposing, or he with suffering, Hereford, on a lofty gibbet, of an extraordinary height, erected on purpose, gives him the end of all his torments; which being performed, order is left behind for the execution of Arundel four days after, which is accordingly performed.

I could never yet read a fair and just cause, why this Earl lost his life; unless it may be counted treason not to forsake his lord and master, to whom he had so solemnly swore his faith and obedience. It certainly was no such capital fault, to accompany and seek to defend his sovereign, when he was by all others forsaken, that, by their vows and oaths, ought to have been as deeply engaged. If being taken with those that were so corrupt and wicked occasioned it, I see yet no reason why he alone was executed, and those that, in their knowledge, were his only instruments and creatures, were suffered to live, and be promoted. But we may not properly expect reason in women's actions, whose passions are their principal guide and mover.

Now she is come to London, and received with all the honour due to so great a queen and conquest; the people croud to see her, and with applauding shouts extol her, that, in the least change of fortune, would be the first should cut her throat, or do her any other mischief.

A parliament is immediately called and assembled, in which the pack was before-hand easily laid, for Edward had lost the hearts and love of all his people; the errors and abuses of the kingdom are there, with too great a liberty against a sacred king yet living, laid open and discoursed. All men were of one mind; a present reformation must be had; which, in a true construction, was but a mere politick treason. The three estates presently assent to the deposition of the elder, and raising the younger Edward, to the sole regimen and guidance of the kingdom; not a peer, bishop, knight, or burgess, speaks a word in defence of him that was their master; but divers are sent from both houses to the yet king, to let him know their declaration. When they were come into his presence, Trussel, speaker in the lower house, in the name of the whole kingdom, resigned up all the homage due to him, and then pronounceth the sentence of his deprivation.

Edward, that long before had notice of these proceedings, arms himself to receive it with patience. He gives them back no answer; knowing a contestation or denial might hasten on his death, and a consent had made him guilty by his own confession.

Thus did this unfortunate king, after he had, with perpetual agitation and trouble, governed this kingdom eighteen years, odd months and days, lose it by his own disorder and improvidence, accompanied with the treachery and falshood of his own subjects. And that which is most miraculous, an army of three or four hundred men entered his dominions, and took from him the rule and governance, without so much as a blow given, or the loss of one man, more than such as perished by the hand of justice. In a declining fortune, all things conspire a ruin; yet never was it seen, that so great a king fell with so little honour, and so great an infidelity. But what could be expected, when, to satisfy his own unjust passions, he had consented to the oppressions of his subjects, tyrannised over the nobility, abused his wedlock, and lost all fatherly care of the kingdom, and that issue that was to succeed him. Certainly it is no less honourable than proper, for the majesty and greatness of a king, to have that same free and full use of his affection and favour, that each particular man hath in his œconomic government; yet, as his calling is the greatest, such should be his care, to square them always out by those sacred rules of equity and justice; for if they once transcend to exceed, falling into an extremity, they are the predictions of a fatal and inevitable ruin. Let the favourite taste the king's bounty, and enjoy his ear; but let him not engross it wholly, or take upon him the sway and governance of all the affairs of his master. This begets not more envy than multiplicity of error; whose effects do, for the most part, occasion a desperate convulsion, if not the destruction of that state, where it hath his allowance and practice. As kings ought to limit their favours, so ought they to be curious in the election; for persons of baser or meaner quality, exalted, are followed at the heels with a perpetual murmur and hatred.

Neither is it safe or proper, that all the principal dignities or strengths of a kingdom, should be committed to the fidelity of any one particular subject, though never so gracious or able. There must be then a kind of impulsive necessity still to continue his power, and approve his actions; else, having the keys in his hand, he may at all times open the gates to a foreign trouble, or a domestick mischief.

The number of servants, as it is the master's honour, so is the knowlegde of their ability his glory. Where, by a discreet distribution, they find variety of imployment, and are indifferently heard, both in advice and action; they more secure their master's safety and greatness. Kings, in their deliberations, should be swayed by the whole body of a council; and, in my opinion, should take it ill, to have any servant esteemed much wiser than his master. Their royal glory should be pure and transparent, suffering not the least eclipse, or shadow. Be the advice of a single wit never so grave and weighty, let the act and honour be solely the king's; which adds more and more to the belief of his ability and greatness.

If once the royal heart be so given over to sensuality, that the befitting and necessary cares of a kingdom seem a burden, and, by letter of attorney, assigned over to the fidelity of another; he is then, by his own indiscretion, no more an absolute king, but at second-hand, and by direction. It is the practice, and not the theoric act of state that awes and assures the heart of the subject; this, being once doubtful or suspected, estrangeth the will of our obedience, and gives a belief of liberty to the actions of disorder and injustice.

Neither is the error and imbecillity of a crown more prejudicial to itself than dangerous in the example. Majestick vanities and vices find a ready imitation and practice; so that it may be concluded, that an ill king may endanger the virtue and goodness of a whole kingdom. Our nature is prone to the worser part; which we more readily are inclined to practise, with the condition of time, and so powerful and eminent a precedent.

Kings that are subject to a natural weakness, or grown to the practice of any other particular error, by corruption, should act their deeds of darkness, with such a reserved secrecy and caution, that there be not a suspicion to taint him; for, if it once win an open knowledge, besides the particular aspersion, it brings with it an ensuing supposed liberty of practice, both in court and state, by his example.

As these are most proper to the affections, so are there some as necessary instructions for kingly passions, which, of the two, are more violent and dangerous.

Though it a while delay the concluding part of the history, yet my pen must not leave them untouched. I must confess, if man could master and govern these rebellious monsters, he might justly merit rather the name of an angel than a mortal creature. But this, in a true perfection, is most impossible. It is yet, in divinity and all moral construction, the most absolute master-piece of this our pilgrimage, to dispose them so, that they wait on the operations of the soul, rather as obedient servants, than loose and uncontrouled vagabonds. A king, that is in these deficient, having so unlimited a power, and making his will his

law; in short time loseth the honour of his calling, and makes himself a tyrant. Intemperate and heady actions beget but disorder and confusion; and if they end in blood, without a warranty of apparent justice, or inevitable necessity, they cry to heaven for a deserved vengeance. The law hath advantages and punishments enough for those that lie at his mercy. Let not incensed haste betray the royalty of a crown, to make itself both judge and executioner. Kings are gods on earth; and ought, in all their actions, to direct the imitation after a divine nature, which inclines to mercy more than justice Men's lives, once lost, cannot be redeemed; there ought, therefore, to be a tender consideration before they be taken, lest the injustice of the actor, in time, be brought to suffer in the same measure. As is the quality of the fact, so is the condition of his agent to be maturely deliberated; wherein there may be such dependencies, that it is for the crown more profitable, safe, and honourable, to save, or delay the execution of the law, than to advance or hasten it. Howsoever, it is the more innocent and excellent way, to offend in the better part; and rather to let the law, than once own virtue and goodness to be visibly deficient, and disesteemed. The actions of repentance are numbered with the register of our misdemeanours, where none appear more tearful than those, which an inconsiderate fury, or the violence of passion, hath acted with too much haste and cruelty. Let then the height of so great and excellent a calling be suited with as sweet a temper; neither too precipitate or slow, but with a steddy and well-advised motion.

As these considerations are in the one part necessary, so ought there to be a correspondent worth and care in him that hath the happiness to enjoy in so great a measure his royal master's ear and favour. If the actions of the king be never so clear and innocent, yet he must favour or protect the error of so great a servant, which makes him an accessary, if not an actor, in the unjust oppression of his kingdom. It is not discretion, neither hath it any society, with the well grounded rules of wisdom, for the subject to exalt or amplify the height of his own glory; it is, in the eye of all, too great a presuming insolence, and kings themselves will rather alter their affections, than to be outshined or dazzled in their own sphere or element.

He that hath made his master's love, and hath ascended the stairs of his preferment, should make the same virtue the stay of his advantage, framing his carriage to his equals and inferiors, with a like sweet and winning temper. If he swerve from this sacred rule, and arrive to win fear, or a vain adoration, let him know, the first is the companion of trust and safety, the other of a jealous diffidence, that must betray his life and honour.

But, to return to our history, which now removes Edward, the father, to Killingworth; where he remains under the keeping of the Earl of Lancaster, while his unripe son is crowned king; and the queen, with Mortimer, take into their hands the whole sway and administration of the kingdom. Their first act sends Baldock, the lord chancellor, to Newgate, a fit cage for such a haggard, though far unworthy the eminency of his height and dignity.

Now do the recollected spirits of the kingdom begin to survey and

examine the injustice of that act, that had disrobed and put down a king, their unquestionable sovereign, that had been so solemnly anointed, and so long enjoyed the regimen of the kingdom. They find the condition of their estate but little altered; and, according to the vanity of their hearts, are as ready to attempt a new innovation. Many suits are made to the king, and the protectors, to release him out of his imprisonment; but all prove vain and fruitless. The black friars were, in this request, more earnest; who, in their denial, sought to bring it to pass by force or surprisal. They make Donhead, one of their number, their captain; but he knew better the use of church-ornaments, than how to handle his weapons, or manage an army. He is intercepted, and sent to prison, where he dies, before he had so much as mustered his congregation.

This cloud dispersed, the queen believes it a fit time to take her leave of her assistant strangers, who mainly hasten their departure. She was unwilling they should be witnesses to the unnatural succeeding tragedy; which was too much for her own kingdom, and unfit for the strangers' climate, which was filled with the belief of her virtue and honour. She liberally and freely requites, to each particular, the minute of his pains and travel; but Sir John of Heinault, and the better sort, are honoured with many rich jewels and gifts, besides continuing annuities, and annual revenues. They hold themselves nobly contented; and, taking a solemn leave, are honourably attended to Dover, leaving the kingdom with a merrier eye, than when they first beheld it.

Now is the Earl of Lancaster, who, though he had least cause, was nobly disposed towards his old master removed; and delivers over his charge by indenture, to Sir Morice Barkeley, and Sir John Mattrevers, who led him back to his first place of imprisonment, where, in the presence of his keepers, he one day, in a melancholy passion, doth thus discourse his sorrows:

'Alas! is my offence so great, that it deserves nor pity nor assistance? Is human piety and goodness so wholly lost, that neither in child, wife, servant, or subject, appears the least expression of love or duty? Admit my errors unexcusable, wherein I will not justify myself, nor accuse others: though it hath taken from me the glory of my former being, I am yet a father and a husband; these titles are without the jurisdiction of fortune. If I be so, where is the affection and duty that becomes the child, and wedlock? Sure, my misery hath not made me such a basilisk, or monster, that my sight should beget or fear or hatred? can they believe a danger in the visitation of a poor distressed captive? I know their hardened hearts are not so noble, and apt for compassion, that they need suspect themselves, or me, in so poor a courtesy. What then occasions this neglect or estrangement? Are they not content to enjoy all that was mine, as yet, by the laws of God, man, and nature, but they must despise and forsake my withered ruins?

'Alas! I know my poor children are innocent. Both they, and my injurious queen, are betrayed by cunning, wicked Mortimer; whom, if I had paid with his just desert, when heaven, and his own guilt, had

laid him at my mercy, I had not lived to endure this affliction, nor he to be the insulting instrument of my dishonour. But time, and this sad trial, hath taught me patience, and learned me how to know the height of my misfortunes; which (if my divining spirit err not) will not be long unseen and unrevenged. Am I unworthy to be seen? I am then unfit to live, and will receive it as a well-becoming pity, if my death may send me hence, from this so great a sorrow.'

When he had thus ended, and, with a few manly tears, smothered in the depth of that heart-breaking sigh, that enforced his silence, he was, by one of his attendance, made this rough uncivil answer.

'My Lord, your wife and children are jealous, and fearful of your cruel furious nature, whereof both they and the kingdom have too true a knowledge to trust you: besides, they are informed, your resolution is to do them mischief, if they approach your danger. This keeps your queen from you she once so truly loved.'

'My queen,' quoth he, 'hath she that remaining title, while I, that made her so, am less than nothing? Alas, poor wretched woman! hath she, nor could she find no other more tolerable excuse than this, so faint a pretended fear and danger? Is there a possibility in her suspicion? or have I the means (if I were so resolved) to do it, that am here a poor forsaken man, as far from power as comfort? And, fellow, thou that takest so audacious and sawcy a liberty, to character thy sovereign's disposition, which thou art bound to honour, and not to question: know, Edward's heart is as free from thy base aspersion, as thine from truth or honesty.'

When he had ended these words, he retires himself to his chamber, sad and melancholy, believing his case was hard and desperate, when so base a groom durst face to face affront him.

The queen and Mortimer, revelling now in the height of their ambition and felicity, had yet a wary eye to the main; which they knew did principally rest on the safeguard and sure keeping of the deposed king. Though they had all the marks and essential parts of an absolute sovereignity, the name alone excepted; yet they had unquiet and troubled thoughts, in the fear and imagination of losing it. They saw their plausible incomes were dully continued, and there was a beginning murmur against the manner of their proceedings. They knew there was no constancy in the people, that would be as ready to take them off, as they were to bring them on, in any new stirring or innovation. The Lords, that were their principal supporters, were content, but not satisfied, all things concurring to make them suspect their own condition.

Edward, the father's faults, were extenuated; his vices ascribed to those that had betrayed him; and his estate infinitely pitied, that had so dishonourable an usage, far short of what in justice appertained to the honour of his first calling. These reports made their ears tingle, and incite them in time to think upon some befitting remedy. Many ways and devices are thought upon, but they are all subject to some manifest imperfection. On this, Mortimer falls to the matter roundly, and tells the queen plainly, that there is no way left to make all sure,

but absolutely to take away the cause, and to leave the party by Edward's death hopeless, that, by his life, sought to make a new combustion.

The queen, whose heart was yet innocent of so deep a transgression, was deeply and inwardly troubled with this unhappy proposition. She believed his sufferings were already greater than his faults, and was unwilling to stain the opinion of her worth and virtue, with so foul an act of injustice. She was assured it could not be so done, but it would be discovered; if the eyes of men could be blinded, yet, that all-knowing power of heaven would reveal and punish it. Such deep actions of crying sins are seldom long unrevenged; which made her most unwilling, that her consent should pass, or be assistant. To kill a king, her husband, that had once so dearly loved her, was more than an act of blood; nor could she expect, but that the son, grown up, would revenge the death of the father. 'Therefore,' quoth she, 'sweet Mortimer, let us resolve rather any other hazard, than this which is waited on with so great infamy and certain ruin.'

Mortimer replies, 'madam, who hath the benefit of time, and neglects the advantage, if he fall, is justly unworthy pity or compassion. Have you exposed yourself to all the bitter trials of fortune, suffering, so meanly, so many miseries; and having overcome them according to your desire, are you willing to return to your own condition, and former sorrow? If it be so, Mortimer is wretched, in sacrificing his devotion and heart to such a female weakness. In cases of extremity, a tenderness of conscience begets a certain danger, nor is it disproportionable so to continue a crown, that by blood was gotten and surprised; had Edward known I should have lived to see his ruin, my head had paid my ransom. The impressions of fear make his subject less in sense than apparition; think not me of so poor a brain, but I as well know how to work as move it; such actions are not to be done, but such a way as may prevent proof, if not suspicion. But why do I seek thus to charm your ears, if you be willing he shall live, let him; let the inclining people set him free, to call you to an account for his oppression; let him parallel his Spencer's death in your affliction; perhaps he will spare you for your brother's sake, who, he knows, so dearly loves you, and did so bravely witness it in your affliction; perhaps he will suffer you still to guide the crown, and your fair son to wear it. If you be pleased, you may abide the trial. Mortimer's resolved, since you neglect his judgment, you will as soon forget his service, which he will in time prevent, before it be debarred.'

With this, he flings away, as if he meant, to give his words a real execution. The amazed queen pursues and overtakes him.

'Stay, gentle Mortimer,' quoth she, 'forgive my error, I am a woman fitter to take advice than to give it. Think not I prize thy love so little as to lose thee. If Edward must die, I will not seek to divert it; only I thus much beg, I may not be partaker, or privy to the time, means, or manner.'

'Madam, leave that to me, who will, alone, both undertake the act and danger; all I require from you, is, but to seal a warrant to change his former keepers.'

Sir Morris Barkley had been tampered withal, and was so far from consent, that he plainly declared he did abhor the action. This answer suddenly dischargeth him, and commits his master's guard to Sir Thomas Gourney, and his former partner, Mattrevers. They, having received both their warrant and prisoner, conveigh him to Cork-castle, the place in all the world he most hated. Some say, he was foretold, by certain magick spells, that this place was to him both fatal and ominous. But, whatsoever the cause was, he was, at his first arrival, deeply sad and passionate. His keepers, to repel this humour, and make him less suspicious, feed him with pleasant discourse, and better entertainment, while his misgiving spirit was heavy, sad, and melancholy.

The night before his death, he supped heartily, and went to bed betimes; scarcely were his heavy eyes locked up in silent slumber, when his forsworn traiterous murderers enter his chamber, and, finding him asleep, inhumanly and barbarously stifled him, before he could avoid or resist it. The writers differ mainly in the manner of his death, but all conclude him murdered; yet so, that the way, on search and view, could not be known or discovered. A small passage of time gave the most part of all these actors of his death an end fit for their deserts, and this so bloody an action. Their several relations and confessions occasion so many various reports, and different kinds of writing; the truth whereof is not much material, since all agree, he came to an unnatural and untimely death.

Thus fell that unhappy king, Edward the second, who was son and father to two of the most glorious kings that ever held the monarchy of the English nation. Main reasons are given probable enough to instance the necessity of his fall, which, questionless, were the secondary means to work it. But his doom was registered by that inscrutable providence of heaven, who, with the self-same sentence, punished both him, and Richard the second, his great grandchild, who were guilty of the same offences. The example of these two so unfortunate kings, may be justly a leading precedent to all posterity.

Certainly, we have had other kings as faulty and vicious, that have overlived their errors, and died not by a violent hand, but by the ordinary and easy course of nature. The condition and quality of these was not, in themselves, more perilous and exorbitant, than hurtful and dangerous to the estate, peace, and tranquillity of the whole kingdom. If, by height of youth, height of fortune, or a corrupt natural inclination, the royal affections loosely fly at random; yet, if it extend no farther than the satisfaction of the proper appetite, it may obscure the glory, but not supplant the strength and welfare of a monarchy. But when it is, in itself, not only vicious and ill affected, but doth patrocine and maintain it in others, not blushing in such a justification, it is a forerunning and presaging evidence, that betokens a fatal and unpitied ruin.

It is too much in a king, that hath so great a charge delivered to his care and custody, to be dissolute, or wantonly given; but when it falls into a second error, which makes more kings than one in the self-same kingdom, he opens the way to his own destruction. The subjects

hearts, as they are obliged, so are they continued by the majesty and goodness of a king; if either of these prove prostitute, it unties the links of duty and allegiance, and hunts after change and innovation.

It is of so singular and great a consequence, that kings ought to be well advised, and sparingly to accumulate their honours and favours, wherein both the time, person, and occasion, ought to be both worthy and weighty; for the eye of the subject waits curiously on his actions, which, finding them degenerating from his own greatness, and inclinable to their oppression, vary their integrity to a murmuring discontent, which is the harbinger to a revolt and mischief. Nor is it proper (if the sovereign's affections must dote) that the object of their weakness should sway the government of the kingdom. Such an intermixtion begets confusion and error, and is attended by a perpetual envy and hatred.

Is it possible, but there must be perpetual error and injustice, where all things are carried more by favour and affection, than law and reason? Or can the lesser fountains be clear, when the main spring that feeds them is tainted and polluted? Alas, common and familiar experience tells, that the actions and principal use of a favourite, is to make good, by his strength and favour, those designs that are, in themselves, unjust, perverse, and insupportable.

A good cause, in the integrity of time, needs no protection but its own innocence. But where the sacred rules of justice are inverted, the sincerity of the law abused, the conscience of the judge corrupted or enforced, and all things made mercenary, or carried by indirect favour; what expectation can there be, but that kingdom, which is the theatre of so infamous a practice, should fall speedily into a fearful and desperate convulsion? Though the histories of these times are plentifully stored, and few commonwealths are free from the examples of this nature; yet I shall not need any other instance, than the story of this unfortunate prince, whose time presents a perfect mirror, wherein ensuing kings may see how full of danger and hazard it is, for one man's love, to sell the affections and peace of the whole kingdom.

Had Edward, in his own particular, been far worse than he was, he might have still subsisted; but when for his inglorious minions, Gaveston and Spencer, who successively engross him, he fell to those injurious and dissolute actions, that made all men, and the kingdom, pray to their insolent and imperious humours, he quickly found both heaven and earth resolved to work his ruin. Not only his own, but theirs, and those of their ignoble agents, were made his proper errors; which took so wholly from him the love and hearts of his subjects, that he found neither arms nor tongue to defend him. A more remarkable misery, I think, no time of ours produceth; that brings this king to destruction, without so much as any one kinsman, friend, or subject, that declared himself in his quarrel.

But he found the climacterick year of his reign, before he did expect it: and made that unhappy castle, which he ever hated, the witness of his cruel murder; where I must leave him, 'till he find a more honourable place of burial, and my weary pen a fortunate subject, that may invite it to some other new relation.

A LETTER

FROM THE

NOBILITY, BARONS, AND COMMONS OF SCOTLAND,

IN THE YEAR MCCCXX,

Yet extant, under all the Seals of the Nobility,

DIRECTED TO POPE JOHN:

Wherein they declare their firm resolutions to adhere to their King, Robert the Bruce, as the Restorer of the safety and liberties of the People, and as having the true right of succession: but, withal, they notwithstanding declare, That, if the King should offer to subvert their civil liberties, they will disown him as an enemy, and choose another to be King for their own defence. Translated from the original, in Latin, as it is inserted by Sir George Mackenzy of Rosehaugh, in his 'Observations on Precedency, &c.' Quarto, containing eight pages.

SANCTISSIMO Patri in Christo, ac Domino, Joanni, Divina Providentia, Sacrosanctæ Romanæ & Universalis Ecclesiæ summo Pontifici, filii sui humiles & devoti, Duncanus, Comes de Fyfe, Thomas Ranulphi, Comes Moraviæ, Dominus Manniæ, & Vallis Annandiæ, Patricius de Dumbar, Comes Marchiæ, Malisius, Comes de Strathern, Malcolmus, Comes de Levenox, Willielmus, Comes de Ross, Magnus, Comes de Cathaniæ & Orcadiæ, & Willielmus, Comes de Sutherlandiæ, Walterus, Senescallus Scotiæ, Willielmus de Soules, Buttellarius Scotiæ, Jacobus, Dominus de Douglas, Rogerus de Moubray, David, Dominus de Brechine, David de Graham, Ingelramus de Umfravile, Joannes de Monteith, Custos Commitatus de Monteith, Alexander Frazier, Gilbertus de

'TO Our Most Holy Father in Christ, and our Lord, John, by the Divine Providence, Chief Bishop of the most Holy Roman and Universal Church, your humble and devoted Sons, Duncan, Earl of Fyfe, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, Lord Mannia, and Annandale, Patrick de Dumbar, Earl of March, Malisius, Earl of Strathern, Malcolm, Earl of Lenox, William, Earl of Ross, Magnus, Earl of Caithness and Orkney, William, Earl of Sutherland, Walter, Steward of Scotland, William de Soules, Buttelarius of Scotland, James, Lord Douglas, Roger de Mowbray, David, Lord Brechin, David de Grahame, Ingelramus de Umfravile, John de Monteith, Warder of the County of Monteith, Alexander Frazer, Gilbert de Hay, Constable of Scotland, Robert de Keith, Mar-

Haia, Constabularius Scotiæ, Robertus de Keith, Mariscallus Scotiæ, Henricus de Sanctoclaro, Joannes de Graham, David de Lindsey, Willielmus Oliphant, Patricus de Graham, Joannes de Fenton, Willielmus de Abernethy, David de Weyms, Willielmus de Montefixo, Fergusius de Ardrosan, Eustachius de Maxwel, Willielmus de Ramsay, Willielmus de Montalto, Alanus de Moravia, Dovenaldus Campbel, Joannes Campburn, Reginaldus le Chene, Alexander de Seton, Andreas de Lesceline, et Alexander de Straton, cæterique barones et liberetenentes, ac tota Communitas regni Scotiæ, omnimodam reverentiam filialem, cum devotis pedum osculis beatorum. Scimus, sanctissime Pater et Domine, et ex antiquorum gestis et libris colligimus, quod inter cæteras nationes egregias, nostra scil. Scotorum natio, multis præconiis fuerit insignita: quæ de majori Scythia per mare Tyrrhenum et Columnas Herculis transiens, et in Hispania inter ferocissimos, per multa temporum curricula, residens, a nullis quantumcunque barbaricis poterat alicubi subjugari; indeque veniens post mille et ducentos annos a transitu populi Israelitici, sibi sedes in occidente quas nunc obtinet, expulsis Britonibus, et Pictis omnino deletis, licet per Norwegienses, Danos, et Anglos sæpius impugnata fuerit, multis sibi victoriis, et laboribus quamplurimis, adquisivit; ipsasque ab omni servitute liberas, ut priscorum testantur historiæ, semper tenuit. In quorum regno, centum et tresdecem reges de ipsorum regali prosapia, nulla alienigena interveniente, regnaverunt, quorum nobilitates et merita, licet ex aliis non clarerent, satis tamen patenter effulgent, ex eo quod Rex Regum Dominus Jesus Christus, post passionem et resurshal of Scotland, Henry de Sancto Claro, John de Graham, David de Lindsey, William Oliphant, Patrick de Graham, John de Fenton, William de Abernethy, David de Weyms, William de Montefixo, Fergus de Ardrosan, Eustachius de Maxwell, William de Ramsay, William de Monte-alto, Allan de Murray, Donald Campbel, John Camburn, Reginald le Chene, Alexander de Seton, Andrew de Lesceline, and Alexander Straton, and the rest of the barons and freeholders, and whole community, or commons of the kingdom of Scotland, send all manner of filial reverence, with devout kisses, of your blessed and happy feet. Most Holy Father and Lord, we know, and gather from ancient acts and records, that, in every famous nation, this of Scotland hath been celebrated with many praises: this nation having come from Scythia the Greater, through the Tuscan sea, and by Hercules's Pillars; and having, for many ages, taken its residence in Spain, in the midst of a most fierce people, could never be brought in subjection by any people, how barbarous soever: and having removed from these parts, above twelve hundred years after the coming of the Israelites out of Egypt, did, by many victories and much toil, obtain these parts in the west, which they still possess; having expelled the Britons, and intirely rooted out the Picts, notwithstanding the frequent assaults and invasions they met with from the Norwegians, Danes, and English: and these parts and possessions they have always retained free from all manner of servitude and subjection, as antient histories do witness. This kingdom hath been governed by an uninterrupted succession of 113 kings, all of our own native and royal stock, without the interve-

rectionem suam, ipsos in ultimis terræ finibus constitutos, quasi primos, ad suam fidem sanctissimam, convocavit: nec eos, per quemlibet in dicta fide, confirmari voluit, sed per suum primum apostolum, quamvis ordine secundum vel tertium, sanctum Andream, meritissimum beati Petri Germanum, quem semper ipsis præesse voluit ut patronum. Hæc autem sanctissimi patres et predecessores vestri solicita mente pensantes ipsum regnum et populum, ut beati Petri Germani peculium, multis favoribus et privilegiis quamplurimis muniverunt. Itaque gens nostra, sub ipsorum protectione, libera hactenus deguit et quietate; donec ille Princeps Magnificus Rex Anglorum Edwardus, pater istius qui nunc est, Regnum nostrum acephalum, Populum que nullius mali aut doli conscium, nec bellis aut insultibus tunc assuetum, sub amici et confœderati specie, innumerabiliter infestavit: cujus injurias, cædes et violentias, prædationes, incendia, prælatorum incarcerationes, monasteriorum combustiones, religiosorum spoliationes, et occisiones, alia quoque enormia, quæ indicto populo exercuit, nulli parcens ætati aut sexui, religioni aut ordini, nullus scriberet, nec ad plenum intelligeret, nisi quem experientia informaret. A quibus malis innumeris, ipso juvante qui post vulnera medetur et sanat, liberati sumus per serenissimum principem, regem, et dominum nostrum, dominum Robertum, qui pro populo et hæreditati suis, de manibus inimicorum liberandis, quasi alter Maccabæus, aut Josue laboris et tædia, inedias et pericula, lætosustinuitanimo: quem etiam divina dispositio, et juxta leges et consuetudines nostras quas, usque ad mortem sustinere volumus, juris successio, et debitus nostrorum conning of any stranger. The true nobility and merits of these princes and people are very remarkable, from this one consideration, though there were no other evidence for it: that the King of Kings, the Lord Jesus Christ, after his passion and resurrection, honoured them, as it were, the first (though living in the outmost ends of the earth) with a call to his most holy faith: neither would our Saviour have them confirmed in the Christian faith, by any other instrument, than his own first apostle, (though, in order, the second or third) St. Andrew, the most worthy brother of the blessed Peter, whom he would always have to be over us, as our patron or protector. Upon the weighty consideration of these things, our most holy fathers, your predecessors, did, with many great and singular favours and privileges fence and secure this kingdom and people, as being the peculiar charge and care of the brother of St. Peter; so that our nation hath hitherto lived in freedom and quietness, under their protection, till the magnificent King Edward, father to the present King of England, did, under the colour of friendship and alliance, or confederacy, with innumerable oppressions infest us, who minded no fraud or deceit, at a time when we were without a king or head, and when the people were unacquainted with wars and invasions. It is impossible for any, whose own experience hath not informed him, to describe, or fully to understand, the injuries, blood, and violence; the depredations and fire, the imprisonments of prelates, the burning, slaughter, and robbery, committed upon holy persons, and religious houses, and a vast multitude of other barbarities, which that king executed on this people, without sparing of any sex, or age,

sensus et assensus, nostrum fecerunt principem atque regem. Cui tanquam illi per quem salus in populo facta est pro nostra libertate tuenda, tam jure quam meritis tenemur, et volumus in omnibus adhærere. Quem, si ab inceptis desistet, Regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos aut regnum nostrum volens subjicere, tanquam inimicum nostrum et sui nostrique juris subversorem statim expellere niteremur, et alium regem nostrum, qui ad defensionem nostram sufficiet, faciemus; quia, quamdiu centum vivi remanserint, nunquam Anglorum dominio aliquatenus volumus subjugari. Non enim propter gloriam, divitias, aut honores pugnamus, sed propter libertatem solummodo, quam nemo bonus nisi simul cum vita amittit. Hinc est, Reverende Pater ac Domine, quod sanctitatem vestram cum omni præcum instantia, genu flexis cordibus exoramus; quatenus sincero corde menteque pia recensentes, quod apud eum cujus vices in terris geritis, non sic pondus et pondus nec distinctio Judæi et Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes et angustias nobis et Ecclesiæ Dei illatas ab Anglicis paternis oculis intuentes; Regem Anglorum, cui sufficere debet quod possidet, cum olim Anglia septem aut pluribus solebat sufficere regibus, monere et exhortari dignemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes Scotia ultra quam habitatio non est, nihilque nisi nostrum cupientes in pace dimittat. Cui pro nostra procuranda quiete quicquid possumus, ad statum nostrum respectu habito, hoc facere volumus cum effectu. Vestra enim interest, Sancte Pater, hoc facere qui Paganorum feritatem, Christianorum culpis exigentibus, in Christianos sævientem aspicitis, et Christianorum terminos arctari indies: quare ne quid vesreligion, or order of men whatsoever. But, at length, it pleased God, who only can heal after wounds, to restore us to liberty, from these innumerable calamities, by our Most Serene Prince, King, and Lord, Robert; who, for the delivering of his people, and his own rightful inheritance, from the enemy's hand, did, like another Joshua, or Maccabeus, most chearfully undergo all manner of toil, fatigue, hardship, and hazard. The divine Providence, the right of succession, by the laws and customs of the kingdom, which we will defend till death, and the due and lawful consent and assent of all the people, made him our King and Prince. To him we are obliged, and resolved to adhere in all things, both upon the account of his right, and his own merit, as being the person who hath restored the people's safety, in defence of their liberties. But, after all, if this Prince shall leave these principles he hath so nobly pursued, and consent that we or our kingdom be subjected to the King or People of England, we will immediately endeavour to expel him, as our enemy, and as the subverter both of his own and our rights, and will make another king, who will defend our liberties: for, so long as there shall but one-hundred of us remain alive, we will never subject ourselves to the dominion of the English: for it is not glory, it is not riches, neither is it honour, but it is liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honest man will lose but with his life. For these reasons, Most Reverend Father and Lord, we do, with most earnest prayers, from our bended knees and hearts, beg and intreat your Holiness, that you may be pleased, with a sincere and cordial piety, to consider, that with

træ sanctitatis memoriæ deroget et, si quod absit, Ecclesia in aliqua sui parte vestris temporibus patiatur eclipsin aut scandalum vos videritis, Exhorter igitur Christianos principes, qui, non casum ut casum ponentes, se fingunt in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ, propter guerras quas habent cum proximis, ire non posse: cujus impedimenti causa est verior, quod, in minoribus proximis debellandis, utilitas proprior et resistentia debilior æstimantur. Sic quam læto corde dictus Dominus Rex noster, et nos, si Rex Anglorum nos in pace dimittet, illuc iremus; qui nihil ignoret satis novit: quod Christi Vicario totique Christianitati ostendimus et testamur. Quibus si sanctitas vestra Anglorum relatibus nimis credula fidem sinceram non adhibet, aut ipsis in nostram confusionem favere non desinat; corporum excidia, animarum exitia, et cætera quæ sequentur incommoda, quæ ipsi in nobis et nos in ipsis secerimus; vobis ab altissimo credimus imputanda. Ex quo sumus et erimus in his quæ tenemur tanquam obedientiæ filii vobis tanquam ipsius Vicario in omnibus complacere; ipsique tanquam summo Regi et Judici causam nostram tuendam committimus cogitatum nostrum jactantes in ipso, sperantesque linem; quod in nobis virtutem faciet et ad nihilum rediget hostes nostros. Serenitatem et Sanctitatem vestram conservet Altissimus Ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ per tempora diuturna. Datum apud Monasterium de Aberbrothock in Scotia, sexto die Aprilis, Anno Gratiæ milesimo trecentesimo vicesimo, Anno vero Regni Regis nostri supradicti quintodecimo.

him, whose Vicar on earth you are, there is no respect nor distinction of Jew nor Greek, Scots nor English; and that, with a tender and fatherly eye, you may look upon the calamities and streights brought upon us, and the Church of God, by the English; and that you may admonish and exhort the King of England, (who may well rest satisfied with his own possessions, since that kingdom, of old, used to be sufficient for seven or more kings) to suffer us to live at peace in that narrow spot of Scotland, beyond which we have no habitation, since we desire nothing but our own; and we, on our part, as far as we are able, with respect to our own condition, shall effectually agree to him in every thing that may procure our quiet. It is your concernment, Most Holy Father, to interpose in this, when you see how far the violence and barbarity of the Pagans is let loose against Christendom, for punishing of the sins of the Christians, and how much they daily incroach upon the Christian territories. And it is your interest to notice, that there be no ground given for reflecting on your memory, if you should suffer any part of the Church to come under a scandal or eclipse (which we pray God may prevent) during your time. Let it, therefore, please your Holiness, to exhort the Christian Princes, not to make the wars, betwixt them and their neighbours, a pretext for not going to the relief of the Holy Land, since that is not the true cause of the impediment; the truer ground of it is, That they have a much nearer prospect of advantage, and far less opposition, in the subduing of their weaker neighbours. And God, who is ignorant of nothing, knows with how much chearfulness, both our King and we would go thither, if the King of England would leave us in peace; and we do hereby testify and declare it to the Vicar of Christ, and to all

Christendom. But, if your Holiness shall be too credulous of the English misrepresentations, and not give firm credit to what we have said, nor desist to favour the English, to our destruction, we must believe that the Most High will lay to your charge all the blood, loss of souls, and other calamities, that shall follow, on either hand, betwixt them and us. Your Holiness, in granting our just desires, will oblige us, in every case where our duty shall require it, to endeavour your satisfaction, as becomes the obedient sons of the Vicar of Christ. We commit the defence of our cause to him who is the sovereign King and Judge; we cast the burden of our cares upon him, and hope for such an issue, as may give strength and courage to us, and bring our enemies to nothing. The Most High God long preserve your Serenity and Holiness to his holy church. Given at the Monastery of Aberbrothock, in Scotland, the sixth day of April, in the year of grace M,CCC,XX, and of our said king's reign, the fifteenth year.'

AN HISTORICAL NARRATION

Of the Manner and Form of that

MEMORABLE PARLIAMENT

WHICH WROUGHT WONDERS.

Begun at Westminster, 1386, in the tenth year of the reign of King Richard the Second. Related and published by Thomas Fannant, Clerk. Printed in the year 1641. Quarto, containing forty pages.

THIS present occasion so opportunely befitting me, I am resolved to treat of that which hath been omitted, and slipped out of memory long since, concerning divers and sundry changes and alterations in England, in former times; nor will it be burthensome to write of that, whereby every good and careful reader may learn to avoid diversities of miseries, and the danger and fear of cruel death. I will, therefore, speak of that which hath lain hid in the darksome shade of forgetfulness, concerning men who have been led away by the deceitful path of covetousness, and have come to a most shameful and ignominious death; a famous example, to deter all men from practising those, or the like courses.

ABOUT the year of Christ, 1386, at such time as Richard, the second of that name, then in the prime of his youth, swayed the imperial sceptre of our realm, there flourished, famous in his court, certain peers, though some of them not of any honourable descent, yet favoured by

fortune; by name, Alexander Nevell, Archbishop of York; Robert Vere, Duke of Ireland; Michael de la Poole, Earl of Suffolk, then Lord Chancellor; Robert Tresilian, Lord Chief Justice of England; and Nicholas Brambre, sometimes mayor of London.

These men, being raised from mean estates by the special favour of the king, and advanced to the degree of privy-counsellors, were the men who had the only rule of the commonwealth, which they, under the king, governed for some small space with careful diligence, meriting thereby deserved commendations. But not long did they thus steer the ship of the kingdom; for, many of them being of inferior rank by birth, not having their veins dignified with the streams of noble blood, they were the sooner inticed with the libidinous baits of voluptuousness, and infected with the insatiable itch of avarice; insomuch that, despising the authority of the king, and neglecting the commodity of the realm, but only desiring to keep up the revenues of the kingdom, so wrought, that, by their policy, the king is impoverished, and the treasure exhausted; the commons murmur at the multiplicity of tenths, levies, and subsidies; the peers repine to see themselves disgraced, and their inferiors honoured; and, in a word, the whole kingdom endures an universal misery.

The nobility, seeing the miserable state wherein the kingdom lay, bleeding, as it were, to death, urged their king to summon a parliament; which was done shortly after; in which, amongst many other acts, the aforesaid Michael de la Poole is dismissed from his chancellorship; and, being accused of divers and many points of injustice, as bribery, extortion, and the like, he was soon after cast into the castle of Windsor, and all his lands, which were of no small revenue, were confiscated to the king. Neither did the parliament here give over, but provided further for the whole state: By the mutual consent of the king and prelates, barons and commons, with an unanimous conjunction, they constitute, and give plenary and absolute power to certain commissioners, as well of the spiritualty, as of the temporalty, for the ordering and disposing of the publick affairs, according as shall seem best and most necessary for the desperate state of the commonwealth, to depress civil dissensions, and to pacify and appease the grudgings of the people.

Of the spiritualty, were chosen the Archbishop of Canterbury, the aforenamed Bishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, lately made Chancellor of England; the Bishop of Winchester, Bishop of Hereford, Lord Treasurer; Bishop of Exeter, Abbot of Walcham, and the Lord John of Waltham.

Of the laity were elected the Duke of York, the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Coltham, the Lord Scroope, and John Devereux, knight. These, as men eminent in virtue, were chosen by the general suffrage, and sworn to carry themselves as dutiful and obedient subjects in all their actions. And it was further enacted, that, if any should refuse, or disobey, the ordinances so made for publick good, the punishment of his first offence should be the confiscation of his goods; and, for the second, the loss of life. Thus disposing all things for the best, the parliament being dissolved, every man returned to his own house.

Soon after, the aforenamed chancellor, with others of their confederates, being moved with implacable fury against the statutes of the

late parliament, they buzzed into the king's ears, that the statutes, lately enacted, were very prejudicial to the honour of his crown, and much derogatory to his princely prerogative; insomuch that he should not have power, without the consent of the new appointed commissioners, to do any thing befitting a king, no, not so much as to bestow a largess; a principal means to gain the people's love upon any, though never so well deserving.

By these, and other the like instigations, with which the devil (as never unmindful of the end of those, who by their lives do prove themselves) did continually supply them, they practised to annihilate and disannul these acts of the parliament, which seemed any ways to abbreviate or curb their usurped authority.

And, first, by their serpentine tongues, ambitious projects, flattery painted out with glossing discourses, and covered over with the shadow of vigilancy for the good of the kingdom, they so bewitched the noble inclination of the youthful king, whom they induced to believe that all the ill they did was a general good, that he began to distaste, and at last to abhor the last passed acts, as treacherous plots, and most wicked devices.

Next, They studied how to ingross all, or the most part, of the wealth and riches of the kingdom, into their own coffers; and, to the same end, dealed so cunningly, yet pleasingly, with the king, that he gave to the Duke of Ireland, John of Bloys, the heir of the duchy of Brittany, and his ransom; to others, towns; to others, cities; to others, lands; to others, money; amounting to the sum of one hundred thousand marks, to the great impoverishment both of king and kingdom; neither did these king eaters and realm devourers any thing regard it, but, setting unskilful and insufficient captains and governors over towns and forts so obtained, gave occasion to the enemies of the crown to surprise them, and dispossess the king of them.

Thirdly, Vilifying the dignity of the king, contrary to their allegiance, they drew the king to swear, that, with all his power, during his life, he should maintain and defend them from all their enemies, whether foreign or domestick.

Fourthly, Whereas it was enacted by the last parliament, that the king, at certain seasonable times, and when his leisure would permit him, should sit at Westminster, with his council there, to consult of the publick affairs; through the persuasions of the aforesaid conspirators, he was drawn into the remotest parts of the realm, to the great disparagement of the fidelity of those honourable, grave, and faithful peers, late made joint commissioners, in whose hands the whole safety and prosperity of the commonwealth did reside.

And whenas the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, or any other of their privy-council, came to relate any of their own actions, or the state of the realm, they could not be granted access, unless they related the business in the presence and hearing of the conspirators, who were always ready to upbraid them, if they uttered any thing that displeased them; and to commend them for any thing, though most nefarious, that did content them; for thus could they the sooner learn and dive into the acts of the commissioners, and the better find

evasions for their accusations. Furthermore, whenas the king, in company of the conspirators, went in progress towards the parts of Cheshire, Wales, and Lancashire, they made proclamation, in the king's name, throughout the shires, as they journied, that all barons, knights, esquires, with the greatest part of the commonalty able to bear arms, should speedily repair to the king for his defence against the power of the commissioners, chiefly of the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl of Arundel, because they, above the rest, did, with their chiefest endeavours, study to suppress and quell the devices of the conspirators.

Fifthly, Contrary to the aforesaid acts, they caused the Duke of Ireland to be created Chief Justice of Chester, thereby selling justice as they listed, condemning the guiltless, and remitting the guilty, never respecting or looking unto the equal balance of justice, but poising down the scales with heaps of bribery.

Sixthly, By the procurement of the confederates, they caused certain honest persons, who would not consent to their extortions, to be called and summoned to their court, and there to answer to certain false accusations, wherewith they were unjustly charged by perjured hirelings; of which men so accused, some were put to death, some cast into prison, all were vexed and troubled with delays, length of their journey to and fro, and excessive charges; neither were they eased of any of their burthens, unless they would part with round sums of money to the duke and his accomplices.

Seventhly, They gave pardons under the broad seal to felons, murtherers, and such like, only with this condition, that they should murther any whomsoever they thought did mislike their exaction.

Eighthly, They taught the country of Ireland to look to its pristine state; I mean, of having a king; for they plotted to have the Duke created king of Ireland; and, for the confirmation of which their design, they allured the king to send his letters to the Pope.

Ninthly, The aforesaid Nicholas Brambre, in the time of his mayoralty, caused twenty-two to be falsely accused of felonies, and laid into Newgate, under pretext and colour of divers crimes; and, in the silent and dead time of the night, to be fast bound, and, by a strong hand, to be carried into Kent, to a place commonly called Fawlocks, and then to have their heads struck off, except one, who, being favoured by the murtherers, safely escaped; the blood of the rest dyed the streams of a small rivulet adjoining.

Tenthly, Soon after, to add one mischief to another, they sent letters, under the king's signet, to the Mayor of London, by John Rippon, clerk, with a certain libel, or schedule, inclosed in the said letters, the tenor of which is as followeth:

That the aforenamed three commissioners, viz. the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, and others of the council, were to be arrested, indicted, condemned, and put to lamentable death, as being such as had conspired against the king, against his prerogative, and against his crown and imperial dignity; and this they did, in a manner, constrain the king to assent unto. Upon receipt of these letters, the mayor and aldermen of the city of London called a common council, wherein they consulted what course was best to be taken in this

matter; and, after long debate *pro* and *con*, it was on all sides agreed, to deny and not to suffer that cruel and unheard of tragical complot to be executed.

It ever happeneth, one wicked act draws on a second, and that second a third, and so forwards, till the weight cracks the supporter.

Therefore the said conspirators, being blinded with rashness, principally sent letters by John Godfrey, knight, to the King of France, the king's adversary, to conclude a five years truce, who should come over to Calais, and from thence should send for the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, and for some other of the commissioners, as though the king were unwilling to determine of any thing without their advice; and, being thus circumvented, should be condemned as traitors, and so put to an ignominious and cruel death.

And, for the doing and performing of these things, the King of France was to recover all the castles, towns, and lands, lying in these countries, and belonging to the King of England. To prove these things to be true, there were certain writings produced by the commissioners, wherein were contained letters from the king of France to the king of England, and from the conspirators, in the king of England's name, to the king of France.

Moreover, there were other letters intercepted, directed to the said king of France; the substance whereof was to incite the king of France to levy a puissant power, both horse and foot, and to draw them down to Boulogne, and thence to transport them into England, against the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, and the rest of the commissioners, and all those that did either countenance or favour the said statutes and commissioners; which, as they falsly alledged, were made in derogation of the king's prerogative; and the aforesaid commissioners to vanquish, oppress, and put to death, and consequently, the whole nation and language utterly to ruin.

Not here concluding their devilish conspiracy, the five aforesaid conspirators departed from Westminster to the castle of Nottingham, and sent a writ for Robert Beale, lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, John Holt, Roger Fulthorp, and William Burleigh, judges of the said court, and for John Locton, the king's serjeant at law: Who being come into the council-chamber, not knowing what they were sent for, the aforesaid conspirators caused the gates and doors of the castle to be shut, and then propounded these questions following unto them:

First, Whether those statutes, ordinances, and commission, made in the late parliament at Westminster, were derogatory to the king's dignity and kingly prerogative? And because they were to be punished who did procure those constitutions, and did incite and move the king to consent unto them, and did, as much as in them lay, to hinder the king from exercising his royal prerogative.

To these, and other the like questions, with a joint consent, they answered, That they were to suffer death as traitors, or else to endure some capital punishment: In witness of which assertion, being terrified with the fear of present death, the aforesaid judges, together with John Carey, lord chief Baron of the Exchequer, they signed and sealed a certain writing, in manner of a protestation, in presence of these witnesses,

Alexander Nevill, Archbishop of York; Robert, Duke of Ireland; Michael, Earl of Suffolk; John Rippon, clerk; and John Blake, fruiterer; dated the 19th of September, anno dom. 1387, in the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard the Second. Then were they compelled to swear that they should keep the passages undiscovered, upon pain of death; and so they had licence to depart. And, when they had plotted those and many other devilish conspiracies, they bound themselves, by an oath, to try all ways, and use all means, as far forth as lay in their power, to disannul and utterly abrogate the acts and statutes of the last parliament.

And, that which is worse, they caused the king to swear, that in his proper person with his whole power he should take revenge of the Duke of Gloucester, of the two earls and their adherents, by causing them to be put to death.

The carriage of all which actions may more easily be known, if the time and the order of them be duly considered.

But our merciful and ever-gracious God, although there were so many plots, so many conspiracies, so many treasons wrought against our state, whereby many miseries did accrue to our kingdom; yet unwilling to take revenge, or to punish us for our sins, but rather, according to his gracious pity, to ease us of our burthenous calamity; inspired into the hearts of the aforesaid Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, the spirit of valour and magnanimity: Who seeing the heap of ills that daily did arise by the practices of those conspirators, they set almost in every part of the kingdom intelligencers, who should apprehend all messengers, and intercept all letters of the king, or that went under the king's name, and should send them to the commissioners.

And thus did they come to have intelligence of the whole plot of the conspirators; all their letters being indorsed with 'Glory be to God on high, on earth peace, and good-will towards men:' And, by coming to the knowledge of each circumstance, they found that the kingdom was at the point of destruction, according to that evangelical saying, 'Every kingdom divided against itself shall be dissolved:' Wherefore they sought for a remedy; for, by the law of nature, it is tolerable to repel violence by violence: Since it is better to prevent than to apply a remedy to a wound, every man according to his ability levied a power for the preservation of the king and kingdom; all which forces being united, amounting to the number of twenty-thousand fighting men, and courageously resolved to frustrate all the intended designs of the conspirators, and to open the nut by cracking the shell; they divided their army, committing part of it to the Earl of Arundel, who, by night, marched away with his forces, and pitched his tents near to London, there fortifying himself in the forest adjoining, until such time as he had gained more convenient time and greater force, by the coming of his consorts. And in the mean time he used such discipline in his camp, that he lacked nothing, but all things were there sold at reasonable rates, as it had been at a market; and hardly could he contain the common people from joining with him, for the overthrow of the conspirators and their adherents.

On the other side, the conspirators intending to prevent their purposes, by power of a certain spiritual commission, and by vertue of certain letters patents in the hands of the conspirators, though nothing to the purpose; yet, to blind the people, they caused to be proclaimed throughout the whole city of London, that none, upon pain of the forfeiture of all their goods, should either sell, give, or communicate privately or publickly victuals, armour, or any other necessaries to the army of the Earl of Arundel, but should debar them of sustentation, comfort, or help, as rebels to the king and country. But, on the other side, they began to fear when they were denied their hoped for aid by the mayor and commonalty of the city of London; and again, they were troubled at the rising of the commoners, to invade them. Wherefore they counselled the king to absent himself from the parliament, which was to begin at Candlemas next, according as the king and commissioners had appointed it, and not consult of the affairs of the kingdom, nor of his own estate, commodity, or discommodity, unless the Duke of Gloucester, the two Earls of Arundel and Warwick, with the rest of the commissioners, would swear, that neither they, nor any in their name, should accuse them or urge any accusation against them.

And they caused it to be proclaimed through the city of London, that none, under pain of confiscation of all their goods, should speak any upbraiding speeches concerning the king or the conspirators; which was a thing impossible to hinder.

Not long after it happened, that the king, with the aforesaid five conspirators, came from his mannor of Sheeve to Westminster, to St. Edmond's tomb, for the solemnizing of a pilgrimage. The mayor and aldermen of the city of London met him on horseback sumptuously attired, honouring him very much. And, when they came to the Mews, they descended from their horses, and went barefoot to the tomb of St. Edmond; whereas the chaplain of the commissioners, with the abbot and convent, met them with a stately procession.

In the mean time the three noblemen, viz. the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, having mustered their troops on the fourteenth of November, in the same year, at Waltham-Cross, in the county of Hertford, and from thence sent for the commissioners, that were there at Westminster in Parliament with the king, sending an accusation in writing to the king against the aforesaid conspirators, viz. the Archbishop of York, Duke of Ireland, Earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, and Nicholas Brambre; wherein they accused them of high treason: Which their appellation they did offer to maintain, and that they were willing to prosecute the same; and, to prove it to be true, they caused also the rest of the commissioners to subscribe, as parties to their appellation.

When these things came to the ears of the king, he sent unto them, requiring to know what their request was, and what they wished to have done. They returned answer thus: That they did desire, that the traitors, which were always about him, filling his ears with false reports, and did daily commit insufferable crimes and injuries, might be rewarded with condign punishment; for it were better, that some few should die for the people, than the whole nation should perish.

And they likewise craved, That they might have safe liberty of going and coming to his grace.

When the king heard their request, he gave them his royal consent, and commanded them to appear at Westminster; and, the king sitting on his throne in the great hall, the three aforesaid peers appellants, with a gallant troop of gentlemen, entered; and, making three lowly obeysances on their bended knees, they reverenced the king; and, drawing near (the cause of their coming being alledged) they there again appealed the Archbishop, Duke of Ireland, lord treasurer, and Brambre, of high treason, according as they had done before at Waltham-Cross; but they betook themselves to the private corners of the palace, even as Adam and Eve from the presence of God, not having the heart to appear to justify themselves.

The king called forth the appellants to prove and prosecute the appellation, prescribing them a day and place for the trial, which was to be on the morrow after Candlemas-day; and in the mean time the king commanded them, upon their honours, not any party to molest the other, until the next parliament.

Those things, thus passed, were publickly proclaimed throughout all England, and they departed joyfully.

The Duke of Ireland, under the guidance of his grand captain the devil, marching into Cheshire, Lancashire, and Wales, raised a new power, amounting to the number of six thousand fighting men, in the king's name, to overthrow and confound the appellants; from thence he marched towards London with his army, with a furious intent and resolution to perform his bloody design: But God, beholding their foolish hearts, filled them with vain hopes, that they should accomplish their enterprises. And, whilst these plots were laid, the appellants, being suddenly apprised thereof, raised a power, and, joining with them the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Nottingham, and other commissioners, marched with long and wearisome marches into a field, near a village called Whitney, at a place called Lockford-bridge; in which field the Duke of Ireland was with the army, having a river on the one side of them, whereas they stood ready prepared to give an overthrow to the appellants, and displaying the king's standard, contrary to the laws of the land: But, although they were so valiant at the beginning, yet were they discouraged at the end; for when they saw the army of the appellants march down from the mountains like a hive of bees, and with such a violent fury, fear benumbed them, and they were so amazed, that, when they should have given the assault (God not suffering the effusion of blood) they stood like a hive of bees, or a flock of cattle without a head, making no shew or countenance of resisting; but, without any stroke given, they flung down their arms, and yielded themselves to the mercy of the appellants, and, a few being slain, and some drowned in the river, gave an easy victory to the conquerors. The Duke of Ireland himself, putting spurs to his horse, took the river, and hardly escaped; and, though he was pursued, yet he escaped through the midst of the troops: And thus, by the mercy of God, they obtained the glorious palm of victory from the hand of heaven.

When the news of the victory was blown to the ears of the rest of the

conspirators, who were then struck with fear, and careful for their preservation, under covert of the night they fled by water to the Tower, drawing the king along with them.

On the other side, Nicholas Brambre, with a bold and resolute courage, in the king's name, caused all the gates of the city to be shut against the appellants, and to be guarded with an able and sufficient watch: But these worthy and dauntless members of the commonwealth marched towards London to confer with the king; but, when they heard that the said Nicholas Brambre had caused the gates of the city to be shut against them, and to be strongly guarded, and that the whole city did purpose to keep them out, they stayed their resolution.

On the twenty-seventh day of September, in the same year, with a melodious sound of divers kind of instruments, as well of war as of peace, they incamped themselves in Clerkenwell, within the liberties of the city of London, not purposing, on the one side, rashly or unadvisedly to enter the city, nor, on the other side, to make any shew of fear, but with a stayed mind, as befitting wise men, with good deliberation to conclude every thing in its due time. And, whenas the mayor, with the citizens, came unto them with pleasing words, promising unto them all that the city could afford with reason and equity, the Duke of Gloucester said, 'Now I know, that lyars speak nothing but lyes, neither can any man hinder them from the relating:' Whereupon, by a joint consent, in the evening they removed their tents, and pitched them before divers gates of the city.

On the morrow, there happened an interview between the king and the appellants, so far, that they opened their minds one to the other; but, because the king loathed to speak with them with such a rabble of men, and in regard of an intolerable boldness, and some quarrel which was like to arise; and, on the other side, refusing to go out of the Tower to speak with them; and the appellants, fearing some violence or wrong to be offered to them, would not speak with the king without a strong guard of valiant warriors; therefore the most wise of the appellants, after disputations, had resolved to go and confer with the king. But first they sent a strong troop, well armed, to search all the corners and caves of the Tower; and, relation being made of the safety of the place, with a selected band of valiant cavaliers, they entered the Tower, and, seizing the gates, and placing a guard, appeared before the king, and there the third time appealed the aforesaid conspirators, in the same sort and form as before; which appellation being ended, the king swore, That he would adhere to their counsel, as a good king and a just judge, so far as the rule of law, reason, and equity did require.

These things being accomplished, they departed from the Tower to their tenements and lodgings; and then it was published and made known in the presence of the king, and throughout the dominions, That, on the morrow after Candlemas-day, the aforesaid conspirators should personally appear to answer to the appellation, whereby they were charged with so many treasons.

And, because the harvest was now ripe, and time convenient to cut up those pestiferous cockles and thistles, by the assent of the king, and

consent of the said commissioners and appellants, they expelled divers of the officers of the houshold, viz. in the place of John Beauchamp, steward of the houshold, they appointed John Devereux, knight, one of the commissioners; Peter Courtney, knight, was made chamberlain, in the stead of Robert Duke of Ireland; and the aforesaid John de Beauchamp, Simon de Burleigh, vice-chamberlain; John Salisbury, Thomas Trynett, James Barats, William Ellingham, and Nicholas Nagworth, knights; and officers of the clergy, viz. Richard Metford, secretary; John Blake, dean of the chapel; John Lincolne, chancellor of the exchequer, and John Clifford, clerk of the chapel, were kept under arrest too, and were as partakers in the aforesaid treason, for that they, knowing and having intelligence of the said conspiracy, did not discover them.

Others, also, as servants of the aforesaid conspirators, and drawn in by craft, yet guiltless, were dismissed and sent away, as men unprofitable, and good for no use.

And thus this hideous brood of monsters, so often shaken, was quite overthrown.

And, on the vigil of the Purification of Saint Mary, in the privy-chamber at Westminster, by joint consent of all the commissioners, the aforesaid John John Holt, Roger Fulthorp, William Burleigh, John Locton, and John Carey, were displaced from their offices, and, without any further ado, arrested of treason, and, by the command of the chancellor, clapped into the Tower; and Roger Carleton in the place of Belknap, Walter Clapton in the place of Tresilian, were constituted. And so for that time they departed, and went to dinner.

And, because Shrovetide was thought a fit time to punish the delinquents, according to their deserts, therefore the great parliament began the second of February following, in this manner:

All the peers, as well of the spiritualty as of the temporalty, being assembled in the great hall at Westminster, the king soon after came, and sat down on his throne; and after him appeared the five noblemen, appellants, the fame of whose admired worth ecchoed thro' all the land, who entered the house in their costly robes, leading one another hand in hand, with an innumerable company following them; and, beholding where the king sat, all at once, with submissive gestures, they reverenced the king. The hall was so full of spectators, that the very roofs were filled with them; and yet, amongst this infinite multitude of the people, there could not be found any of the conspirators, or of their accomplices; but Brambre was taken a little before, and cast into the gaol of Gloucester.

The clergy then placing themselves on the right-hand, and the nobility on the left-hand of the king, according to the ancient custom of the high-court of parliament; the lord chancellor standing with his back towards the king, by the king's command, declared the cause of their summons to parliament: which being ended, the five foresaid appellants, arising, declared their appellation by the mouth of Robert Pleasington, their speaker, who thus spoke:

'Behold, the Duke of Gloucester comes to purge himself of treasons, which are laid to his charge by the conspirators.' To whom

the lord chancellor, by the command of the king, answered, 'My lord duke, the king conceiveth so honourably of you, that he cannot be induced to believe, that you, who are of affinity to him in a collateral line, should attempt any treason against his sacred majesty.' The duke, with his four companions, upon their knees, humbly gave thanks to the king, for his gracious opinion of their fidelity.

Then, after silence proclaimed, they arose, and delivered in certain articles in writing, wherein were contained the particularities of the treason. Which said articles were read by Godfrey Martin, the clerk of the crown, standing in the midst of the parliament-house, by the space of two hours, with an audible voice. At the reading of which, there was a wonderful alteration in the house; for, whereas before the people were glad of the discovery of the treason, at the rehearsal of it, their hearts were so overcome with grief, that they could not refrain from tears. When the articles were read, the appellants requested the king, that sentence of condemnation might be given against the conspirators, and they to receive the reward of their deserts; which the king promised to grant. This was the first day's work. The second was ended with variation of divers consultations, which I will not relate in particular, but treat of the whole parliament in general.

And, when the third day came of their proceedings against the conspirators, the lord chancellor, in the name of the clergy, in open parliament, made an oration, shewing, that they could not by any means be present at the proceeding, where there is any censure of death to be passed. For the confirmation whereof, they delivered in a protestation; which, being read, they spoke, That, neither in respect of any favour, nor for fear of any man's hate, nor in hope of any reward, they did desire to absent themselves; but only, that they were bound by the canon, not to be present at any man's arraignment or condemnation. They likewise sent their protestation to the chapel of the Abbey, where the commons sat; which was allowed of. And then, when the appellants called for justice against the conspirators, the lords of the spiritualty arose, and went into the king's chamber, near adjoining.

But the king moved in conscience, and in charity, perceiving that in every work they are to remember the end; and being willing, contrary to the rigour of the law, to favour rather those that were guilty, than the actors in that treason, if they were able to alledge any thing in their defence, caused the process to cease; but the peers, being earnest, requested, That no business, past, present, or to come, might be debated until this treason were adjudged; to which petition the king graciously granted his assent.

On the eleventh day of February, when nothing could be alledged, nor no witness produced, in justification of the conspirators, but the definitive sentence of condemnation must be pronounced against them, the aforesaid John Devereux, marshal of the court, and, for that time, the king's lieutenant, adjudged them this heavy doom: That the said archbishop of York, Duke of Ireland, Earl of Suffolk, Tresilian, and Brambre should be drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there to be hanged upon a gibbet until they were dead, and all their lands and

goods to be confiscated, that none of their posterity might be by them any way inriched.

On the twelfth day of February, which was the first day of Shrovetide, Nicholas Brambre appeared in parliament; and, being charged with the aforesaid articles of treason, he craved favour to advise of council learned, and some longer time for his more full answer to his accusation; but yet he desired a thing neither usual, nor allowable by the law, and required a thing, which the rigour of the law, in a case of that nature, would not afford. But the judges charged him to answer severally to every point in the articles contained: Whereunto Brambre answered, Whosoever hath branded me with this ignominious mark, with him I am ready to fight in the lists, to maintain my innocency, whensoever the king shall appoint. And this he spoke with such a fury, that his eyes sparkled with rage, and he breathed as if an Ætna had laid hid in his breast; chusing rather to die gloriously in the field, than disgracefully on a gibbet.

The appellants, hearing this courageous challenge, with resolute countenance, answered, That they would willingly accept of the combate, and thereupon flung down their gages before the king; and, on a sudden, the whole company of lords, knights, esquires, and commons flung down their gages so thick, that they seemed like snow in a winter's day, crying out, We also will accept of the combate, and will prove these articles to be true to thy head, most damnable traitor; and so they departed for that day.

And, although the appellants were not idle in the night, yet, on the next day, to aggravate their appellation against the conspirators, there came divers companies of the city of London, complaining of the manifold injuries they had suffered by Brambre, and other extortioners and exactions wherewith they had been daily charged; and yet they protested, that they did not accuse him, either for hate to his person, or for love, fear, or hope of reward from his enemies, but only they charged him with the truth.

But, before they proceed with his trial, they were staid by most unfortunate Tresilian, who, being got upon the top of an house, adjoining to the palace, and having descended into a gutter, only to look about him, he was discovered by certain of the peers, who presently sent some of the guard to apprehend him; who entering into the house where he was, and having spent long time in vain in looking for him, at length one of the guard stepped to the master of the house, and taking him by the shoulder, with his dagger drawn, said thus, Shew us where thou hast hid Tresilian, or else resolve thy days are accomplished; the master trembled, ready to yield up the ghost, for fear, answered, Yonder is the place where he lies, and shews them a round table, covered with branches of bay, under which Tresilian lay close covered; when they had found him, they drew him out by the heels, wondering to see him, as vipers use, to wear his head and beard overgrown, with old clowted shoes, and patched hose, more like a miserable poor beggar, than a judge.

When this came to the ears of the peers, the five appellants suddenly

arose up, and, without expressing any reason, departed out of the parliament-house, which bred great altercation in the house, insomuch that many followed them; and, when they came to the gate of the hall, they met the guard leading Tresilian bound, crying, as they came, 'We have him, we have him.'

Tresilian, being come into the hall, was asked what he could say for himself, why judgment should not pass upon him for his treason so often committed? He became as one that had been struck dumb; and his heart was, as it were, hardened to the last, and would not confess himself guilty of any thing: and for this cause the parliament arose, deferring Brambre's trial till the next day. But Tresilian was, without delay, led to the tower, that he might suffer the execution of the sentence passed against him; his wife and his children did, with many tears, accompany him to the tower; but his wife was so overcome with dolour and grief, that she fell down in a swoon, as if she had been dead.

Immediately, Tresilian is upon a hurdle, and drawn through the streets of the city, with a wonderful concourse of people following him; at every furlong's end, he was suffered to stand still to rest himself, and to see if he would confess and report himself of any thing; but what he said to the friar, his confessor, is not known, neither am I able to search it out. When he came to the place of execution, he would not climb the ladder, until such time, as being soundly beaten with bats and staves, he was forced to go up; and when he was up, he said, 'So long as I do wear any thing upon me, I shall not die;' wherefore the executioner stripped him, and found certain images, painted like to the signs of heaven; and the head of a devil painted, and the names of many of the devils wrote in parchment; the exorcising toys being taken away, he was hanged up naked; and because the spectators should be certainly assured that he was dead, they cut his throat; and, because the night approached, they let him hang until the next morning; and then his wife, having obtained a licence of the king, took down his body, and carried it to the Grey-friars, where it was buried. On the morrow, sentence was likewise pronounced against Brambre, who being drawn upon a hurdle from the Tower to Tyburn, through the city, shewed himself very penitent, humbly craving mercy and forgiveness at the hands of God and men, whom he had so grievously offended, and whom he had so injuriously wronged in time past, and did earnestly desire them all to pray for him. When the rope was about his neck, ready to be turned off, a certain young man, the son of one Northampton, asked him, if he had done justice to his father, or not; for Northampton was sometime mayor of the city of London, more wealthy, and more substantial, than any else in the city; him did Brambre and Tresilian accuse of treason and conspiracy against the state, and condemned him to die; being dispoiled of his estate, he himself, at length, hardly escaped; to whom Brambre answered, and confessed, with bitter tears, that what he did was most vile and wicked, and with an intent only to murther and overthrow the said Northampton; for which, craving pardon of the young man, being suddenly turned off, and the executioner cutting his throat, he

died. Behold how pleasant and delightful it is to climb up to honour! I suppose it is better to live meanly at home, with quietness, amongst poor men, than to lord it amongst princes, and, in the end, to climb a ladder amongst thieves; it is even better to undergo the burden, than to assume the name of honour; therefore, whosoever do not regard the laws, let them observe and consider the end of these men, and with what period they finished their days.

These men being dispatched, the parliament discontinued their proceedings against the rest of the conspirators till a more convenient time, and took into their consideration other more weighty affairs of the weal-publick; they made the Earl of Arundel Lord Admiral, giving him authority to resist and to repulse, either by sea or land, the enemies of the crown, wheresoever he should find them.

And it was further agreed on, that, for the appeasing of all private discontents, if any were, the king, and the rest of the appellants, with the rest of the commissioners, should dine together in the great hall; which they did, and there was great joy at this reconciliation through all the kingdom.

When these things were concluded, they then began again this arraignment of the traitors; whereupon John Blake and Thomas Uske were indicted on the fourth day of March, who, although they were men of inferior quality, yet were they found to be parties in the said treason: Uske was a serjeant at arms, and was indicted amongst the conspirators, for that, being late made sheriff of Middlesex, he had indicted the five appellants and the commissioners, as traitors; and Blake was an intelligencer of Tresilian's, one that used to go and come between the conspirators, and relate the state and success of the treason from one to another.

And, when they could say nothing to prove themselves clear, sentence was pronounced upon them, as on their masters before them; they were carried to the tower, and from thence were dragged at the horse-tail to Tyburn, and there hanged.

But Uske obtained this favour, that his head was cut off, after he was hanged, and set aloft upon Newgate, for fowls of the air to take repast.

On the sixth day of March, there were called to answer Robert Belknap, John Holt, Roger Falthorp, William Burleigh, John Locton, and John Carey, baron of the exchequer, for their conspiracy against the commissioners at Nottingham; but, because it is not needful to rehearse every part of their indictment, they were all condemned like as the rest.

Whilst the peers were trying them, the clergy were retired into the king's chambers; but, when word was brought to them of the condemnation of the judges, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, the chancellor, the treasurer, and lord keeper of the privy-seal, arose hastily, and went into the parliament-house, pouring forth their complaints before the king and the peers, humbly upon their knees, beseeching them that, for the love of God, the Virgin Mary, and of all the saints, even as they hoped to have mercy at the day of judgment, they should shew favour, and not put to death the said

judges then present; and bitterly bewailing their iniquities, in whose hearts the very life, soul, and spirit of our English laws lived, flourished, and appeared; and there appeared great sorrow, both on the part of the complainants, and also of the defendants.

The Duke of Gloucester likewise, with the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Nottingham, and Derby, whose hearts began to be mollified, joined with them in their lamentable petition.

At length, by intercession of the clergy, the execution upon the persons was ceased, and their lives were granted them, but they were sent to the tower to be kept close prisoners.

On the twelfth of March, being Thursday, it happened, that the aforesaid knights, Simon de Burleigh, John de Beuchamp, James Bereverous, and John Salisbury, were brought into the parliament-house, where their accusations were read, proved, and they found guilty, and not any way able to clear themselves.

From this day, almost till the ascension of our lord, the parliament-house was only taken up with the trial of Sir Simon Burleigh; for three appellants, viz. the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, with the whole house of commons, urged that execution might be performed according to law: and, on the other side, the king and queen, the Earls of Derby and Nottingham, and the Prior of St. John, his uncle, with the major part of the upper house, did labour to have him saved.

But, because the commons were tired with so many delays and excuses in the parliament, and fearing, as it was most likely, that all their pains would be to little or no purpose, they humbly craved leave of the king, to go to their habitations.

There was also some muttering amongst the common people; and it was reported to the parliament, that the commons did rise in divers parts of the realm, but especially about Kent, in favour of the said Sir Simon Burleigh; which, when they heard, those, that before spoke and stood for him, now flew clean from him; and, by joint consent, on the fifth day of May, sentence was pronounced only against the said Sir Simon, that he should be drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there to be hanged till he was dead, and then to have his head struck from his body. But, because he was a knight of the garter, a gallant courtier, powerful, and once a favourite of the king's, and much respected of all the court, the king, of his special grace, was pleased to mitigate his doom, that he should only be led to Tower-hill, and there be beheaded.

On the twelfth of May, the Thursday before Whitsontide, in like manner were condemned John Beuchamp, steward of the household to the king; James Bereverous, and John Salisbury, knights, gentlemen of the privy-chamber; whereof the two first, viz. John Beuchamp and James Bereverous, were beheaded on Tower-hill; but John Salisbury was drawn from Tower-hill to Tyburn, and there was hanged.

On the same day, also, was condemned the Bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor; but, because of his great dignity, he was pardoned. Now they began to loath the shedding of so much christian blood, they took into consideration other more weighty affairs for the good of

the realm, concerning the wars with the Scots and French, concerning loans and subsidies, and of the customs of wine and wool.

And also concerning the translation of some bishops, because Pope Urban the sixth, after it came to his ears, that the Archbishop of York was condemned, to avoid all hope of irregularity, created him Archbishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland; which archbishoprick was under the power of the Scots, enemies to the crown, and in the gift of the archpope; and, because the pope did challenge half the titles of all England to maintain his wars, but, although he craved it, yet he was denied; therefore he dealed warily and craftily, hoping to make up his mouth by the translation of bishops; the Bishop of Ely, then Lord Chancellor, was made Archbishop of York; the Bishop of Dublin succeeded in his place, the Bishop of Bath and Wells in his place, the Bishop of Sarum in his place, and the Lord John of Waltham, Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, in his place: and thus, by his translation of bishops, he gained himself much money, according to the laws of the canon; and, when this came to the ears of the parliament, that such a sum of money should be transported out of the land, they strove what they could to hinder it, but could not, because the clergy gave their consent.

On the last day of May, the king appointed both houses to meet at Keemington, where they made a conclusion of all the trials of the said treason, granting licence to Thomas Trenet, William Ellingham, and Nicholas Nagworth, knights; Richard Metford, John Slake, and John Lincolne, clerks, to put in bail, provided they were sufficient, and to go into any place of England where they listed, without any let or hinderance of any of the king's officers.

Moreover, the six justices, with the Bishop of Chichester, who stood condemned with them, were sent into Ireland, there to remain for term of life; and thus they were to be divided, viz.

Robert Belknap and John Holt, in the village of Dromore in Ireland, not to remain as justices, or any officers, but to live as banished offenders, not to be out of town, above the space of two miles, upon pain of death; but the king, out of his gracious bounty, was pleased to give a yearly annuity of forty pounds to Robert Belknap, and of twenty marks to John Holt, during their lives; and to Roger Fulthorp the king allowed forty pounds, and to William Burleigh forty pounds, during life; confining them to the city of Dublin; granting Burleigh the liberty of two miles, and to Fulthorp three miles, for their recreation; John Carey and John Locton, with the yearly allowance of twenty pounds during life, are confined to the town of Waterford, with the like liberty, and the like penalty; and the Bishop of Chichester is likewise sent to Cork, there to remain, with some allowance, and the like penalty.

Behold these men, who feared not God, nor regarded men, but having the laws in their own hands, wrested them now this way, now that way, as pleased best their appetites, wresting them at their pleasure for their own commodity, were, at the last, brought down to the depth of misery, from whence they were never able to free themselves!

On the third day of June, which was the last day of the parliament,

the king, the queen, the peers of both states, with the commons, came to the Abbey of Westminster; where the Bishop of London, because it was in his diocess, sung mass; and, the mass being ended, the Archbishop of Canterbury made an oration concerning the form and danger of the oath, which being, although the peers and commons had taken the oath of allegiance and homage to the king, yet because the king was young, when they took the oath a-new, as at the first, at his coronation.

These ceremonies being performed, the metropolitan of England, with all his suffragans there present, having lighted a candle, and putting it under a stool, put it out; thereby excommunicating all such as should seem to distaste, dislike, or contradict any of the forepassed acts in the last parliament; and the Lord Chancellor, by the king's appointment, caused all that were present, to swear to keep the said statutes inviolably whole and undissolved, as good and faithful liege-people of the king's; and the form of the parliament was observed throughout all the realm.

On the morrow, which was the fourth day of June, many courteous salutations and congratulations having passed between the king, the nobility, and commonalty, the parliament was dissolved, and every man returned home.

And now let England rejoice in Christ, for that the net, which was laid so cunningly for our destruction, is broken asunder, and we are delivered. To God be the praise for all.

The Names of such as were charged and condemned of High Treason in this aforesaid memorable parliament.

ALEXANDER NEVILLE, Archbishop of York.

Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, who was banished into France, where he was killed by a wild boar.

Michael de la Poole, Earl of Suffolk, and Lord Chancellor.

Robert Tresilian, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

Sir Nicholas Brambre, sometime Lord Mayor of London, made a Privy Counsellor.

John Blake, a Serjeant at Arms.

Thomas Uske, an Intelligencer of Tresilian's.

All these, except the Duke of Ireland, were drawn and hanged at the Elms, now called Tyburn.

Robert Belknap.

John Holt.

Roger Falthorp.

William Burleigh.

John Locton.

John Carey, Baron of the Exchequer.

All these former six named men were, as it seems, Judges; and, although condemned, yet their lives were saved at the intercession of some of the guiltless peers, and they afterwards were banished into Ireland.

Sir Simon de Burleigh was also condemned and beheaded: he was a Knight Banneret, and of the Garter, a great and gallant courtier, and his body lieth honourably buried and intombed in Paul's Church.

Sir John Beuchamp, Steward of the Household to the King, and

Sir James Bereverous, were also condemned and beheaded at Tower-hill.

Sir John Salisbury was condemned, drawn from Tower-hill to Tyburn, and then hanged.

There were also detected, and condemned of the aforesaid treason,

The Bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor.

Sir William Ellingham, Knight.

Sir Thomas Trinet, Knight.

Sir Nicholas Nagworth, Knight.

Richard Metford, Clerk.

John Slake, Clerk.

John Lincolne, Clerk.

An Abstract of many memorable Matters, done by Parliaments, in this Kingdom of England.

BY parliament, Sir Thomas Wayland, chief justice of the common-pleas, 17 Edw. I. was attainted of felony for taking bribes, and his lands and goods forfeited, as appears in the pleas of parliament, 18 Edw. I. and he was banished the kingdom, as unworthy to live in that state, against which he had so much offended.

By parliament, Sir William Thorp, chief justice of the king's bench in Edw. III's time, having of five persons received five several bribes, which in all amounted to but one hundred pounds, was for this alone adjudged to be hanged, and all his goods and lands forfeited.

The reason of the judgment is entered in the roll in these words:

'Because that, as much as in him lay, he had broken the king's 'oath made to the people, which the king had intrusted him withal.'

By the parliament, holden, Anno 22, Hen. II, assembled at Nottingham, and by advice thereof, the king caused the kingdom to be divided into six parts, and justices itinerants appointed for every part, with an oath by them to be taken for themselves, to observe and cause inviolably to be observed, of all his subjects of England, the assizes made at Clarendon, and renewed at Northton.

By the parliament, in the 11th of Edw. I, the dominion of Wales was united to the crown of England; in the parliament, in Anno 16 of Edw. I. 1289, upon the general accounts made of the ill administration of justice in the king's absence, by divers great officers and

ministers of justice, these penalties were inflicted upon the chief ministers thereof; whose manifest corruptions the hatred of the people to men of that profession, apt to abuse their science, and authority, and the necessity of reforming so grievous a mischief in the kingdom, gave ease thereunto by the parliament then assembled, wherein, upon due examinations of their offences, they are fined to pay to the king these sums following:

First, Sir Ralph Hengham, chief justice of the higher bench, seven thousand marks.

Sir John Loveton, justice of the lower bench, three thousand marks.

Sir William Brompton, justice, six thousand marks.

Sir Soloman Rochester, four thousand marks.

Sir Richard Boyland, four thousand marks.

Sir Thomas Sadington, two thousand marks.

Sir Walter Hopton, two thousand marks.

These four last were justices itinerants.

Sir William Saham, three thousand marks.

Robert Lithbury, master of the rolls, one thousand marks.

Roger Leicester, one thousand marks.

Henry Bray, escheater and judge for the jews, one thousand marks. But Sir Adam Stratton, chief baron of the exchequer, was fined in four and thirty thousand marks. These fines, as the rate of money goes now, amount to near three hundred thousand marks; a mighty treasure to be gotten out of the hands of so few men, which, how they could amass in those days, when litigation and law had not spread itself into those infinite wreathings of contention, as since it hath, may seem strange even to our greater-getting times.

In the parliament Anno 2 of Edw. III. held at Nottingham, that great aspirer Mortimer was accused, condemned, and sent up to London, and drawn, and hanged at the common gallows at the Elms, now called Tyburn.

In the fiftieth year of the reign of Edw. III. Anno Dom. 1376, was held a parliament at Westminster, which was called the Great Parliament, where were divers complaints exhibited by the parliament, charging the king's officers with fraud, and humbly craving that the Duke of Lancaster, the Lord Latimer, then Lord Chamberlain, Dame Alice Peirce the king's concubine, and one Sir Richard Sturry, might be removed from court; their complaints and desires are so vehemently urged by their speaker, Sir Peter la Moore, that all these persons were presently put from court.

By parliaments, all the wholesome fundamental laws of this land were and are established and confirmed.

By act of parliament, the pope's power and supremacy, and all superstition and idolatry, are abrogated, abolished, and banished out of this land.

By act of parliament, God's true religion, worship, and service are maintained and established.

By act of parliament, the two famous universities of Cambridge and Oxford have many wholesome and helpful immunities.

By parliament, one Pierce Gaveston, a great favourite and notable misleader of king Edw. II. was removed, banished, and afterwards

by the lords executed. So were Hugh Spencer the father, and Hugh the son.

By parliament, Epsom and Dudley, two notorious pollers of the commonwealth, by exacting penal laws on the subjects, were discovered, and afterwards executed.

By parliament, the damnable gun-powder treason, hatched in hell, is recorded to be had in eternal infamy.

By parliament, one Sir Giles Mompesson, a modern caterpillar and poller of the commonwealth, by exacting upon Innholders, &c. was discovered, degraded from knighthood, and banished by proclamation.

By parliament, Sir Francis Bacon, made by King James, Baron Verulam, and Viscount St. Albans, and Lord Chancellor of England, very grievous to the commonwealth, by bribery, was discovered and displaced.

By parliament, Sir John Bennet, judge of the prerogative court, pernicious to the commonwealth in his place, was discovered and displaced.

By parliament, Lionel Cranfield, sometime a merchant of London, made by King James, Earl of Middlesex, and Lord Treasurer of England, hurtful in his place to the commonwealth, was discovered and displaced.

By parliament, one Sir Francis Mitchel, a jolly justice of peace for Middlesex in the suburbs of London, another notable canker-worm of the commonwealth, by corruption in exacting the penal laws upon poor alehouse-keepers and victuallers, &c. was discovered, degraded from knighthood, and utterly disabled for being justice of peace.

By parliament, Spain's late fraud was discovered, and by act the two treaties, with that perfidious nation, for the match of the prince, our now gracious king, and restitution of the palatinate, were dissolved and annihilated: both which had cost the king and his subjects much money, and much blood. We may remember, that that sage counsellor of state, Sir William Cecill, Lord Burleigh, and Lord Treasurer of England, was oftentimes heard to say, 'He knew not what an act of parliament might not do:' which sage saying was approved by King James, and by his majesty alledged in one of his published speeches.

Which being so, now the face of christendom being at this present so torn and miserably macerated, and the christian world distracted; the gospel in all places almost persecuted; both church and commonwealth, where the gospel is professed in all places beyond the seas, lying a bleeding, as we may say, and we ourselves at home, not without fear and danger: to conclude, what good may we not hope and pray for, by this present and other ensuing parliaments, the only means to rectify and remedy matters in church and commonwealth much amiss.

THE

PRAIER AND COMPLAYNTE* OF THE PLOWEMAN

VNTO CHRISTE:

Written not long after the yere of our Lord, a thousande and thre hundred.

CHRISTUS MATT. x.

If they haue called the Lorde of the Howse Beelzebub: how moch more shal they so call them of hys Howshold?

Printed, without date, Octavo, Black Letter, containing ninety-six pages.

TO THE CHRISTEN READER.

Grace be with the, and peace be multiplied in the knowlege of God the Father, and of oure Lorde Iesus Christe. Amen.

CHRISTE, oure Sauioure, and his Apostels after hym, although they taught no thinge which was not taught in the law and the prophetes more then a thousande yeres before, ever and in euery place, desyringe the audience to serche the Olde Scriptures, and proue whether they testified with hym or no: yet, all this not withstandinge, the scribes, the phareses, the byschops, the prestes, the lawyers, and the elders of the people, cryed alwayes: 'What new lerninge is this? These fellowes teach new lerninge. These be they that trouble all the world with their new lerning, & cete. And so with avayne name of new lerninge, and with their autorite and opinion of olde lerninge and auncientnes of the Church, they so blinded the same people that herde Christes doctrine of his awne mouth, sawe hys lyuyinge and his miracles, and they that at his cominge to Hierusalem mette hym by the waye, cast their clothes and grene bowes in his waye, cryenge with an open voyce, 'Blessed ys he that cometh in the name of the Lorde:' The same people, I say, were so blinded and iugled with them, that the sixt daye after they cryed, 'Hange hym on the crosse; hange hym on the crosse.

And quitte one Barabas, a mortherer, and delyuered innocente Christ unto deth.'

All this did their byschops, prestes, and lawyers bringe to passe, only by that they made the people beleve it was new lerninge. And that the Scripture there was no man that cowlde vnderstande but they; and that Christ and his disciples were men nother of authorite nor reputacion, but laye men, ydiotes, fyschers, carpenters, and other of the rascall sorte. So that it was not possible that ever God wold open that vnto soch a rude sorte, which the religious phareses, the holy byschops, the vertu-

* This is the 103d article in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

ous prestes, the auncient doctours, the gret lerned lawyers, and the wise and sage elders knew not. But it must nedes be that Christe and al his disciples were heretiques, scismatiques, and disceauvers of the people, and well worthy to be put to some shamefull deth for it, to the example of all other. As they were in dede afterwarde.

But yet, for all this, even apon the crosse Christe ouercame his enemies. And, when they thought that they had layed him to slepe for ever, he rose agayne. And his disciples haue ever had the victory upon the crosse, and testified vnto the worlde the wisdome of God in these pore ydiotes, and veray folishnes and wisdome of the flesh in these gret lerned aunciente fathers.

Even now after the same manner, that ye maye grope with your fyngers, that oure holy byshops, with all their ragman's rolle, be of the selfe same sorte, and veray childerne of their fathers the phareses, bischops and prestes, which so accused Christ and his apostles of new lerninge: ye do se how they defame, sclaunder, and persecute the same worde and preachers and folowers of it, with the selfe same names, calling it new lerninge, and them new masters. And retayne the people in erroure with their fathers olde face of religiouse phareses: fryars, I wolde say, and monkes, of holy byschops, of vertuous prestes, of aunciente doctors, of the gret lerned lawyers, and of the wise and sage elders. And take away the autorite and estimacion of Gods worde and the credence of the preacher, with 'Ye maye se there ys no man preaches so but two or-three, and they haue no lerninge, and the folish people which hath no lernynge for lowes them. But ye shall se no man of substance, of reputacion, of autorite, or lerninge take parte with them.

And so, with these old clokes of their fathers, the phareses, byschops, and prestes, fyrst they persuade the people the worde of God to be heresye. And by that means they liberally prison and persecute vnto the deeth all the professours of the same. Even as the old phareses, with the bischops and prestes, prisoned and persecuted Christe and his apostles, that all the rightuous bloude may fall on their heedes, that hath been shed, from the bloude of Steuen, the first martyr, to the bloude of that innocent man of God, Thomas Hitton, whom Willyam Werham, Byschop of Canturbury, and John Fyscher, Byschop of Rochestur, morthered, at Maydeston in Kente, the last yere, for the same trouth. I pray God that they maye be ones turned vnto the Lorde, that he maye heale them, and forgeue them that sin of ignorancy. For as for these malicious tyrauntes that persecute against their awn conscience, I praye not, but leaue them to the iudgemente of God, as manyfest synners against the Holy Goost.

As for the trouth, when they haue slayne and put to sylence al the preachers of the same, and layed it to slepe, doutles God, after his old facion, shall there, by them and by those meanes that they doubt leest, reyse vp the trouth againe, to the vttur confusion of al hys enemies, whose iudgemente doth not slepe.

Now, good reader, that thou maist se playnly that it ys no new thinge, but an olde practyse of oure prelates lerned of their fathers, the byschops, phareses, and prestes of the olde law, to defame the doctrine of Christe with the name of new lerninge, and the teachers therof with the name

of new masters: I haue put forth here in printe this 'Prayer and Complaynte of the Ploweman, which was written not longe after the yere of oure Lorde, a thousand and thre-hundred, in his awne olde English, chaingynge there in nothinge, as ferforth as I could obserue it, other the English or ortographie, addinge also there to a table of soch olde wordes as be now antiquate and worne out of knoulege by processe of tyme. I desyre the to reade it with descrecion and ernestly, or ever thou iudge, and, if thou fynde anythinge in it when thou haste conferred it with the Scripture to thy edificacion or lerninge, geve God thankes. And if here after there shall chaunce to come into my handes any more soch holy reliques, perceauinge this to be accepted, I shall spare nother laboure nor cost to destribute it in to as many partes as I haue done thys, by the help of God, to whome be all honoure, glorye, and prayse, for ever. Amen.

The last daye of February, Anno 1531.

Here followeth the Table.

Apayed, Contented or pleased.
Ar than, Before that.
Behizte, Promised.
Byhest, Promyse.
Byhoten, Promised.
Bliue, Quyckely.
Benemen, Take a waye.
Clepe, Call.
Cheucteyn, Capitain.
Chepinge, Market.
Dreynte, Drowned.
Desert, Wilderness.
Dome, Iudgement.
Fele, Often.
Fullen, Baptise.
Forwarde, Convenaunte or Bargen.
Heryinge, Worship or worshipinge.
Hired Men, Parish Prestes.
Lewed Man, Laye Man.
Lesewes, Pastures or Feldes.
Mawmetis, Images.
Nele, Will not.
Sternship, Cruelnes.
Shepherdes, Byschops, Persons or Vicars
Sweuens, Dreames.
Seggen, Saye.
Thralles, Bonde Men.
Thraldome, Bondage.
Wonniers, Inhabitauntes or Dwellers.
Zerners, Chapmen.

THE PLOWEMAN'S PRAYER.

IESU CHRIST, that was ybore of the Mayde Marie, haue on thy pore servantes mercye and pity, and helpe hem in her gret nede to fizte azens synne, and azens the Deuele that is autor of synne; and more nede nes ther neuer to crie to Christ for helpe, then it ys rizt now, for it ys fulfilled that God sayde by Isaye the Prophete, 'Ze ryseth up erlich to folow dronkenes, and to drinke to it be even; the herpe and other mynstresies bith in your festes and wine. But the warke of God ye ne beholdeth not, ne taketh no kepe to the warkes of his handes: and therfore my people ys take prisoner, for they ne had no connynge; and the

noble men of my people deyeden for honger; and the multitude of my people weren drye for thyrst: and therfore hell hath drawen abroade her sowle, and hath yopened hys mouth withouten any ende. And eft sones,' sayeth Isaye the Prophete, 'The word ys floten a waye, and the hyznes of the people ys ymade seek, and the erth ys infect of hys wonnyers; for theyhaue broken my lawes, and ychaunged my rizt, and han distroyed myn everlastinge bonde and forwarde betwene hem and me. And therfore cursynge shall deuoure the erthe, and they that wonneth on the ertly shullen don synne. And therfore the erth tilyars shullen waxe wood, and few men shullen ben yleft apon the erth.' And zet, sayethe Isaye the Prophete, 'This sayeth God, For as moch as this people nyzeth me with her mouth, and glorifiethe me with her lippys, and her harte ys ferre from me; and they hanydrad more mennys commaundementes then myne, and more draw to her doctrines then to myne. Therfore woll I make a gret wondringe vnto this puple; wisdome shall perish awaye from wise men, and vnderstandinge of readie men shall bee yhid.' And so it semeth that another sayenge of Isaye ys fulfilled, there as God bade hym go teach the puple, and sayed, 'Go forth and saye to this puple, Eres hereye and vnderstand ye not, and yes ze haue fixt and ne know ye not. Make blinde the hert of this puple, and make her eres hevye, and close her yeen, lest he se with his yeen, and yhere with his eres, and vnderstand with his hert, and be yturned, and ych hele hym of his syckenes.' And Isaye sayed to God, 'How longe, Lord, shal this be?' And God sayed, 'For to that cyties ben desolate with outen a wonnyer, and an howse withouten a man.'

There ys mychel nede for to make sorow, and to crye to owre Lorde Iesu Christ hertilich for help and for succoure, that he wole forzeue vs owre synnes, and zeve vs grace and connynge to seruen hym bettur here after. And God of hys endles mercy zeve vs grace and connynge trulich to tellen which ys Christes law in helpinge of mennes sowles, for we beth lewde men, and synneful men, and uncominge; and, yf he woll be owre help and owre succoure, we shullen well perfourme owre purpose. And yblessed be owre Lorde God, that hydeth his wisdome from wise men, and from redye men, and teacheth it to small childern, as Christ teacheth in the gospell.

Christen men han a law to kepe, the which law hath twee parties. Beleve in Christ that ys God, and ys the foundement of her law, and vpon thys foundemente, as he sayed to Peter, and the gospel bereth witnes, he woll byelden hys church. And this ys the fyrst partie of Christes law. The seconde partie of his law beth Christes commaundementes, that beth written in the gospell, and more verileeh in Christen mennes hertes.

And, as towchinge the beleve, we beleven that Christ ys God, and that there ne ys no God but he. We beleven, never the lesse, that in the Godhed ther ben thre parsones, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Gost, and all these thre parsones ben one God and not many Goddes, and all they beth ylich mizty, ylich good, and ylych wise, and ever have ben, and ever shullen ben. We beleven this God made the worlde of nozt, and man he made after his awne lykenesse, in Paradise, that was a londe of blysse, and zaue hym that londe for his erytage, and bad hym that he

shuld not eate of the tre of knowlege of good and evill, that was amydde Paradyse.

Then the devell, that was fallen out of heven for hys pride, had envye to man, and by a fals suggestion he made man eate of this tree, and breake the commaundement of God; and tho was man ouercomen of the devell, and so he lost his heritage, and was yput out there of into the worlde, that was a londe of trauel and of sorowe, undre the fyndes thraldome to be punyshed for his trespasse. There man folowed wyckednesse and synne, and God, for synne of man, sent a flode in to this worlde, and dreynte all mankynde saue eght sowles. And after this flode he late men multiplien in the worlde, and so he assayed whether man drad hym or loued hym, and, amonge other, he fonde a man that hyzt Abraham: this man he proued whether he loued him and drad hym, and bade hym that he shulde offeren Isaac his sonne apon an hyll; and Abraham, as a trewe seruant, fulfilled his Lordes commaundement, and, for this buxumnes and treweth, God sware vnto Abraham, that he wold multiplie his sede as the gravell in the see, and the sterres of heven; and he behizt to hym and to hys heyres the Londe of Beheest for eretage for ever, zyf they wolden ben his trewe seruantes, and kepe hys heestes. And God helde him forwarde: for Isaac, Abrahams sonne, begat Iacob and Esau, and of Iacob that ys ycleped Ysraell comen Gods puple, that he chose to be his seruantes, and to whome he behizt the Londe of Byhest; this puple was in gret thraldom in Egypt, under Pharao, that was Kynge of Egypt; and they cry even to God that he shuld delyveren hem oute of that thraldom, and so he dyd: for he sente to Pharao, Moses and his brother Aaron, and bade hym delyver hys puple to don hym sacryfice, and to fore Pharao he made Moses don many wondres, or that Pharao wold delyver hys puple, and at the last bymyzt he delyvered his puple oute of thraldom, and led hem thorowz a desert toward the Londe of Byheste, and there he gaue hem a law that they shulden lyuen after, when they comen in to her contrey, and in ther wey thider warde, the ten commaundements God wrote himselfe in two tables of stoon. The remnawnt of the lawe he tawzt hem by Moses his seruant, how they shulden do eurichone to other; and, zif they trespased azeyn the law, he ordened how they shulden be punished. Also he tawzt hem what maner sacrifices they shulden do to hym, and he chees hym a puple to ben hys prestes, that was Aaron, and his children to don sacryfices in the tabernacle, and afterwarde in the temple also. He chees hym the remenaunt of the children of Levy to ben seruantes in the tabernacle to the prestes, and he sayde, 'When ze comen in to the Londe of Behest, the children of Levy, they shullen haue noon heritage amonges her bretherne, for ych woll be here parte, and her heritage, and they shullen serue me in the tabernacle by dayes and by nyztes. And he ordened that prestes shulden haue a part of the sacryfyses that weren offred in the tabernacle, and the fyrst begooten beestes, both of men and beestes and other thinges, as the law telleth. And the other children of Levy, that serueden in the tabernacle shulden haue tythinges of the puple to her lyuelood, of the which tythinges, they shulden zeven the prestes the tenth partie in forme of offeringe. The children of Levy, both prestes and other, shulden haue howses, and croftes, and lesuvoys for her beestes

in the Lande of Byhest, and non other eretage; and so God zaue hem her londe of byhest, and bad hem that they ne shuld worship no other God then hym. Also he bade that they shulden kepe hys commaundementes and, zif they dyden so, all her enemyes, a boute hem, shulden drede hem, and ben her seruantes; and, zif they worshippeden fals Gods and so forsoken hys lawes, he byhizt hem that he wold bringgen hem out of that londe and maken hem seruen her enemyes; but yet he sayed he nolde not bynemen his mercy awaye from hem, if they wolden crye mercye and amenden her defautes, and all this was ydone on Gods syde.

And here is mychell love yshowed of God to man. And who so loketh the Byble, he shall fynde that man showed him litle love azyenwarde; for, when they weren ycomen in to her eritige, the forzeyten her God, and worshippeden fals Gods. And God sente to hem the prophetes and hys seruantes foele tymes to bydden hem withdrawen hem from her synnes, and other they flowen them, or they beten hem or the laden hem in prison, and ofte tymes God toke apon hem gret vengeaunce for her synnes; and when they cryeden after help to God, he sente hem help and succoure; thisys the generall proces of the Olde Testamente that God zaue to his puple by Moses his seruant. And all this testamente and this doinge ne was but a schadewe and a fygere of a New Testamente that was zeuen in by Christ. And it was byhoten by Ieremie the prophete, as Saint Paul beareth witnesse in the pistle that he writeth to the Iewys. And Ieremie saith in this wise: 'Lo dayes shall come, God sayeth, and ych woll make a new bande to the hous of Israel and to the hous of Iude, not lyche the forwarde that I made withe her faders in the day that I toke her honde to leden hem out of the londe of Egypte; the which forwarde they maden veyne, and ych had lordshippe ouer hem. But this shalbe the forwarde that ych wold maken with hem after thilke dayes: Ych wole zeue my lawes with yn hem in her inwardnesse, and ych wole writen hem in her hartes, and ych wole ben her God and they shullen be my puple, and after that a man shall not teach his neyzebore ne his brother. For all, God sayeth, from the leest to the mest shullen yknowe me, for ych wole forzeuen hem her synnes, and I nele no more thinken on her synnes.'

This is the Newe Testamente that Christ, both God and Man, yboren of the mayden Marye, he tauzte here in this worlde, to bringe man oute of synne and out of the deuels thraldome and seruice to heuen, that ys londe of blisse and heritage to all thoo that beleuen on hym, and kepen hys commaundementes, and for his teachinge he was done to the deth. But the thrydde daye arose azene from deth to lyfe, and fette Adam and Eve and many other folke out of hell, and afterwarde he came to his disciples and comforted hem. After he steyed vp to heuen, to hys Fader, and thoo he sente the Holy Gost amonges his disciples: and in tyme cominge he wole come and demen al mankynde after her werkes, and after the wordes he spake apon erth, some to blisse both in body and in sowle ever with outen ende, and some to payne with outen ende, both in body and in sowle.

This is oure beleue and all Christen mennes, and this beleue ys the fyrst poynte of the Newe Testamente that yche Christen man ys holde

stedfastly to beleue, and rather to suffer the deeth than forsaken this beleue; and so this beleue ys the bred of spirituall lyfe, in forsakinge synne, that Christe brought vs to lyfe.

But for as much as mannes lyuinge ne stondeth not al onlych by bred, he hath yzouen vs a drauzt of water of lyfe to drinke. And who that drinketh of that water, he ne shall neuer afterwarde ben a thurst. For this water ys the clere teachinge of the gospel, that encloseth seuen commaundementes.

The furst is this, Thou shalt loue thy God ouer all other thinges, and thy brother as thy self, both enemye and frende.

The seconde commaundemente ys of mekenes, in the which Christ chargeth vs to forsake lordeship upon our brethern and other worldly worshippes, and so he did hym self.

The thridde commaundemente ys in stondinge stedefastlych in truth and forsakinge all falsnes.

The forth commaundemente ys to suffre in this world diseses and wronges withouten azenstondinges.

The fyfth commaundemente ys mercy to forzeuen oure brethern here trespass, as often tyme as they gylteth, with out askinge of vengeaunce.

The syxth commaundemente ys poernesse in spirite, but not to ben a begger.

The seuenth commaundemente is chastyte, that ys a forsakynge of fleshlych lykinges dyspleasinge to God. These commaundementes enclosen the ten commaundementes of the old lawe, and somewhat more.

This water ys a blessed drinke for Christen mennes sowle. But more harme ys moch folke wolde drinke of this water, but they mow not come thereto: For God sayeth by Ezechiel the prophete, 'When ych zeue to you the most clene water to drinke, ye troubled that water with your fete, and that water, so defouled, yezeue my shepe to drinke. But the clene water ys yhidde fro the shepe, and but, zif God cleare this, it ys drede lest shepe deyen for thurst.' And Christ, that is the wisdome of the Father of Heuen, and welle of this wisdome, that come from heuen to erth to tech man this wisdome, thorow the which man shuld ouercome the sleyzthes of the deuell, that is principall enemy of mankinde, haue mercy and pite of his puple, and shewe, if it be his will, how this water ys troubled, and by whom, and sith clere this water that his shepe mown drinken here of, and kele the thurst of here sowles. Blessed mote oure Lorde ben, for he hath ytauzt vs in the gospel that, 'ar than he wolde come to the vniuersel dome that shuld come, manye in his name and seyen that they weren Christ: And they shulden done many wondres and begilen manye men. And many false prophetes shulden arysen and begylen moch folke.' A Lorde, yblessed mote thou ben of euerich creature, which ben they that haue yseyd that they weren Christ, and haue begyled thus thy puple? Trulich Lorde, I trowe thilke that seyn that they be in thy stede and bynemen thy worship and maken the puple worshupen hem as God, and haue hyd thy lawes from the puple. Lorde, who durst sitte in thy stede and benemen the thy worshupe and thy sacrifice, and durst maken the puple worshupe hem as goddes? The Sauter telles that 'God ne wole not in the daye of domen demen men for bodilich sacrifices and holocaustes. But God sayeth,

Zelde to me sacrifice of heryinge, and zelde to God thine avowes, and clepe me in day of tribulacion, and yche wole defende the, and thow shalt worshupe me.'

The heringe of God stondeth in iij. thinges: In louynge God ouer all other thinges. In dredinge God ouer all other thinges. In trustinge in God ouer all other thinges.

These thre poyntes Christ teacheth in the gospell. But I trowe men louen hym but a lytle. For who so loueth Christ, he wole kepe his wordes. But men holden hys wordes for heresye and folye, and kepeth mennes wordes. Also men dreden more men and mennes lawes and her cursinges, than Christ and his lawes and his cursinges. Also men hopen more in men and mennes helpes, than they do in Christ and in his helpe. And thus hathe he that sitteth in Gods stede bynomin God these thre heryinges, and maketh men louen hym and his lawes, more than Christ and Christes lawes, and dreden hym also. And there, as the puple schulden zelde to God her vowes, he seyeth that he hath power to assoylen hem of her avowes, and so this sacrifice he nemeth away from God: And there, as the puple shulden crye to God in the days of tribulacion, he letteth hem of her crienge to God and bynemyth God that worshupe. This daye of tribulacion is whan man ys fallen thorow synne into the deuels seruise, and than we shulden crye to God after helpe, and axen forzeuenesse of oure synne, and make grete sorowe for oure synne, and ben in full will to do so no more ne non other synne, and than oure Lorde God wole forgeuen vs our synne, and maken oure soule clene, for his mercy ys endeles.

But, Lorde, here men haue bynomyn the muche worshupe: For men seyn that thow ne myzt nor clene assoylen vs of oure sinne. But if we knowlege oure synnes to prestes, and taken of hem a penawnce for oure synne, zif we mowen speke with hem.

A Lorde, thou forgaue some tyme Peter hys synnes and also Marye Magdaleyne, and other manye synfull men, withouten schryuinge to prestes, and takynge penaunce of prestes for her synnes. And, Lorde, thou art as mighty now as thou were that time, but zif any man haue bynome the thy might. And we lewed men beleuen, that there nys no man of so greate power; zif any man maketh hym selfe of so gret power, he heieth hym selfe a bove God, and Saint Poul speaketh of one that sitteth in the temple of God, and hizen hym a boue God, and, zif any soch be, he is a false Christe.

But hereto, seyn prestes, that, when Christ made clene leprous men, he bade hem goo and show hem to prestes. And therfore they seyn that it ys a commaundement of Christ, that a man schuld shewen his synne to prestes. For as theye seyn, lepre in the old law betokeneth synne in this new lawe. A Lorde God: Whether thyne apostles knew nat thy meninge as well as men done now? And zif they hadden yknowe that thow haddest commaunded men to schryuen hem to pristes, and they ne taught not that commaundement to the puple, me thinketh they hadden ben to blame: But I trow they knewen wel that it was non of thy commaundementes, ne nedeful to heal of mannes soule. And as me thinketh the lawe of lepre ys nothinge to the purpose of schriuinge: For prestes in the old law hadden certein pointes

and tokenes to know whether a man were leprous or not, and, zif they were leprous, they hadden power to putten hem awaie from other clene men, for to that they weren clene, and then they hadden power to reysseyuen hym amonge his brethern, and offeren for him a sacrifice to God. This nys nothynge to the purpos of schriuinge. For ther nys but one preste that is Christ, that maye knowe in certayn the lepre of the soule. Ne no prest maye make the soule clene of her synne, but Christ that is prest after Melchysedekes ordre; ne no prest here beneth may eywit for certayn whether a man be clene of his synne or clene assoyled, but zif God tell it hym by reuelacion. Ne God ordened not that his prestes schulde sette men a penaunce for her synne after the quantyte of the synne, but this ys mans ordinaunce, and it may welbe that there cometh good her of. But I wote well that God ys much vnworschuped there by. For men trust more in his absolucions, and in his zeres of grace, than in Christis absolucions, and there by ys the puple moch apayred. For now, the sorow, a man shulde make for hys synne, ys put away by this schrift, and a man ys more bolde to do synne for trust of this schrift, and of this bodylich penaunce.

A nother myschefe ys, that the puple ys ybrouzt in to this belefe, that one preste hath a gretter power to assoylen a man of hys synne and clennere then an other prest hath.

A nother myschefe ys this, that some prest may assoylen hem both of synne and peyne, and in this they taken hem a power that Christ graunted no man in erth, ne he ne vsed it nozt on erth him selfe.

A nother myschefe ys, that these prestes fellen forzeuenes of mennes synnes, and absolucions for money, and this ys an heresye accursed that ys ycleped Symonye; and all thilke prestes that axeth price for grauntinge of spirituall grace, beth by holy lawes depriued of her presthode, and thilke that assenteth to this heresye. And be they war, for Helyse the prophet toke no money of Naaman when he was made clen of his Lepre, but Giesi his seruant, and therfore the lepre of Naaman abode with hym, and with his eyres evermore after.

Here ys muche mater of sorowe, to se the puple thus far ylad awey from God, and worshupen a fals God in erth, that by myzt and by strength hath ydone awey the gret sacrifice of God out of his temple; of which myschefe and discomfort Danyell maketh mencyon, and Christ bereth ther of wittnesse in the Gospell: Who that redeth it, vnderstande it. Thus we have ytold apperty, how that he sayeth, he sitteth in Christes stede, bynemeth Christ his worship and his sacrifice of his puple, and maketh the puple worshupen hym as a God on erth.

Crye we to God, and knowlege we oure synnes euerich one to other, as Seynt Iames teacheth; and praye we hertiliche to everych one for other, and than we shullen hopen forzeuenes of our synnes. For God that ys endeles in mercy sayeth, that he ne will not a synfull mannes dethe, but that he be turned from his synne and lyuen.

And therfore, when he came doune to saue mankynd, he gave vs a law of loue and of mercye, and bade, zif a man do a trespas, amende him privilich, and, zif he leue not his synne, amende hym before witnesse; and, zif he ne amendeth not, men shulde tel to the churche; and, zif he ne amendeth not thanne, men schulde schone his cumpanye, as a pub-

licane, or a man that ys misbyleued; and this lawe was yfigured in the lawe of lepre; who that redeth it he maye se the soth.

But, Lorde God! he that sitteth in thy stede, hath vndo thy law of mercye, and of loue. Lorde, thou byddest louen enemies as oure selfe; as thou shewest in the gospell there, as the Samaritane hadde mercye on the Iew. And thow biddist vs also preyen for hem that cursen vs, and that defamen vs, and pursuen us to deth. And so, Lorde, thou didist, and thyne apostles also. But he, that clepeth hym self thi Viker on Erth, and Heed of thy Church, he hath ondone thy lawe of loue and of mercye. For, zif we speken of louynge oure enemyes, he techeth vs to fizt with oure enemyes that Christ hath forboden. He curseth and desireth vengeaunce to hem that so doth to hym: Zif any man pursueth hym, he curseth hym, that it ys a sorowe a Christen man to heren the cursinges that they maken, and blasphemyes in such cursinge. Of that thinge that I know I maye here true witnesse.

But, zif we speke of louynge of oure brethern, this ys vndone by hym that sayeth, he ys Gods Viker in Erth. For Christ, in the gospell, byddeth vs, that we shulden clepen vs no fadur vpon erth; but clepen God oure fadur, to maken us loue parfytlich to gether: And he clepeth hym self Fadur of Fadurs, and maketh many religions, and to everich a fadur. But, wheder ys loue and charite encressed by thes fadurs, and by her religions, or els ymade lesse? For a frier ne loueth not a monke, ne a seculer man neyther, nor zet one frier another that is not of that order; and it is azein ward.

A Lorde, me thinketh that there ys littell perfeccion in these religions. For, Lorde, what charite haven such men of religion, that knowen how they mown azeyn, stande synne and fleen awaye from her brethern, that ben more vnconnynge than they ben, and sufieren hem to travelen in the worlde with outen her counsell as beestes?

Trulich, Lorde, me thinketh that there ys litell charite, and then ys there litell perfeccion. Lorde God, when thow were on erth, thou were amonge synfull men to drawen hem from synne, and thy disciples also. And, Lorde, I trowe, thou ne grauntest not o man more kunninge then an other all for hym selfe; and I wote well that lewed men that ben laborers ne travele not alonlych for hem selfe. Lorde, oure belefe ys, that thou ne were not of the worlde, ne thy techinge neyther, ne thy seruantes that lyuenden after thy techinge. But all they forsoken the worlde, and so every Christen man must. But, Lorde, whether thou tauztest men forsake her brethern cumpanye and traueyle of the worlde, to liuen in ese and in rest, and out of defoul and anger of the worlde, by her brethren traueyle, and so forsaken the worlde?

A Lorde, thou ne tauztest not a man, forsaken a poor astaate and traueyle, to be afterwarde a lorde of hys brethern, or ben a lordes felaw, and dwellinge with lordes, as doth men of these newe religions. Lorde, thou ne tauztest not men of thy religion thus to forsake the worlde, to lyuen in perfeccion by hem selfe in ease, and by other mennes traueyle.

But, Lorde, they seyen they ben ybounde to thy seruyse, and seruen the both nizt and daye in synginge her preyers both for her selfe, and for other men that done her good, both quycke and deede, and some hem gone a boute to teche thy puple when they hauen leysure.

A Lorde, zif they ben thy seruantes, whose seruantes ben we, that can not preyen as they done? and, when thou were here on erth, for our nede. thou tauztest thy seruantes to preyen thy fadur prinylich and shortlych; and, zif there had yben a bettur maner of preynge, I trowe thow woldest haue tauzt it in helpe of thy puple. And, Lorde, thou reprouist ypocrites, that prayen in longe prayer, and, in open places, to ben yholden holy men. And thou seyst in the gospell, woo to you pharyseis, ypocriets. And, Lorde, thou ne chargedest not thy seruantes with soch maner seruyse: but thou sayest in the gospell, that the pharyseis worshupen the with her lippes, and her herte ys fer frome the. For they chargen more mennes tradicions than thy commaundementes.

And, Lorde, we lewede men han a belefe, that thy goodnes ys endles, and zif we kepen thyne hestes than ben we thy trew seruantes, and thouz we preyen the but a litel, and schortlych thou wilt thinken on vs, and graunten vs that vs nedeth, for so thou byhizted vs some tyme: and, Lorde, I trow, that praye a man neuer so many quaynte prayers, zif he ne kepe not thyne hestes, he ne ys not thy good seruant. But, zif he kepe thyne hestes, than he ys thy good seruant; and so me thinketh, Lorde, that preynge of longe preyers ne ys not the seruyse that thou desirist; but kepinge of thyne hestes, and than a lewed man maye serue God, as well as a man of religion. And so, Lorde, oure hope ys, that thou wilt as sone yhere a plowemans prayer, and he kepe thyne hestes, as thou wilt do a mans of religion; thouz that the ploweman maye not haue so much syluer for his preyer as men of religion: for they kunnen not so wel preysen her preyers as these other chapmen: but, Lorde, oure hope ys, that oure preyer be neuer the worse, thouz it be not so well sold as other mennes preyers.

Lorde, Ezechiel the prophete seyeth, That, whan he spake to the puple thy wordes, they turned thy wordes in to songes and in to tales. And so, Lorde, men don now; they syngyn myrilich thy wordes, and that syngynge they clepen thy seruyse. But, Lorde, I trow, that the best syngers ne heryeth the not most: but he that fulfilleth thy wordes, he heryeth the ful well, thouz he wepe more than synge. And, I trow, that wepinge, for brekyng of thy commaundementes, be more plesinge seruyse to the, than the synginge of thy wordes. And wolde God, that men wolde serue hym in sorrow for her synnes, and they schulden afterwarde feruen thee in myrth. For Christ seith, yblessed ben they that maken sorowe, for they schulen ben yconforted: and, woo to hem that ben myrrye, and have her comfort in this world. And Christ seide, That the world schuld ioyen, and his seruants schulden be sory, but her sorowe shuld be turned in to ioie.

A Lorde, he, that clepeth hym selfe thy viker upon erth, hath yordayned an ordre of prestes to do thy seruyse in church to fore thy lewed puple, in synginge matens, evensonge, and masse. And therfore, he chargeth lewed men, in payne of cursinge, to bringe to his prestes, tythinges and offeringes to finden his prestes, and he clepeth that Gods part, and dew to prestes that seruen hym in church.

But, Lorde, in the olde lawe, the tythinges of the lewed puple ne were not dewe to prestes, but to that other childer of levy that serueden

the in the temple, and the prestes hadden her part of sacrifices, and the fyrst bygeten beestes, and other thinges as the law telleth. And, Lorde, Seynt Poule, thy seruant, seyth, that the ordre of the presthode of Aaron cesede in Christes cominge, and the lawe of that presthode. For Christe was ende of sacrifices yoffered vp on the crosse to the Fader of Heuen, to brynge man out of synne, and bycome hym selfe a prest of Melchisedekes ordre; for he was both kynge and prest withe oute begynnynge and ende; and both the presthode of Aaron, and also the lawe of that presthode ben ychanged in the cominge of Christe. And Seynt Poule seith it ys reproued, for it brouzt no man to perfeccion: for bloode of gotes, ne of other beestes, ne mizt not done awaye synne, for to that Christ schadde his blode.

A Lorde Iesu, wether thow ordenest an ordre of prestes to offren in the auter thy flesch and thy blode to bringen men out of synne, and also out of peyne? and wether thow geue hem alonelych a power to eate thy flesch and thy blode? and wether none other man maye eate thy flesch and thy blode with outen leue of prestes? Lorde, we beleuen, that thy flesche is verey meate, and thy blode verey drinke; and who eteth thy flesch, and drinketh thy blode, dwelleth in the, and thou in hym; and who that eteth this breed shall lyve without ende. But, Lorde, thyne disciples seyde, This is an harde worde; but thou answerest hem, and seydest: When ze seeth mannes sone steyn vp there he was rather, the Spirite ys that maketh you lyve; the wordes, that yche haue spoken to you, ben spirite and lyfe. Lorde, yblessed mote thou be, for in this worde thou techest vs, that he, that kepeth thy wordes, and doth after hem, eteth thy flesch, and drinketh thy blode, and hath an everlastinge lyfe in the. And, for we schulden haue mynde of this lyuinge, thou gauest vs the sacramente of thy flesch and thy blode, in forme of breed and wyne, at thy souper, to fore, that thou schuldest suffre thy deth; and toke breed in thine honde, and seydest, 'Take ye this, and ete it, for it is my body; and thou tokest wyne, and blessedest it, and seydest: This ys the blode of a newe and an euerlastinge testamente, that shalbe sched for many men in forzeuenesse of synnes; as oft as ze do this, do ze this in mynde of me.'

A Lorde, thou ne bede not thine disciples maken this a sacryfice to bringe men out of peynes, zif a prest offered thy body in the auter; but thou bede hem go and fullen all the folke in the name of the Fadur, and the Sone, and the Holy Gost, in forzeuenesse of her synnes; and techeze hem to kepe those things that ych haue commaunded zou. And, Lorde, thine disciples ne ordeyned not prestes principallich to make thy body in sacramente, but for to tech the puple; and good husbande men, that well gouern her householdes, both wiues, and childern, and her meynye, they ordened to be prestes to techen other men the law of Christ both in worde and in dede, and they lyvedeyn as trew christen men; every daye they eten christes body, and dronken hys blode, to the sustenaunce of lyvynge of here soules; and other whiles they token the sacramente of his body in forme of breed and wine, in mynde of oure Lorde Iesu Christ.

But all this ys turned vpso doune; for now, who so will lyven as thou tauztest, he schalben holden a fole; and, zif he speke thy tech-

ynge, he shalben holden an heretyke and a cursed. Lorde, y haue ne lenger wonder here of, for so they scyden to the, when thou were here some tyme; and therfore we moten taken in pacyence her wordes of blasfemie, as thou dedest thy selfe, or els we were to blame. And trulych, Lorde, I trowe, that, yf thou were now in the worlde, and tauztest, as thou dedest some tyme, thou shuldest ben done to deeth; for thy teachinge ys damned for heresye of wise men of the worlde; and then moten they nedes ben heretykes that techen thy lore, and all they also that trauelen to lyue there after.

And therfore, Lorde, zif it be thy will, helpe thyne vnkunnynge and lewed seruantes, that wolen, by her power and her kunnynge, helpe to destroye synne. Leue, Lorde, syth thou madist woman in helpe of man, and vn a more frele degre, than man is, to be gouerned by mans reson. What perfeccion of charite is in these prestes, and in men of religion, that haue forsaken spoushode, that thou ordenest in paradis by twyx man and woman, for perfeccion to forsaken traueyle, and lyuen in ese by other mennes traueyle? For they mowe not do bodilich workee for defoulinge of her hondes, with whome they touchen thy preciouse body in the auter.

Leue Lorde, zif good men forsaken the companye of woman, and nedes the moten haue the gouernayle of man, then moten they ben ycoupled with schrewes, and therfore thy spoushode, that thou madest in clenesse from synne, it ys now ychaunged in to lykynge of the flesch; and, Lorde, this ys a gret myschefe vnto thy puple. And zounge prestes and men of religion, for defaute of wives, maken many wymen horen, and drawen, thorow her yuel ensample, many other men to synne; and the ese, that they lyuen in, and their welfare, ys a gret cause of this myschefe: And, Lorde, me thinketh, that these ben quaynte orders of religion, and none of thy secte, that wolen taken horen, whilke God forfendes, and forsaken wyues, that God commaundes, and gyuen her selfe to ydelens, that ys the moder of all nouztines.

And, Lorde, Marie, thy blessed mother, and Iosep, touched ofte tymes thy body, and wroughten withe here hondes, and lyueden in as much clennesse of soule, as oure prestes done now, and touched thy body, and thou touchedest hem in her soules. And, Lorde, oure hope is, that thou goist not out of a pore mannes soule, that trauelleth for hys lyuelode with his hondes; for, Lorde, our belefe ys, that thyne house ys mannes soule, that thou madest after thyne owne lykenes.

But, Lorde God, men maketh now greet stonen houses full of glasene windowes, and clepeth thylke thyne houses and churches; and they setten in these houses Mawmetes of stockes and of stones, and to fore hem they knelen priuylich and apert, and maken her preyers; and all this, they seyen, ys thy worschup, and a gret heryenge to the. A Lorde, thou forbedest some tyme to make such Mawmetes, and who, that had yworschupped such, had be worthy to be deed.

Lorde, in the gospell thou saist, That true heryers of god ne heryeth hym not in that hill beside Samarie, ne in Hierusalem nayther; but trew heryers of God heryeth hym yn spirite and in trewthe; and, Lorde God, what heryenge ys it to bylden the a church of deed stones,

and robben thy quycke churches of her bodyliche lyuelode? Lorde God, what heryenge ys it is to cloth Mawmetes of stockes and of stones yn syluer, and in golde, and in other good coloures? And, Lorde, I se thyne ymage gone in colde and in heet, in clothes all to broken, with outen schone and hosen, an hungred and a thrust. Lorde, what heryenge ys yt to tende tapers and torches by fore blinde Mawmetes, that mowen not I seyen? And hyde the, that art oure Light and oure lanterne to warde Heuen, and put the vnder a bosshell, that, for darkenes, we ne maye nat sene oure weye toward blisse? Lorde, what heryenge ys it to knele to fore Mawmetes, that mowe not yheren, and worschupen hem with preyers, and maken thyne quyck ymages knele before hem, and asken of hem absolucions and blessinges, and worschupen hem as Goddes, and putten thy quyke ymages in Thraldome and in Traueyle ever more, as beestes, in colde, and in heet, and in feble fare, to fynden hem in lykynge of the world? Lorde, what heryenge ys it to fetch deed mennes bones out of the ground there as they schulden kyndelich roten, and schrynen hem in gold and in siluer? And suffren the quyke bones of thyne ymages roten in prison for defaute of clothinghe? And suffren also thy quyke ymages perish for defaute of sustenaunce, and rooten in the hoore house in abominable lecherye? Some become theves, and robbers, and manquellers, that myzten ben y holpen with the Gold and syluer, that hongeth aboute deed mennes bones, and other blynde Mawmetes of stockes and of stones.

Lorde, here ben great abhominacions, that thou schewdist to Ezechiel thy prophete, that prestes done in thy temple, and zit they clepen that thyne heryenge; but, leue Lorde, me thinketh, that they louen the litle that thus defoulen thy quyke ymages, and worschupen blynde Mawmetes.

And, Lorde, an other gret myschefe thereynow in the worlde, an hunger that Amos thy prophete speketh of, that there sall comen an honger in the erth, not of breed, ne thrust of drinke, but of heringe of Goddes woorde: and thy scheepe wolden be refreshed, but their scheep ardes taken of thy scheepe her lyfloode, as Tythinges, &c. and lyuen him self thereby where hem lyketh.

Of soch schephardes thou speekest by Ezechiel thy prophete, and seist, woo to the schephardes of Israel that feden hem selfe, for the flockes of schepe schulden ben yfed of her schephardes; but ze eten the mylke, and clothden you with her wolle, and they fatte schepe ye slow, and my flocke ye ne fed not, the sycke schepe ze ne heled not, thylke that weren to broken ze ne knyt not to geder, thylke that perished ze ne brouzt not againe; but ze ruled hem with sternschip and with power: and so the schepe beth sprad a brode in deuouringe of all the beestes of the feelde. And Ieremie the prophete sayeth, woo to the schephardes that disparpleth abrode, and so terith the flocke of my lesew.

A Lorde, thou were a good schepharde, for thou puttest thy soule for thy schepe: but, Lorde, thou teldest, that thilke, that comen not in by the dore, ben nizt thefes and daye thefes; and these, as thou seist, cometh not but for to stele, to sleyne, and to distroye. And

Zacharie the prophete seith, that thou woldist reren up a schepharde vnkunnynge, that ne wole not hele thy schepe that beth sycke, ne sech thilke that beth loste. Apon his arme ys a swerde, and vpon his rizt eye; his arme schall waxe drye, and his rizt eye shall lese his Lizt. O Lorde, helpe, for thy shepe beth at gret myschefe in the schephardes defaute.

But, Lorde, there cometh hyred men, and they ne feden not thy schepe in thy plentuous lesew, but feden thy schepe with swevenes, and false miracles, and talys; but at thy trewth they ne comen not: for, Lorde, I trowe thou sendest hem never. For have they hyre of thy schepe? They ne chargeth but litle of the fedinge and the kepinge of thy schepe. Lorde, of these hyred men speketh Ieremie thy prophete, and thou seyst that worde by hym: I ne sende hem not, and they ronne blyue: I ne speke unto hem, and they prophicieden. For zif they hadden stonden in my councell, and they had made my wordes knowen to the puple, ych wolde have turned hem awaye from her yvell waye, and from her wicked thouztes. For, Lorde, thou seist that thy wordes be as fuyre, and as an hamer brekynge stones.

And, Lorde, thou saist, lo I to these prophetes metinge swevenes of lesinge, that haue ytold her swevens, and have begyled my puple in her lesinge and in her false miracles, when y nether sente ne bede hem; and these haue profitet no thinge to my puple: and, as Ieremie saith, from the leest to the mest, all they studien couetise; and from the prophete to the prest, all they done gyle.

A Lorde, here ys mych myschefe and matere of sorow, and yet ther ys more. For zif a lewed man wold tech thy puple trewth of thy wordes, as he ys y holde by thy comaundemente of charite, he shall be forboden and y put in prison zif he do it. And so, Lorde, thilke, that haue the keye of conning, haue y lockt the trewth of thy techinge under many wardes, and y hid it from thy childern. But, Lorde, fith thy techinge ys y come from heuen aboue, oure hope ys that, with thy grace, it shall breken these wardys, and schowe hym to thy puple, to kele both the hunger and the thrust of the soule. And then schall no schepharde, ner no false hyridman, begyle thy puple no more. For by thy lawe I write, as thou yhiztest some tyme, that from the lest to the mest all they schullen knowen thy will, and we ten how they schullen plese the euer more incertayne.

And leue, Lorde, zif it be thy will, helpe at this Nede, for there ys none help but in the. Thus, Lorde, by hym that maketh hymselfe thy viker in erth ys thy commaundemente of loue to the and to oure brothern ybroken both to hym and to thy puple. But, Lorde, God, mercye and pacyence that beth tweyne of thy commaundementes beth distroyed, and thy puple hath forsake mercy. For, Lorde, Dauid in the souter saith, blessed beth they that do ne dome and riztfullnes in everich tyme.

O Lorde, thou hast ytauzt vs as riztfulnesse of heuen, and hast ybeden vs forzeuen oure Brethern as oft as they trespasen azenst vs. And, Lorde, thyne olde Lawe of iustice was, that such harme as a man did his brother, such he schuld suffer by the law, as eye for an eye, a toth for a toth; but Christ made an ende of thys law, that one

brother schulde not desyre wrake of an other, but not that he wolde that synne schulde ben vnpunished, for there to hath he yordened kinges and dukes, and other lewed officers vnder hem, whilke, as sainte Paule saith, ne carien not the swerde in vayne, for they ben the ministres of God, and warkers to wrath, to hem that evill done. And thus hath Christ ymade an ende of this old lawe, that one brother maye nat suen an other hym selfe, for that to wreken with out synne for brekynge of charite. But this charite, Lorde, hath thy viker y broke, and sais, that we synnen but zif we suen for oure rizt: and wele I wote, that thou tauztest vs some tyme to zeue our mantell also, euer that we schulden suen for oure cote: and so, Lorde, beleuen we that we that we ben y bounden to do ne by thy lawe that ys all charite, and officers dutie is to defenden vs from thilke theuery, thouz we complaynen not; but, Lorde, thi law ys turned vpso downe.

A Lorde, what dome ys it, to slene a thefe that take a mannes cattell a wey from hym, and suffren a spousebreker to lyue, and a lechour that kylleth a womans soule? And yet thy law stoned the spousebrekers and Leichours, and lette the theres lyuen and haue other punishment.

A Lorde, what dome ys it, to slene a thefe for stelinge of a horse, and to let hym lyue vnpunished, and to mayntene hym that robbeth thy pore puple of here lyfelode, and the soule of his fode?

Lorde, it was never thy dome to sayen that a man ys an heretike and cursed for brekinge of mans lawe, and demyn hym for a good man that breketh thyne hestes.

Lorde, what dome ys it to cursen a lewed man, zif he smyte a prest, and not cursen a prest that smiteth a lewed man and leseth his charite?

Lorde, what dome ys it to cursen the lewed puple for Tithynges, and not curse the parson that robbeth the puple of tithynges, and ne techeth hem not Gods law, but fedeth hem with payntinge of stonen walles, and songes of Laten that the puple knowen not?

Lorde, what dome ys it to punysch the pore man for his trespas, and suffren the rich continuen in hys synne for a quantite of money?

Lorde, what dome ys it to slene an vnkunnynge lewed man for hys synne, and suffren a prest, other a clerke, that doth the same synne, scapen a lyve? Lord, the synne of the prest, or of the clerke, ys a gretter trespas then it ys of a lewed unkunnynge man, and gretter ensample of wickednesse to the comune puple.

Lorde, what maner puple be we that nother kepen thy domes and thy riztfulnesse of the old testamente, that was a law of drede, ne thy domes and thy riztfulnesse of thy new testamente that is a lawe of loue and of mercye: but han an other law and taken of both thy lawes that is lykinge to us, and the remenaunte of hethen mennes lawes? and, Lorde, this ys a gret myschefe.

O Lorde, thou sayst in thy lawe, ne deme ze not, and ze ne schulen not ben demed: for the same mesure that ye meten to other men, men shall meten to zou azen warde. And, Lorde, thou seist that by her werken we schulen knowen hem. And by that we knowen that thou ne commaunded vs to demen mennes thoughtes, ner her werkes, that ne weren not azenst thy lawe expressely. And zet, Lorde, he that seyeth

he ys thy vikar wil demen our thouztes, and asken vs what we thynken, nat of the Lorde ne of thy hestes, for they caren litle for hem, but of him and of his, whilke they setten aboue thyne, and maken vs accusen oure selfe, or els they willen accursen vs, for oure accusers mowen we not knowen. And, Lorde, thou seidest in thyne olde lawe, that vnder two witnesses at the lest, or three, schulde stande every matter. And that the witnesses schulden ever be the first that schulden helpen to kyl hem.

And when the scribes and these phareses sometyme brouzten before the a woman that was y take in spousebrekynge, and axeden of the a dome, thou didest write on the erth, and than thou gaue this dome, 'He that ys with outen synne, throwe fyrst at her a stone;' and, Lorde, they wenten forth awey from the and the woman, and thou forzeue the woman her trespas, and bede her goo forth and synne no more.

Swete Lord, yf the prestes token kepe to thy dome, they wolden ben agast to demen men as they done. O Lorde, zif one of them breke a commaundement of thy lawe, he wole axen mercy of the, and not a peyne that ys dewe for the synne, for peyne of deth were to litel. O Lorde, how doren they demen any man to the deth for brekynge of her lawes, other assenten to such lawe? For brekynge of thy lawe they wolen setten men penaunce, or pardon hem, and helpe and mainteynen hem, as oft as they trespasen. But, Lorde, zif a man ones breke her lawes, or speke azenst hem, he maie done penaunce but ones, and aftur ben brunt. Trulich, Lorde, thou seist, but zif everich of vs forzeue other his trespas, thy Fadur ne wole not forzeuen vs oure synnes. And, Lorde, when thou henge on the crosse, thou preydest to thy Fadur to haue mercy on thyne enemyes.

And zet they seyn, Lorde, that they ne demen no man to the deth, for they seyn they ne mowen by her lawe demen any man to deth. A leue, Lorde, even so saiden her fornfadurs the phareses, that it ne was nat lefull for hem to kyllen any man. And zet they bidden Pilate to done the to the deth, azenst his own conscience; for he wolde gladly haue y quitte the, but for that they thretned hym with the Emperoure, and brouzten azenst the false witnesse also. And he was an hethen man.

A Lorde, how moch trewer dome was there in Pilate, that was an hethen iustice, than in oure kynges and iustices that wolen demen to the deth and bern yn the fyre hym that the prestes delyueren vnto hem, with outen witnesse or prefe? For Pilate ne wolde not demen the, for that the phareses seyden, that, zif thou ne haddest not ben a misdoer, we ne wolde nat delyuer him unto the, for to they brouzten in her false witnesses azenst the. But, Lorde, as thou saidest some tyme that it schulde ben lizter at Domesdaye to Tyro, and to Sydon, and Gomorra, than to the cities where thou wrouzt wondres and miracles: so I drede it shalben more lizte to Pilate in the dome, then to our kynges and domesmen, that so demen without witnesse and prefe. For, Lorde, to demen thy folke for heretikes, ys to holden the an heretike; and to brennen hem ys to brennen the: for thou seidest to Paule, when he persecuted thy puple, 'Saul, Saul, wherfore persecutest thou me:' and in the dome thou shalt seye, 'that ye haue done to the lest of myne ye haue done to me.'

Thus Lorde, ys thy mercy and iustice fordone by hym that seith he is thy Vicar in erth: for he nether kepeth it hym selfe, nor nille not suffer other to do it.

The thridde commaundement, that ys pacience and sufferaunce, ys also ybroken by thys Viker. Lorde, thou byddist sufferen both wronges and strokes withouten azeinstondinge, and so thou didist thy selfe to zenen vs ensample to sufferen of oure brethern. For sufferinge norissheth loue, and azeinstendeth debate: and all thy lawe ys loue, or else thinge that draweth to loue.

But, Lorde, men techen that men schulden pleten for her right, and fizten also therfore, and els they seyn men ben in peryle; and thou bede, in the old lawe, men fizt for her cuntrey. And thy selfe haddist two swerdes in thy cumpanye when thou schuldest go to thy passion, that, as these clerkes seyn, betokeneth a spirituall swerde and a temporall swerde, that thou zoue to thy Viker to rule with thy church, Lorde, this is a sliz speech: but, Lorde, we beleue that thou art Kynge of Blisse, and that ys thyne heretage and mankyndes cuntrey, and in this worlde we ne ben but straungers and pelgrimes. For thou, Lorde, ne art not of this worlde, ne thy lawe nether, ne thy trew seruantes that kepen thy lawe. And, Lorde, thou were Kynge of Juda by enheritage, zif thou woldest haue yhad it, but thou forsoke it, and pletedest not therfore, ne fouzte not therfore.

But, Lorde, for thy kynde herytage, and mankyndes cuntrey, that ys a londe of blisse, thou fouztest miztelych. In bataile thou ouercome thy enemie, and so thou wonne thyne herytage. For thou that were a Lorde miztiest in bataile, and also Lorde of Vertues, art riztfullich Kynge of Blisse, as David seith in the Sauter. But, Lorde, thyne enemie smote the despitefullych, and had power of the, and henge the vp on the crosse as thou haddist ben a thefe, and bynomyn the all thy clothes, and stekede the to the harte with a spere.

O Lorde, this was an harde assaute of a batayle, and here thou ouercome, by pacyence miztylich, thyne enemyes, for thou ne woldest not done zenst the will of thy Fadur. And thus, Lorde, thou tauztest thy seruantes to fizte for here cuntrey. And, Lorde, this fiztinge was in figure ytauzte in the olde lawe. But, Lorde, men holden now the schadewe of the olde fiztinge, and leuen the lizte of thy fiztinge, that thou tauztest openlych, both in word and dede.

Lorde, thou zoue vs a swerde to fizten azeinst oure enemyes for oure cuntrey; that was thyne holy techinge, and Christen mennes law. But, Lorde, thy swerde ys put in a shethe, and in prestes warde that haue forsake the fiztinge that thou tauztist. Fer, as they sein it ys azeyns her order to ben men of armes in thy bataile, for it ys vnsemelich, as they seyn, that thy Viker in erth, other his prestes, schulden suffer of other men. And, therfore, zif any man smite hym, other any of his clerkes, he ne taketh it not in pacience, but and he smiteth with hys swerde of cursinge, and afterwarde with his bodylich swerde, he doth hem to deth. O Lorde, me thinketh that this is a fiztinge azeynst kynde, and moch azeynst thy techinge.

O Lorde, whether thou axsedist after swerdes in tyme of thy passion to azeynstonde thyne enemyes? Nay, forsoth, thou Lorde. For Peter,

that smote for gret loue of thee, hadde no gret thonke of the for his smitinge. And, Lorde, thou were mizty ynow to haue azeynstonde thyne enemyes: for, thorowz thy lokinge, they fellen doune to grounde. Lorde, yblessed mote thou be. Here thou techest vs that we schulden suffren: for thou were mizty ynow to have azeinstonde thine enemyes, and thou haddest wepen, and thy men weren harty to haue smitten.

O swete Lorde, how maye he for schame clepen hym selfe thy Viker and Heed of thy Church, that may not for schame suffere? Sith thou art a Lorde, and suffredist of thy sugetys to zeuen vs ensample, and so did thy trew seruantes.

O Lorde, whether thou zeue to Peter a spirituall swerde to curse, and a temporall swerde to sle mennes bodyes? Lorde, I tro we not: for then Peter, that loued the so moch, wolde have smite with thy swerdes. But, Lorde, he tauzt vs to blessen hem that cursen vs, and suffren and not smiten. And, Lorde, he fedde thy puple as thou bede hym, and therfore he suffrede the deth as thou diddist.

O Lorde, why clepeth any man hym Peters Successour, that hath forsake pacience, and fedeth thy puple with cursinge and with smytinge? Lorde, thou seydest in thy gospell, when thy disciples knewen well that thou were Christ, 'That thou mostest go to Jerusalem, and sufferen of the scribes and pharysees, spittinges, reprofes, and also the deth.' And Peter toke the a syde, and said 'God for beede that.' And, Lorde, thou seydist to Peter, 'Go by hinde me Sathanas, thou sclaundrest me in Israel: for thou ne sauorest not thilke thinges that ben of God, but thilke that ben of men.' Lorde, to mennes witte it ys vnresonable, that thou, or thy Viker, zif thou madist anny on erth, schulden soffren of youre sugettes.

A Lorde, whether shou ordenist an ordre of fizters, to turn men to the beleue? Other ordenist, that kniztes schulden swere to fizte for thy wordes?

A Lorde, whether thou bede that zif a man turne to the feith, that he schulde zeue his goodes and catell to thy Viker, that hath gret lordschips, and more than hym nedeth? Lorde, y wote well, that, in the beginninge of that church, men that werein converted threwen a doune her goodes before the apostoles fete. For all they weren in charite, and non of them saide, This ys myne; ne Peter made hym selfe no Lorde of these goodes.

But, Lorde, now he that clepeth hym selfe thy Viker upon Erth, and Successoure to Peter, hath ybroke thy commaundemente of charite; for he ys becomen a Lorde. And he hath broken also thy commaundemente of mercye, and of pacyence. Thus, Lorde, we ben fallen in to gret mischefe and thraldome, for our cheueteyn hath forsaken werre and armes, and hath treted to haue peace with oure enemyes.

A Lorde, zif it be thy will, drawe oute thy swerde out of his scheth, that thy seruantes may fizte there with azeynst her enemyes, and put cowardise oute of oure hartes; and comfort vs in bataile, ar than thou come with thy swerde in thy mouth, to take vengeaunce on thyne enemies. For, zif we ben acorded with oure enemies tyll the tyme come, it ys drede lest thou take vengeaunce both of hem, and of vs, to gader. A Lorde, there nys no helpe now yn thys gret myschefe but onlych in the.

Lorde, thou zeue vs a commaundemente of treweth, in byddinge saye, ze ze, nay nay, and swere for no thinge: Thou zeue vs also a maundemente of mekenes, and a nother of porenes. But, Lorde, he that clepeth hym selfe thy Viker on Erth, hath y broken these commaundementes, for he maketh a law to compell men to swere; and, by hys lawes, he techeth, that a man, to saue hys lyfe, maye forswere and lye. And so, Lorde, thorowz comfort of hym, and of his lawes, the puple ne dredeth nat to swere and to lye, ne oft tymes to forsweren hem. Lorde, here is litill treuth.

O Lorde, thou hast ybrouzte vs to a lyuinge of soule, that staundes in beleuinge in the, and kepinge thyne hestes; and, when we breken thy hestes, than we slen oure soule; and lesse harme it were to suffer bodylich deth.

Lorde, Kynge Saule brake thyne hestes, and thou toke his kyngdome from his eyres ever more after hym, and gave it to Dauid thy seruante, that kept thyne hestes. And thou saidest, by Samuel thy prophet, to Saul Kynge, that it ys a maner heryenge of false Goddes to breke thyne hestes. For who that loueth the ouer all thinges, and dredeth the also, he nole for nothinge breke thyne hestes.

O Lorde, zif brekynge of thyne hestes be heryenge of false Goddes, I trowe, that he that maketh the puple breke thyne hestes, and commaundeth that his hestes ben kept of the puple, maketh hym selfe a false God on erth, as Nabugodonosor did some tyme that was Kynge of Babylon.

But, Lorde, we forsaken such false Goddes, and beleuen that there ne ben no more Goddes than thou. And thouz thou suffre vs awhile to ben in disease for knowleginge of the; we thonken the with oure harte, for it ys a token that thou louest vs to zeuen vs, in this worlde, some penaunce for oure trespas.

Lorde, in the olde lawe, thy trewe seruantes token the deth, for they wolde not eten swynes flesch that thou haddest forboden hem to ete. O Lorde, what treweth ys in vs to eten vnclene mete of the soule, that thou hast forboden? Lorde, thou saist, he that doth synne, ys seruante of synne; and then, he that lyeth in forsweringe hym selfe, ys seruante of lesinge, and then he ys a seruaunte to the deuill, that is a lyar and fadur of lesinges. And, Lorde, thou saist, No man maye serue two lordes at ones. O Lorde, then everich lyar, for the tyme that he lyeth, other forswereth hym selfe, forsaketh thy seruyce for drede of hys bodilich deth, and becometh the devils seruaunt.

O Lorde, what treweth ys in hym that clepeth hymself seruaunte of thy seruauntes, and in hys doinge he maketh hym a lorde of thy seruauntes? Lorde, thou were both lorde and master, and so thou saide thy self, but zet in thy warkes thou were as a seruaunte. Lorde, thys was a gret treweth and a gret mekenes: But, Lorde, thou bede thy seruauntes that they ne schulden haue lordschip ouer her brethern. Lorde, thou saidest kynges of the hethen men han lordschupe ouer her suggetes, and they that vsen her power ben ycleped well doers.

But, Lorde, thou saidest it schulde not be so amonges thy seruauntes: But he that were most schulde be as a seruaunte. Thus, Lorde, thou tauztest thy disciples to ben meke. Lorde, in the old lawe thy ser-

uauntes durst have no lordschyppe of her brethern, but zif that thou bede hem. And zet thy schulden not do her brethern as they diden to Thralles that serueden hem. But they schulden do to her brethern that were her seruauntes as to her awn brethern: For all they were Abrahams children. And at a certain tyme they schulden lettin her brethern passen from hem in fredom, but zif they wolden wilfullych abyden still in seruise.

O Lorde, thou zaue vs in thy cominge a lawe of parfite loue, and in token of loue thou clepedest thy selfe oure brother. And to maken vs perfecte in loue thou bede that we schulden clepe to us no fadur vp on erth, but thy Fadur of Heuen we schulden clepen oure Fadur. Allas Lorde! how violentlych our brethern and thy childern ben now yputte in bodilich thraldome, and in dispite as beestes ever more in greuous traveill to fynde proude men in ease? But, Lorde, zif we taken thys defoule and this desease in pacience and in mekenes and kepen thyne hestes, we hopen to ben fre. And, Lorde, zeue oure brethern grace to comen oute of thraldome of synne that they ben fallen in thorowz the desyringe and vsage of lordschupe vp on her brethern. And, Lorde, thyne prestes in the olde lawe hadden no lordschupis amonge her brethern, but houses and lesewes for her beestes: But, Lorde, our prestes now haue gret lordschupe and putten her brethern in gretter thraldome than lewed men that ben lordes. Thus ys mekenesse forsake.

Lorde, thou byddest in the gospell, that, when a man ys ybede to the feest, he shulde sitte in the lowest place, and then he maye be sette hyer with worshup, when the lorde of the feest beholdeth how his gestes sitteth. Lorde, it ys drede that they, that sitten now in the hyest place, schullen ben beden in tyme to cominge sitte byneth. And that wole be schame and vileyne for hem. And it ys thy sayenge, Thilke that hyeth hym selfe schall be plowed, and thilke that loweth hym selfe schullen ben an heyzed. O Lorde, thou byddest in thy gospell to ben ware of the ypocresye of Phareses, for it ys a pointe of pride contrary to mekenes. And, Lorde, thou saist that they loue furst sittinges at the sopeer, and also the principall chayres in churches, and gretinges in chepinge, and to ben ycleped masteres of men. And, Lorde, thou saist, Ne be ye nat cleped masteres, for one ys youre master, and that ys Christ, and all ye ben brethern. And ne clepe ze to zow no fadur upon erth, for one ys youre fadur that ys in heuen. O Lorde, this ys a blessed lesson to teche men to ben meke.

But, Lorde, he that clepeth hym selfe thy Viker on Erth, he clepeth hym selfe Fadur of Fadures azeyns thy forbedinge. And all these worshupes thou hast forboden. He appreueth hem, and maketh hem masteres to manye, that techen thy puple her owne techinge, and leuen thy techinge that ys medefull, and hyden it by quaynte gloses from thy lewed puple, and feden thy puple with sweuenes that they meten, and tales that doth litell profite but moch harme to the puple. But, Lorde, these glosers seggeth that they ne desyren nat the state of mastrie to ben worschuped thereby, but to profite the more to thy puple, when they prechen thy worde. For as they seggen the puple wolen leuen more the prechinge of a mayster that hath ytaken a state of scole, than the prechinge of a nother man that hath not ytake the state of maystrye.

Lorde, whether it be any nede the maystres beren witnesse to thy teachinge, that it is trewe and good? Or, Lorde, whether maye any maystre mowe by his estate of maystrye, that thou hast forboden, drawe any man from hys synne rather then an other man that is nat a maystre, ne wole be non, for it ys forboden hym in thy gospell? Lorde, thou sendest no maystres to prech the puple, and thou knowlegist in the gospell to thy Fadur, that he hath yhid hys wisdome frow wise men and redye men, and schewed it to litle childern. And, Lorde, Maystres of the law hylden thy techinge folye, and seiden that thou wouldest destroye the puple with thy techinge. Trulych, Lorde, so these maystres seggeth now; for they haue y written many bokes azeyns thy techinge that is treweth, and so the prophesie of Hieremie ys fulfilled, when he sayeth: Trulich the false poyntiz of the maysters of the law hath ywrouzte lesinge. And now ys the tyme ycome that Saynte Poule speaketh of there he sayeth, Tyme schall come whan man schulle not susteine holsome techinge. But they schullen gadre to hope maystres with hutchinge eares, and from treweth they schullen turnen a waye her heringe, and turnen her to tales that mastres have y maked to schowen her maystrye and her wisdome.

And, Lorde, a man schall leue more a mannes werkes than hys wordes, and the dede scheweth well of these maysters, that they desyren more maystrye for her own worschupe than for profite of the puple. For, when they be maystres, they ne prechen not so oft as they did before. And, zif they prechen, communlych it ys before rych men there as they mowen bere worschupe and also profite of her prechinge. But before pore men they prechen but seldem, when they ben maystres: And so by her workes we may sene that they ben false glosers.

And, Lorde, me thinketh that whoso wole kepen thyne hestes hym nedeth no gloses: But thilke that clepen her selfe Christen men, and lyuen azeynst thy techinge and thyne hestes, nedelych they mote glose thyne hestes after her lyuinge, other else men schulden openlych y know her ypocrisie and falsheed.

But, Lorde, thou saist that there nys nothinge yhid that it schall not be schewed some tyme. And, Lorde, y blessed mote thou be. For some what thou schewest us nowe of our myscheues that we ben fallen in thorowv the wisdome of maystres that haue by sleyzthes y lad vs a waye from the and thy techinge, that thou that were mayster of heuen tauzt vs for loue, when thou were here some tyme to hele of oure soules withouten errour or heresye. But maystres of the worldes wisdome, and her founder, haue ydamned it for heresye and for erroure.

O Lord, me thinketh it ys a gret pride thus to reproue thy wisdome and thy techinge. And, Lorde, me thinketh that this Nabugodonosor kynge of Babylon, that thus hath reproued thy techinge and thine hestes, and commaundeth on all wise to kepen hys hestes, maken thy puple heryen hym as a God on erth, and maketh hem his thralles and his seruauntes.

But, Lorde, we lewed men knowen no God but the, and we with thyne helpe and thy grace forsaken Nabugodonosor and hys lawes. For he, in his prowd estate, wole haue all men onder hym, and he nele

be vnder no man. He ondoth thy lawes that thou ordenest to be kept, and maketh his awne Lawes as hym lyketh, and so he maketh hym kynge abouen all other kynges of the erth, and maketh men to worschupen hym as a God, and thy gret sacrytice he hath ydone awaye.

O Lorde, here ys thy commaundemente of mekenes mischeflych to broken, and thy blessed commaundement of porenesse ys also to broken and yhid from thy Puple. Lorde, Zacharie thy prophete sayth, that thou that schuldest ben oure kynge schuldest ben a pore man, and so thou were; for thou saidest thy selfe, foxes haue dennes, and briddes of heuen nestes, and mannes sone hath nat where to legge hys heed on. And thou saidest, yblessed ben pore men in spirite, for the kyngedome of heuen ys hern. And woo to rych men, for they han her comforte in this worlde. And thou bade thy disciples to ben ware of all couetyse, for thou saidest, in the abundance of a mannes hauynge ne ys nat his lyflode. And so thou techist that thilke that han more than her nedeth to her lyuinge lyuen in couetyse. Also thou saist that, but zif a man forsake all thinges that he oweth, he ne maye not ben thy disciple. Lorde, thou saist also that thy worde that ys ysowe in rych mennes hartes bringeth forth no fruite. For rychesse and the businesse of this worlde maketh it withouten fruite.

O Lorde, here ben many blessed techinges to tech men to ben pore and love porenesse. But, Lorde, harme ys, pore men and porenesse ben yhated, and rych men ben yloued and honoured. And, zif a man be a pore man, men holden hym a man with out grace, and, zif a man desyreth porenesse, men holden hym a fole. And, zif a man be a rich man, men clepen hym a gracyous man, and thilke that ben bysie in getinge of rychesse ben yholde wise men and redye: But, Lorde, these rych men sayen that that it ys both leful and medefull to hem to gadre rychesse to geder. For they ne gadreth it not for her selfe, but for other men that ben nedy, and, Lorde, her werkes schowen the treweth. For, zif a pore nedy man wolde borowen of her rychesse, he nole leue hym none of hys good, but zif he mowe be seker to haue it againe by a certeyn daye.

But, Lorde, thou bede that a man schulde lene and not hoping zeldinge azeyne of hym that he leneth to: and thy fadur of heuen wole quyte hym hys mede. And, zif a pore axe a rych man any good, the rych man wole zeue hym but a litell and zet it schalbe litell worth. And, Lorde, me thinketh that here ys litell loue and charite, both to God and oure brethern.

For, Lorde, thou techest in thy gospell that what men do to thy seruauntes they done to the. A Lorde, zif a pore man axe good for thy loue, men zeueth hym a litle of the worst. For these rych men ordeynen both breed and ale for goddes men of the worst that they haue. O Lorde, syth all they good that men haue cometh of the: how dare any man zeue the of the worste, and kepe to hym selfe the best? How mowe soch men saye that they gaderen rychesse for others nede as well as her selfe, syth her workes ben contrary to her wordes? and that ys no gret treweth.

And be ze seker these goods that rych men han they ben gods goodes ytake to youre kepinge, to loke how ze wolen by setten to the worshupe of God. And, Lorde, thou saist in the gospell, that who so is trewe

in litell, he ys trewe in that thinge that is more. And who that ys false in a little thinge, who wole taken hym to warde thinges of a gretter value? And therfore be ye ware that han Gods goodes to kepe. Spende ye thilke trulych to the worchupe of God, lest ze lesen the blisse of heuen for the vntrewe dispendinge of Gods goods in this worlde.

O Lorde, these rych men seggen that they done moch for thy loue. For many pore laborers ben yfounde by hem, that schulden fare febelich, ne were not they and her redinesse for soth; me thinketh that pore laborers zeueth to these rych men more then they zeuen hem azeyn warde. For the pore man mote gone to hys laboure in colde and in hete, and in wete and drye, and spende hys flesh and hys bloude in the rych mennes workes apon Gods ground to fynde the rych man in ese, and in lykynge, and in good fare of mete and of drinke, and of clothinge. Here ys a gret zifte of the pore man. For he zeueth his awn body. But what zeueth the rych man hym azeynwarde? certes febele mete, and febele drinke, and febele clothinge. What ever they seggen soch be her workes, and here ys litell love. And who soever loketh wel a boute, all the worlde fareth thus as we seggen. And all men stodyeth on every syde, how they maye wexe rych. And everych man almest ys a schamed to ben holden a pore man.

And, Lorde, I trowe, for thou were a pore man, men taken litell regarde to the, and to thy techinge. But, Lorde, thou come to zeue vs a new testamente of loue, and therefore it was semelych that thou came in porenesse to proue who wolde loue the and kepen thyne hestes. For, zif thou haddist ycome in forme of a rych man and of a Lorde, men woulde, rather for thy drede then for thy loue, haue ykepte thyne hestes. And so, Lorde, now thou mizte well ysee which louen the as they schulde in kepynge thyne hestes. For who that loueth the in thy porenesse and in thy lowenesse, nedes he mote loue the in thy lordschupe and thy hizenesse.

But, Lorde, the worlde ys turned vpse downe, and men louen pore men but a litell, ne porenesse nother; but men ben aschamed of porenesse, and therfore, Lorde, I trowe, that thou art a pore kynge; and therfore I trowe, that he, that clepeth hym selfe thy viker on erth, hath forsake porenesse, as he hath ydo the remenaunte of thy law, and ys by come a rych man and a Lorde, and maketh hys tresoure apon the erth, that thou forbedest in the gospell; and, for his rizt and his rychesse, he wole plete, and fezte, and curse; and yet, Lorde, he wole segge, that he forsaketh all thinges, that he oweth, as thy trewe disciple mote done, after thy techinge in the gospell.

But, Lorde, thou ne tauztest not a man to forsaken hys goodes, and pleten for hem, and fezten, and cursen; and, Lorde, he taketh on hym power to assoylen a man of all maner thinges, but zif it be of dette. Trewlych, Lorde, me thinketh, he knoweth litell of charite; for, who, that beth in charite, possesseth thy Goodes in comune, and nat in propre, at hys nezboures nede.

And than schall there none of hem seggen, thys ys myne, but, it is goodes, that God graunteth to vs to spenden to hys worschupe; and so, zif any of hem boroweth a porcion of thilke goodes, and dispendeth

hem to Gods worschupe, God ys apayed of this spendinge, and aloweth hym for hys trew doinge; and, zif God ys apayed of the dispendinge, that ys the principall Lorde of thilke goodes, how darre any of his seruauntes axen there of acountes, other chalengen it for dette? certen, of one thinge I am in certen: that these that charge so moch dette of worldly catell, they knowen litell of Christes law of charite; for, zif ych am a bayly of Gods goodes in the worlde, and zif I se my brother in nede, ych am yholden by charite to parte with hym of these goodes to his nede; and, zif he spendeth hem well, to the worschupe of God, I mote be well apayed, as thouzych my selfe had spendid hem to the worschupe of God: and, zif the principall Lorde ys wel lpayed of my brothers doinge, and the dispendinge of hys goodes, how maye I segge, for schame, that my brother ys dettoure to me of the goodes that I toke hym to spenden in gods worschupe at hys nede? and, zif my brother spendeth amys the goodes that I take hym, ich am dyscharged of my delyueraunce of the goodes, zif I take hym in charite thilke goodes at his nede; and ych am yholden to ben sory of hys yvell dispendinge, ne I maye not axen the goodes, that I toke hym to his nede, in forme of dette; for, at hys nede, they weren hys, as well as myne. And thus ys my brother yholde to done to me, zif he seiz me in nede; and, zif we ben in charite, lytell schulde we chargen of dette, and ne we schulde not axen so dettes, as men that knowen not God; and than be we pore in forsakynge all thinges that we owen: for, zif we ben in charite, we wolen nother fyzte, nor curse, ne plete for oure goodes with oure brethern.

O Lorde, thus thou tauztest thy seruauntes to lyuen, and so they lyueden, while they hadden good schepherdes, that fedden thy scheepe, and ne robbed hem not of her lyfelode, as Peter thy good schepherde and thy other apostles: but, Lorde, he that clepeth hymselfe thy viker vp on erth, and successoure to Peter, he robbeth thy puple of her bodylich lyfelode, for he ordeneth proude schepherdis to lyuen in ese by the tenth partye of pore mennes traueyll; and he zeueth hem leue to lyuen where hem lyketh; and, zif men ne wolen not wilfullych zeuen hem these tythinges, they wolen hauen hem azeynst her will, by maystrye and by cursinge, to maken hem rych.

Lorde, how maye any man segge, that sych schepherdes, that louen more the wole, than the scheep, and feden not thy scheep in body, ne in soule, ne ben such rauenours and theues? And, who maye segge, that the maintenoure of such schepherdes ne ys not a maintenoure of theues and robbers? how wole he assoyle schepherdes of her robbinge, with out restitucion of her goodes, that they robben thy scheep of azeinst her will? Lorde of all schepherdes, blessed mote thou be, for thou louedest more the scheep, than her wole; for thou fedest thy scheep both in body and in soule; and, for loue of thy scheep, thou toke thy deth to bring thy scheep out of wolues mouthes. And the most charge, that thou zoue to Peter, was, to fede thy scheep. And so he did trewelich, and toke the deeth for the and for thy scheep; for he come in to the folde of the scheep by the that were the dore: and so, I trowe, a fewe other did as he did, thouz they clepen hemselfe successours to Peter; for her workes schowen what they ben; for they

robben, and sleen, and distroyen. They robben thy scheep of the tenth parte of her traueyle, and feden hemselfe in ese. They sleen thy scheep, for they pyenen hem for hunger of her soule to the deth. They distroyen thy scheep; for with mizte and with sternschipe they rulen thy scheep, that, for drede, they ben disparpled a brode in mownteynes; and there the wilde beestes of the felde distroyeth hem, and deuoureth hem, for defaute of a good schepherde.

O Lorde, zif it be thy will, delyuer thy scheep oute of such schepherdes warde, that retcheth not of thy scheep, han they her wole to make hem selfe rich; for thy scheep ben in gret mischefe, and foule accumbred with her schepherdes.

But, for thy schepherdes wolden ben excused, they haue ygeten hem hyridmen to fede thy puple, and these comen in scheepes clothinge; but, dredeles, ther werkes schewen, that with in forth the ben but wolfes; for, han they her hyre, they ne retcheth but a litell how sorrilich thy scheep ben kepte. For, as they feggen hem selfe, they ben but hyrid men, that han no charge of thy scheep: and, when they schulden feden thy scheep in the plentuous lesewe of thy techinge, they stonden betwene hem and her lesewe, so that thy scheep ne han but a sizte of thy lesewe, but eten they schallen not thereof: but they feden hem in a sorry sowre lesewe of lesinges and of talys, and so thy scheep fallen in to greuous sycknesse thorowz thys yuel lesewe. And, zif any scheep breke ouer in to thy lesewe to tasten the swetnes therof, anon these hyrid men dryue hym oute with houndes. And thus thy scheep, by these hyrid men, ben ykepte oute of her kyndlych lesewe, and ben yfed wyth sowre grasse and sorry baren lesewes; and zet they feden hem but seldem, and, when they han sorrilich fed hem, they taken gret hyre, and gone awaye from thy scheep, and letten hem a worth; and, for dreede lest thy scheep wolden in her absence go to thy swete lesewe, they haue enclosed it all aboute so stronglych, and so hize, ther maye no scheep comen there with in: but, zif it be a walisch leper of the mounteynes, that maye, with his longe legges, lepen ouer the wallys. For, thyrid men ben full certen, that zif thy scheep hadden ones tasted the sweetnesse of thy lesewe, they ne wold no more ben yfed of these hyrid men in her soure lesewes, and therfore these hyrid men kepen hem out of thy lesewe. For, hadden the scheep ones ytasted well of thy lesewe, they wolden, with oute a ledder, go thider to her mete, and than mote these hyrid men fechen hem a nother laboure to lyue by, than kepinge of scheepe. And they ben fell and war ynowe therof, and therfore they feden thy scheep with soure mete, that nauzte ys, and hiden from thy schepe the swetnesse of thy lesewe. And so, thouz these hyrid men gone in scheeps clothinge, in her workes they ben wolues, that much harme done to thy scheep as we haue ytold.

O Lorde, they comen as schepe, for they seggen that they ben pore, and haue forsaken they worlde to lyuen parfetlych as thou tauztest in the gospell. Lorde, this ys scheeps clothinge. But, Lorde, thou ne tauztest not a man to forsaken the trauelouse liuynge in porenesse in the worlde, to lyuen in ese with rychesse by other mennes traueyle,

and haue lordshupe on her brethern. For, Lorde, this ys more to forsaken the, and go to the worlde.

O Lorde, thou ne tauztest not a man to forsake the worlde, to lyuen in porenesse of begginge by other mennes traueyle, that ben as feble as they ben. Ne, Lorde, thou ne tauztest not a man to lyuen in porenesse of begginge, that were stronge ynouz to traueyle for hys lyfelode. Ne, Lorde, thou ne tauztest not a man to ben a begger, to beghen of men more then hym nedeth; to bylden gret castels, and maken gret festes to thilke that han no nede.

O Lorde, thou ne tauztest not men this porenes, for it ys oute of charite: but thy porenesse that thou tauztest norscheth charite. Lorde, syth Poule saith, 'That he that forsaketh the charge of thilke that ben homelich with hym, hath forsaken his faith, and ys worse than a misbeleued man:' how than mowe these men seggen that they beleuen in Christ, that han forsake her pore feble frendes, and let hem lyue in traveyle, and in disese, that traueyled full sore for hem, when they weren zounge and unmizty to helpen hem self? And they wolen lyue in ese by other mennes trauayle euer more, in begginge with outen schame.

Lorde, thou ne tauztest not this maner porenesse, for it ys oute of charite; and all thy lawe ys charite other thinge that norscheth charite: And these hyridmen these schepherdes sende aboute to kepe thy scheep, and to feden hem other whiles in sorry bareyne lesewes. Lorde, thou ne madest none such schepherdes ne kepers of thy scheep that weren zerners aboute cuntreys, and wolden ones oder twyes a zere fede sorryich thy scheep, and for so litle traueyle taken a gret hyre, and sythen all the zere afterward do what hem lyketh, and let thy scheep perish for defaute of kepinge.

But thy schepherdes abyden still with her scheep, and feden hem in thy plentuous lesewe of thy techinge, and gone byfore thy scheep, and techen hem the waye in to that plentuous and swete lesewe, and kepen thy flocke from raueninge of the wilde beestes of the feelde.

O Lorde, delyuer thy scheep out of the warde of these schepherdes, and these hyrid men, that stonden more to kepe her ryches that they robben of thy scheep, than they stonden in kepeing of thy scheep.

O Lorde, when thou come to Ierusalem some tyme, thou droue oute of the temple sellers of beestes and of other chaffare, and saidest, 'myne house schulden ben cleped an house of preyers, but they maden a den of theues of it.' O Lorde, thou art the temple in whom we schulden preyen thy Fadur of Heuen; and Salomon's Temple, that was ybelded at Ierusalem, was fygure of this temple. But, Lorde, he that clepeth hym selfe thy viker upon erth, and saith that he occupieth thy place here on erth, ys by come a chapman in the temple, and hath his chapmen walkynge in dyuerse cuntreys, to sellen his chaffare, and to maken hym-rych. And he saith, thou gave hym so gret a power abouen all other men, that what ever he byndeth ether vnbyndeth in erth, thou bynest ether vnbyndest the same in heuen: and so of grete power he selleth other men forzeuenesse of her synne; and for moch money he will assoyle a man so clene of hys synne, that he be-

hoteth men the blisse of heuen, withouten any peyne after that they be deed, that zeven hym much money.

Byschopriches and churches, and such other chaffares, he selleth also for money, and maketh hym self rych; and thus he begileth the puple.

O Lorde Iesu, here ys much vntrueth, and myschefe, and mater of sorow. Lorde, thou saidest some tyme, that thou woldest be with thy seruauntes in to the ende of the world: and thou saidest also, there as tweyne or thre ben ygadred to gedder in thy name, that thou art in the mydle of hem: and, Lorde, then it was no nede to the to maken a leftenaunte, sith thou wolte be evermore amonges thy seruauntes.

Lorde, thou axedest of thy disciples who they trowed that thou were. And Peter answered and saide, That 'thou art Christe, God's Sone.' And thou saidest to Peter, 'Thou art yblessed, Symon Bariona, for flesh and bloude ne schowed not this to the, but my Fadur that ys in Heuen.

And I say to the, that thou art Peter, and apon this stone ych wole byld my church, and the zates of hell ne schullen nat availen azens it. And to the ych wole geue the keyes of heuen, and what ever thou byndest vpon erth shall be bounde in heuen, and what ever thou vnbyndest on erth schal be vnbounden in heuen.' This power also was graunted vnto the other disciples as well as to Peter, as the gospel opunlych telleth, In this place men seggen, that thou graunted to Peter's successours the selue power that thou zaue to Peter. And therfore the byschop of Rome, that saith he ys Peter's successour, taketh thys power to him to bynden and vnbynden in erth what hym lyketh. But Lorde, ych haue much wondre how he maye for schame clepen hymselfe Peter's successour. For Peter knowledged that thou were Chsist and God, and kepte the hestes of thy law; but these han forsaken the hestes of thy law, and hath y.maked a law contrary to thyne hestes of thy lawe.

And so he maked hymselfe a fals Christ and a fals God in erth. And I trouwe thou zaue hym no power to vndo thy law.

And so, in takinge this power vp on him, he maketh hym a fals Christe and Antechrist. For who may be more azens Christ than he that in his wordes maketh hymselfe Christe's viker in erth, and in his werkes vndoth the ordinaunce of Christe, and maketh men byleuen that it ys nedefull to the heale of mennes soules to byleuen that he ys Christe's viker in erth, and what euer he byndeth in erth ys ybounden in heuen? And vnder this coloure he vndoth Christe's lawe, and maketh men on alwise to kepen his lawe, and his hestes. And thus men maye yseen that he ys azens Christ, and therfore he ys Antechrist, that maketh men worshupen hym as a God on erth, as that proude Kynge Nabugodonosor did, sumtyme that was Kynge of Babylone.

And therfore we lewed men, that knowen no God but the Iesu Christ, beleuen in the that art oure God, and our Kynge, and our Christ, and thy lawes: and forsaken Antechrist and Nabugodonosor, that ys a fals God, and a fals Christ and his lawes that ben contrary to thy techinge. And, Lorde, strenzth thou vs azenst oure enemies; for they ben aboute to maken vs forsake the and thy lawe, other ellis to putten vs to deth. O Lorde, onlych in the is our

trust to helpe vs in this myschefe, for thy gret goodnesse that ys with outen end.

Lorde, thou ne tauztest not thy disciples to assoylen men of her synne, and setten hem a penaunce for her synne, in fastinge ne in prayenge, ne othere almous dede; ne thy selfe, ne thy disciples vseden no such power here on erth. For, Lorde, thou forzeue men her synnes, and bede hem synne no more. And thy disciples fulleden men in thy name in forzeuenesse of her synnes. Nor they toke no such power apon hem as oure prestes dare now. And, Lorde, thou ne assoyledest no man both of his synne, and of his peyne that was dewe for his synne, ne thou grauntedst no man such power here on erth.

And, Lorde, me thinketh, that zif ther were a purgatorye, and eny erthlyche man had power to delyueren synfull men from the peynes of purgatorye, he schulde, and he were in charite, sauen everich man that were in waye of saluacion from thilke peynes, syth they make hem gretter than any bodilych peynes of this worlde. Also, zif the bischop of Rome had such a power, he hymselfe schulde never comen in purgatorye, ne in hell. And sith we se well, that he ne hath no power to kepen hymselfe, ne other men, nother out of these bodilich peynes of the worlde, and he maye go to hell for hys synne, as another man maye, I ne byleve nat that he hath so great a power to assoylen men of her synne, as he taketh vp on hym abouen all other men; and I trowe that in thys he hyeth hymselfe aboue God.

As touching the selling of byschoprychcs and personages, I trow it be a poynte of falshede. For azens God's ordinaunce he robbeth pore men of a porcion of their sustinaunce and selleth it, other zeueth it to fynde proude men in ydlenesse that done the lewed puple litell prophet and much harme as we tolde before. Thus ben thy commaundementes of treweth, of mekenesse and of porenesse, vndone by hym that clepeth hym selfe thy viker here vpon erth.

A Lorde, thou zaue vs a commaundemente of chastite, that ys a forsakynge of fleschliche lustes. For thou brouztest vs to a lyuynge of soul that ys ygouerned by thy worde. For, Lorde, thou ordeynedist woman more frele than man to byn ygouerned by man's rule and his helpe to plese the and kepe thyne hestes. Ne thou ne ordeynedist that a man schuld desyre the company of a woman, and maken her his wyfe, to lyuen with her in his lustys, as a swyne doth or a horse. And hys wife ne lyked hym nat to hys lustes, Lorde, thou ne zaue not a man leue to departen hym from his wife and taken hym a nother.

But, Lorde, the maryage ys a commune acorde between man and woman, to lyuen togeder to her lyues ende, and in thy seruyse eyther the bettur for others helpe; and thilke that ben thus ycome to geder ben ioined by the, and thilke that God ioyneth maye no man departe. But, Lorde, thou saist that zif a man se a woman to coueten her, than he doth with that woman letcherye in his harte. And so, Lorde, zif a man desyre his wife in couetyse of such lustes, and not to flye from whoredome, his weddinge ys letcherye, ne thou ne ioynest hem nat to geder. Thus was Raguls Douzter y wedded to seven husbandes that

the devell strangled. But Tobye toke her to lyue with her in clennesse and bringinge vp of her childern to thy worschyp, and on hym the deuell ne had no power. For the weddinge was ymaked in God, for God, and thorouz God.

A Lorde, the puple ys ferre ygo from this maner of weddinge. For now men wedden her wives for fayrenesse, other for rychesse or some such other fleschlych lustes. And, Lorde, so it preueth by hem for the most parte. For a manne shall not fynde two wedded in a londe, where the husbonde loues the wife, and the wife is buxom to the man, as they shulden after thy law of mariage. But other the man loues not his wife, or the wife is not buxom to her man. And thus, Lorde, ys the rule of prese that neuer faileth to preue whether it be done by the or no. And, Lorde, all this myschefe ys is comen amonge thy puple, for that they knowe not thy worde, but her schepherdes and hyrid men feden hem with her sweuendes and lesynges. And, Lorde, where they schulden gon before vs in the felde, they seggen that her order ys to holy for thy mariage. And, Lorde, he that calleth hymselfe thy viker vp on erth will not suffren prestes to taken hem wyues, for that it ys azeins his law: but, Lorde, he will dispensen with hem to kepen horen for a certen sum of mon. And, Lorde, all horedome ys forfended in thy law. And, Lorde, thou neuer forfendest prestes her wiues ner thy apostles nether. And well I wrote in our londe prestes hadden wiues vntil Anselmus dayes, in the yere of oure Lorde God a leven hundert and twenty and nyne, as Huntindon writes. And, Lorde, this makes puple, for the most parte, leuen that letcherye ys no synne. Therfore, we lewed men preyen the that thou wolt sende vs schepherdes of thyne owne, that wolen feden thy flock in thy lesewe, and gon before hem selfe, and so writen thy lawe in oure hartes, that, from the leest to the mest all they mayen knowen thee. And, Lorde, geue oure kynge, and his lordes, harte to defenden thy trew schepherdes, and thy sheep from oute of the wolues mouthes, and grace to know the, that art the trew Christ, the Sonne of thy heuenly Fader, from the Antechrist, that ys the sonne of pride.

And, Lorde, geue vs, thy poore scheep, pacience and strenzth to suffer for thy lawe the cruelnes of the myscheuous wolues. And, Lorde, as thou hast promysed, shorten these days. Lorde, we axen this now, for more nede was there neuer.

LOVE-LETTERS

FROM

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH TO ANNE BOLEYN:

And Two Letters from

ANNE BOLEYN TO CARDINAL WOLSEY,

With her last to

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

AS these letters, with a few reflexions on them, may give those, that have not leisure to turn over large volumes, just notions of the grounds of King Henry the Eighth's divorce, and arm them against the calumnies of the Papists on that subject; I shall give you a faithful copy of them from the originals, now preserved in the Vatican Library, where they are usually shewn to all strangers, and a true translation of those that were written in French: introducing them with a short view of the most remarkable transactions which preceded, and gave occasion to them. To which end, it may first be observed*, that, in King Henry the Seventh's time, his eldest son, Prince Arthur, being † past fifteen years of age, was married to the Princess Catharine of Spain, who was elder than himself; that they lived together as man and wife for several months; and then, Prince Arthur dying ‡, it was resolved, for reasons of state, that Prince Henry should marry his brother's widow. This was opposed by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, as absolutely unlawful; but advised by Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who thought all difficulties would be removed by a dispensation from Rome. Accordingly a bull was obtained || to that effect, and they were married, the Prince being yet under age. But Warham had so possessed the king with scruples against this marriage, that, the day § on which the Prince was of age, he, by his father's order, protested against it as null and void; and Henry the Seventh, with his dying breath, persisted in charging his son to break it off intirely. However, when Henry the Eighth came to the crown, it was resolved in council that he should renew his marriage; which was done ‡‡ publickly, and he had several children by the queen, who all died young, except the Lady Mary ††.

After this there appeared no farther disquiet in the king's mind, nor any sign of an intended divorce, till the year 1524; when Cardinal Wolsey, by his legantine mandate, published a bull of the Pope's against those that contracted marriage within the forbidden degrees. This

* Hist. Reform. Part I. † November 14, 1501. ‡ April 2, 1502. || December 26, 1503.
§ June 22, 1505. ‡‡ June 3, 1509. †† Afterwards Queen of England.

mandate is yet extant in the register of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. What followed makes this justly suspected to have been done on the king's account. To confirm which suspicion, there is a concurring circumstance in a letter from Simon Grineus to Bucer, dated September 10, 1531, where he says*, The king had declared to him, that he had abstained from Queen Catharine, for seven years, upon scruples of conscience.

However, tho' the king had scruples at that time, yet he concealed them carefully from the world, for some years; and the immediate occasion of their breaking out seems to have been given by the French ambassadors, who came † to England to treat of several matters, and particularly of a marriage between the Princess Mary and the French king, or the Duke of Orleans, his second son. This alternative was at last agreed‡, tho' it remained for some time in suspence‖; because 'the president of the parliament of Paris doubted, whether the marriage between the king and her mother, being his brother's wife, were good or no.'§ The Bishop of Tarbe made the same objection, and renewed it to the king's ambassadors in France, as appears by King Henry's speech to the mayor and citizens of London, concerning his scruples, where he says, 'When our ambassadors were last in France, and motion was made, that the Duke of Orleans should marry our said daughter, one of the chief counsellors to the French king said, It were well done to know whether she be the king of England's lawful daughter, or not; for well known it is, that he begat her on his brother's wife, which is directly contrary to God's law, and his precept.' That this counsellor was the Bishop of Tarbe, is affirmed ** by the Bishop of Bayonne, in the account he gives of this speech to the court of France, in a letter dated the 27th of November, 1528; yet this very Bishop of Tarbe was afterwards advanced to be a cardinal, and was so far from retracting his opinion, that, when he was cardinal of Grandemont, in a letter dated the 27 of March, 1530, he writes to the French court, 'That he had served the Lord Rochford (Anne Boleyn's Father) all he could, and that the Pope had three several times said to him in secret, that he wished the marriage had been already made in England, either by the legate's dispensation, or otherwise; provided it was not done by him, nor in diminution of his authority, under pretence of the laws of God.' This conduct shews, that it was not religion, but political views, that turned the court of Rome against the king's cause, which they at first plainly favoured. And

Now as to the arguments by which the king fortified himself in these scruples. These, as he himself owned ††, were, that he found by the law of Moses, 'If a man took his brother's wife, they should die childless;' this made him reflect on the death of his children, which he now looked on as a curse from God for that unlawful marriage. He found Thomas Aquinas (whom he chiefly valued of all the casuists) of opinion, that the laws of Leviticus, about the forbidden degrees of marriage, were moral and eternal, such as obliged all Christians; and that the Pope could only dispense with the laws of the church, but not with the laws of God: And, when the validity of the marriage came afterwards to be

* See Hist. Reform. Part I. † March 2, 1527. ‡ April 30, 1527. ‖ Hall.
§ Herbert. ‡‡ Hist. Reform. Part III. †† Hist. Reform. Part I.

thoroughly canvassed, it appeared that the whole tradition of the church and the opinions of its doctors were against the marriage.

In the year 1527, before Cardinal Wolsey's journey to France, which he began on the 3d of July, to promote the King's marriage with the Duchess of Alenson, the King's scruples were become publick, as two writers* testify almost in the same words: 'this season,' says Hall, 'began a fame in London, that the King's confessor, the Bishop of Lincoln, called Dr. Langland, and divers other great clerks, had told the king, that the marriage between him and the Lady Catharine, late wife to his brother Prince Arthur, was not good, but damnable.'

And this suspicion, of the Cardinal's going to promote a second match in France, is confirmed† by a letter of his, dated Feversham, July the 5th, 1527, where he says, Archbishop Warham had warned him of the great jealousies which Queen Catharine had of his‡ journey. And by another letter dated August the 1st, 1527, where he labours to satisfy the King, that the Pope's dispensation was in itself null and void. All these particulars will be the stronger proofs of the Cardinal's intention, when it shall be proved that the Cardinal could then have no thoughts of Anne Boleyn; whose father, the Lord Rochford, came over to England from France with the Duchess of Alenson's picture‖ to shew it to King Henry; and it was then, in all probability, that Anne Boleyn came over with him; for, tho' she had been in England in 1522, yet she did not stay long§, but returned into the service of Claude Queen of France, where she continued till that Queen died, which was in 1524, and then went into the Duchess of Alenson's service, which she left probably at this time. Soon after her coming into England, she was taken into Queen Catharine's court, where the Lord Peircy courted her, and was upon the point of marrying her**, had not Cardinal Wolsey, by the King's order, prevented it; and, as the same author assures us, it was not till after the Cardinal's return from France, which was on the last day of September 1527, that the King opened his affection for Anne Boleyn to him.

Why then do the Papists pretend to say, that the King would never have had thoughts of a divorce, or scruples against his first marriage, had not his unlawful passion for Mrs. Boleyn prompted him to them? Whereas it is plainly proved, that the King's scruples were infused in him from his infancy, on the justest grounds; that they were revived in him three years†† before they were made publick, and that they were commonly talked of, and a new match contrived for him to the Duchess of Alenson, before Anne Boleyn appeared at court. All which will still appear more clearly in the ensuing letters. But, before I make any remarks on these, I must first give a short account of the King's negotiations at Rome, without which some of them cannot be understood. In the end of 1527‡‡, the King sollicited the Pope for a commission to judge the validity of his marriage with Queen Catharine‖‖, which after some time was obtained in a bull, dated the 13th of April, 1528§§, impowering Cardinal Wolsey, with the Archbishop,

* Stow, Hall. † Herbert. Hist. Reform. Part I. ‖ Hist. Reform. Part I.
§ Camden. ** Cavendish. †† Viz. 1524. ‡‡ Hist. Reform Part I.
Hist. Reform. Part III. §§ Rymer, Tom. xiv.

or any other English bishop, to judge the marriage. But this was not made use of; perhaps because it was thought, that a stranger ought to be employed, that the proceeding might be more impartial. So a new commission * was desired, and obtained, bearing date the 6th of June, in which the Cardinals Wolsey and Campegio (an Italian) were appointed joint legates to judge the marriage.

And, to make this the surer, there was a pollicitation (or promise) procured on the 23d of July, 1528, that the Pope would never inhibit or revoke this commission to judge the marriage; and a decretal bull, which contained an absolute decision of the cause, which was only shewn to the King, and Cardinal Wolsey, by Campegio; but all these precautions which were admitted of, when the Pope was in a distressed condition, did not restrain his holiness from sending one Campana before the end of the year, to see the decretal bull secretly burnt; and from recalling the legate's commission, and avocating the cause to Rome the next year, when his affairs were more flourishing, and the Emperor (who was Queen Catharine's nephew) had granted all his demands.

Now as to the letters themselves. It may be presumed reasonably, that, if there had been any thing in them that had reflected on the King's honour, or on Anne Boleyn's, they would certainly have been published by the Papists at that very time; for they were in their hands soon after they were written, as appears from this passage in Lord Herbert's history.

"When Cardinal Campegio came to take ship, the searchers, upon pretence he carried either money or letters from England to Rome, ransacked all his coffers, bags, and papers, not without hope, certainly, to recover that decretal bull our King so much longed for. I find also (some relation) that divers love-letters betwixt our King and Mistress Boleyn, being conveighed out of the King's cabinet, were sought for, though in vain; they having been formerly sent to Rome."

To explain this account, it must be supposed, that they were taken, not out of the King's but out of Anne Boleyn's cabinet. This is the more probable, because, in fact, they are all letters from the King to her; whereas, if his cabinet had been rifled, her answers to him would have been more likely to be found there.

As to the time in which the King's letters to Anne Boleyn were written, in all probability, it was immediately after her dismission from the court †, which was done to silence the clamours of the people on her account; but she was sent away in so abrupt a manner, that she determined to absent herself altogether; which made the King soon repent of his severity, and press her to come back. But this was not obtained for a long time, nor without great difficulty; as appears by some of the following letters. The time of her dismission was not till May 1528, for there is a letter extant ‡ from Fox to Gardiner, at Rome, dated London, May the 4th, 1528, where he writes, 'of his landing at Sandwich, May the 2d, ——His coming that night to Greenwich, where the King lay, ——His being commanded to go to Mistress Anne's chamber in the tilt-yard—And declaring to her their

* Herbert. † Idem. ‡ Lately in the Earl of Oxford's Library, 39 B. 4.

expedition in the King's cause, and their hastening the coming of the legate ——To her great rejoicing and comfort ——Then came the King, to whom he delivered his letters, ——And opened his negotiations ——Then he went to the Cardinal,' &c.

Soon after the date of this letter, she was dismissed; for, in the first of the letters that follow, the King makes excuses for the necessity of their being asunder; and, in the second, complains of her unwillingness to return to court. In neither of these, is a word of the sweating sickness, which raged violently in June: and, of which he speaks in his third letter, as of a thing that had lasted some time, and of which he had formed many observations from experience. Between this letter, which seems to have been writ in July, and the sixth, which, mentioning the Legate's arrival at Paris, must have been written in the end of September, there are two letters, which, by the earnestness of the business, were plainly written within a few days of one another. Probably, soon after the latter* of these was sent by the King, where he expressed how much he was pleased with her answer to his earnest desire in the former,† in the heat of his gratitude, he paid a visit to his mistress; in which time they wrote a joint letter to Cardinal Wolsey, which is added in the Appendix, where the King expresses his wonder, that he has not yet heard of the Legate Campegio's arrival at Paris; which makes it probable this happened in September. The King stayed not long with her after this; for, when she had received the Cardinal's answer, she writes a second letter, without mentioning the King's being there; and again shews impatience to hear of the Legate's coming, of which the King gave her the first news soon after. But,

To return to the fourth letter, which, from all these particulars, may be supposed to have been written in Angust; it is the most important in all the collection, for it fixes the time when his affection to Anne Boleyn began. He complains in it, 'That he had been above a whole year struck with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether he shall fail, or find a place in her heart or affection.' Now, by the nature of his complaint, it is visible, that he pleads all the merit that a long attendance could give him: and, therefore, if, instead of a year, he could have called it a year and a half, or two years, he would certainly have done it, to make his argument the stronger. It may likewise be probably concluded from the same words, that he had not then known her much above half a year; for it would have been an ill compliment in him, to let her understand that he had seen her some time, before he was at all in love with her.

These remarks confirm the account already given, of her coming from France with her father; and, by that means, serve to establish the King's vindication from the scandal thrown on him by the Papists, that he had no scruples about his marriage, till he saw Anne Boleyn.

Though it may be here questioned, how the time of any particular letter can be known, since they have no date, and therefore may have been put out of their order. But those, that will read them with any attention, will find a chain of circumstances referred to, that plainly shew they were laid together by one that knew the order in which they were

* Letter the Fifth. † Letter the Fourth.

written, very likely by Anne Boleyn herself; and whoever stole them, as he took them all together, so would be careful, no doubt, to keep them in the order he found them in, that the discoveries to be made from them might be the more compleat.

It will not be doubted by any that read these letters, that the King's affection to Anne Boleyn was altogether upon honourable terms. There appears no pretension to any favours, but when the Legates shall have paved the way. There is but one offence that can be taken at these letters, which is, that there are indecent expressions in them. But this is to be imputed to the simplicity and unpoliteness of that age, which allowed too great liberties of that sort; and it must be owned by his enemies, that there are but three or four of these sallies in all the collection, and that there are letters which make much more for the King's piety and virtue, than those irregularities can sully his character.

In the fifth letter he tells her, 'God can do it, if he pleases; to whom I pray once a day for that end, and hope, that, at length, my prayers will be heard.'

In the sixth, 'I trust shortly to enjoy, what I have so long longed for, to God's pleasure, and our both comforts.'

In the ninth, 'Praying God, that (and it be his pleasure) to send us shortly togydder.' Surely, these religious expressions would have been very improper, to make an unlawful passion succeed.

In the thirteenth, speaking of the ill character of one that was proposed to be made Abbess of Wilton, he writes, 'I would not, for all the gold in the world, clog your conscience nor mine, to make her ruler of a house, which is of so ungodly a demeanour; nor I trust you would not, that, neither for brother nor sister, I should so destain mine honour or conscience.' The whole letter is of an excellent strain, and would have been a very improper exhortation to one against whose virtue he had a design.

The last of the letters mentions the Legate's illness, as a reason why he had not yet entered upon his office; which shews, that the correspondence ended at least in May, 1529, when the process began.

There is but one thing after the letters, that it seems very material to add here in the King's defence, and that is, the approbation of his cause by the learned men of Europe.

During the tryal, Warham and Fisher, who were advocates for the Queen, declared, 'That they having been lately consulted by the King, &c. had answered, that the King's conscience was disturbed and shaken, not without the weightiest and strongest reasons.'*

After the Legates had trifled some months, and, at last, Campegio, under a pretence of the rules of the Court of Rome, had adjourned the Court for three months; during which time he obtained an avocation from the Pope; the King was advised, by Cranmer, not to depend longer on the decisions of the See of Rome, but to consult the several Universities of Europe, as well as his own, about the validity of his marriage.

One Crook was employed in this negotiation, and he obtained the opinion of almost all the Universities† whither he went, for the nullity of the

* Rymer. Tom. xiv. † See Hist. Reform. Part I.

marriage; yet he complains, in his letters, that he was in great straits from the small allowance he had. And, in an original bill of his accounts, it appears, that he never gave above a few crowns to any that writ on the King's side; whereas the Emperor gave a benefice of five hundred ducats to one, and of six hundred crowns to another, that writ for the Queen. Yet, though on the one side men were poorly paid for their trouble, and on the other richly rewarded, yet the most eminent men were universally for the King.

It may here be added, that Erasmus, whose name was in the greatest esteem at that time, though he could not be prevailed with to write for the King, for fear of the Pope and the Emperor, in whose dominions he lived; yet he went so far as give great encomiums of the worth and virtues of Sir Thomas Boleyn, then Earl of Wiltshire, in his book 'De Præparatione ad Mortem,' which he dedicates to him; and this was all the approbation that his circumstances made it convenient for him to shew of the King's cause.

On this general consent of the learned in his favour, the King was told, he might proceed to a second marriage, the first being of itself null and void; and, accordingly, he married Anne Boleyn, the twenty-fifth of January, 1533*.

Letters written by King Henry the Eighth to Anne Boleyn.

† LETTER I. Translated from the French, as follows.

MY mistress and friend, I and my heart put ourselves in your hands, begging you to recommend us to your favour, and not to let absence lessen your affection to us. For it were great pity to increase our pain, which absence alone does sufficiently, and more than I could ever have thought; bringing to my mind a point of astronomy, which is, † That, the farther the Moors are from us, the farther too is the sun, and yet his heat is the more scorching; so it is with our love, we are at a distance from one another, and yet it keeps its fervency, at least on my

* Hist. Reform. Part III.

† LETTRE I.

MA maitresse & amie, moy & mon coeur s'en remettent en vos mains, vous suppliant les avoir pour recommander a votre bonne grace, & que par absence votre affection ne leur soit diminuée. Car pur augmenter leur peine ce seroit grande pitie, car l'absence leur fait assez, & plus que jamais je n'eusse pensé, en nous faisant rementevoir un point d' astronomie qui est tel. Tant plus loing que les Mores sont, tant plus eloigné est le soleil, & non obstant plus fervent, aussi fait il de notre amour, par absence nous sommes eloignez, & neanmoins il garde sa ferveur au moins de notre coste. Ayant en espoir la pareille du votre, vous asseurant que de ma part l'ennuye de l'absence deja m'est trop grande. Et quand je pense a l'augmentation dicelluy que par force faut que je soufre, il m'est presque intollerable, sil n'estoit la terme espoir que j'aye de votre indissoluble affection vers moy; & par le vous rementevoir aleune fois cela, & voyant que personellement je ne puis estre en votre presence, chose la plus approchante a cela qui m'est possible au present je vous envoye, cest a dire ma picture, mise en brasselettes a toute la devise que deja scavez, me souhaitant en leur place quant il vous plairoit, c'est de la main de

Votre serviteur & amy, H. R.

† This is a literal translation of this sentence, but the meaning does not appear.

side. I hope the like on your part, assuring you, that the uneasiness of absence is already too severe for me; and when I think of the continuance of that which I must of necessity suffer, it would seem intolerable to me, were it not for the firm hope I have of your unchangeable affection for me; and now, to put you sometimes in mind of it, and seeing I cannot be present in person with you, I send you the nearest thing to that possible, that is, my picture set in bracelets, with the whole device, which you know already, wishing myself in their place, when it shall please you. This from the hand of

Your servant and friend,

H. REX.

‡ LETTER II. Translated from the French, as follows.

TO MY MISTRESS,

BECAUSE the time seems to me very long since I have heard from you, or concerning your health; the great affection I have for you has obliged me to send this bearer to be better informed, both of your health and pleasure: particularly, because, since my last parting with you, I have been told, that you have intirely changed the opinion in which I left you, and that you would neither come to court with your mother, nor any other way; which report, if true, I cannot enough wonder at, being persuaded in my own mind, that I have never committed any offence against you; and it seems a very small return for the great love I bear you, to be kept at a distance from the person and presence of a woman in the world that I value the most; and, if you love me with as much affection as I hope you do, I am sure the distance of our two persons would be a little uneasy to you. Though this does not belong so much to the mistress as the servant. Consider well, my mistress, how greatly your absence grieves me; I hope it is not your will that I should be so; but, if I heard for certain that you yourself desired it, I could do no other than complain of my ill fortune, and by degrees abate my great folly; and so, for want of time, I make an end of my rude letter, desiring you to give credit to this bearer in all he will tell you from me. Written by the hand of your intire servant.

‡ LETTRE II.

A ma Maitresse,

POUR ce qui me semble le temps estre bien long depuis avoir ouy de votre bonne santè, & de vous la grande affection que j'ay vers vous, m'a persuadè de vous envoyer ce porteur pour estre mieux assertenè de votre santè & volontè, & pour ce que depuis mon partement de avec vous, on m'a averty que l'opinion en quoy le vous laissoye est de tout asteure changè, & que vous vouliez venir en cour ni avec madame votre mere ny autrement aussi. Lequel raport estant vray, je ne sauroy assez emerveillier veux que depuis je m'assure de vous n'avoir jamais faite faute, & il me semble bien petite retribution pour le grand amour que je vous porte de me eloigner & la personne & le personage de la femme du monde, que plus j'estime, & si, vous m'aymez de si bonne affection comme j'espere, je suis sure que la eloignement de notre deux personnes vous seroit un peu ennyeuse, toute fois qu'il n'appartient pas tant a la maitresse comme au serviteur. Pensez bien ma mestresse que l'absence de vous fort me grief, esperant qu'l n'est pas votre volontè, que ainsi ce soit, mais si je entendoy pur veritè que volonterement vous la desiriez, je non puis mais faire si non plaindre ma mauvaise fortune en rebattant peu a peu ma grande folie, & ainsi faulte de temps fay fin de ma rude lettre, supplyant de donner foy a ce porteur a ce qu'il vous dira de ma part. Escrit de la main du tout votre serviteur.

* LETTER III. Translated from the French, as follows.

THE uneasiness my doubts about your health gave me, disturbed and frightened me extremely; and I should not have had any quiet without hearing a certain account. But now, since you have yet felt nothing, I hope it is with you as with us; for, when we were at Waltan, two ushers, two valets de chambre, and your brother, master-treasurer, fell ill, and are now quite well; and since we are returned to your house at Hondson, we have been perfectly well, God be praised, and have not, at present, one sick person in the family; and, I think, if you would retire from the Surrey side, as we did, you would escape all danger. There is another thing that may comfort you, which is, that in truth, in this distemper few or no women have been taken ill; and besides, no person of our court, and few elsewhere have died of it. For which reasons I beg you, my intirely beloved, not to frighten yourself, nor to be too uneasy at our absence. For, wherever I am, I am yours, and yet we must sometimes submit to our misfortunes; for, whoever will struggle against fate, is generally but so much the farther from gaining his end. Wherefore, comfort yourself, and take courage, and make this misfortune as easy to you as you can, and I hope shortly to make you sing for joy of your recall. No more at present for lack of time, but that I wish you in my arms, that I might a little dispel your unreasonable thoughts. Written by the hand of him who is, and always will be yours,

My, H. REX, Lovely.

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† LETTER IV. Translated from the French, as follows.

BY turning over in my thoughts the contents of your last letters, I have put myself into a great agony, not knowing how to understand

* LETTRE III.

L'ENNUYE que j'avois du doubte de votre santé me troubla et egarra beaucoup, & n'eusse esté gere quiete sans avoir sue la certanté, mais puisque n'ancors n'avez rien sentu, j'espere qu'il est comme de nous. Car nous estant a Waltan, deux vushyres, deux verles de chambre, votre frere mestre tresorere ont tombé malades, & sont d'asture de toute sains, & depuis nous nous sommes reboutes en votre mesons de Hondson, la ou nous nous sommes bien trouves, sans aucun malade pour steure. Dieu soit loué, & je pense que si vous vous voulez retirer du lieu Surye, comme nous fimes, vous le passerez sans danger, & aussi une autre chose vous peut comforter, car a la verité comme il visit, peu ou nulle fame ont esté malade & que encore plus est nul de nostre Cort & peu ailleurs en meurit, par quoy je vous supplie ma entiere aymé de non avoir point de peure, ni de nostre absence vous trop ennuyere. Car ou que je soye, votre suis, & non obstant il faut alcune fois a telles fortunes obeyer. Car qui contre fortune veut luter en tel endroit est bien souvent tant plus eloigné, par quoy reconfortes vous & soyez hardy, & vuidez le mal tant que vous pourrez. Et j'espere bientot de vous faire chanter le renvoye non plus pour asteure de faute du temps, si non que je vous souhaitte entre mes bras, pour vous oster ung peu de vos deresonable penses Escrite de la main de iceluy, qui est & toujours sera votre,

ma H. R. aimable.

†LETTRE IV.

EN debatant de par moy le contenue de vos Lettres, me suis mis en grande agonie non schachant comment les entendre ou a mon desavantage comme en des aucunes autres je les entendre, vous suppliant de bien bon cœur me vouloir certifiere appresent votre intention entiere touchant l'amour entre nous deux. Car necessité me contraint de pourchasser cette reponce, ayant esté

them, whether to my disadvantage, as I understood some others, or not; I beseech you now, with the greatest earnestness, to let me know your whole intention, as to the love between us two. For I must of necessity obtain this answer of you, having been above a whole year struck with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail, or find a place in your heart and affection. This uncertainty has hindered me of late from naming you my mistress, since you only love me with an ordinary affection; but if you please to do the duty of a true and loyal mistress, and to give up yourself, body and heart, to me, who will be, as I have been your most loyal servant (if your rigour does not forbid me), I promise you that not only the name shall be given you, but also that I will take you for my mistress, casting off all others that are in competition with you, out of my thoughts and affection, and serving you only. I beg you to give an intire answer to this my rude letter, that I may know on what and how far I may depend. But, if it does not please you to answer in writing, let me know some place, where I may have it by word of mouth, and I will go thither with all my heart. No more for fear of tiring you. Written by the hand of him, who would willingly remain yours,

H. REX.

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* LETTER V. Translated from the French, as follows.

FOR a present so valuable that nothing could be more (considering the whole of it) I return you my most hearty thanks; not only on account of the costly diamond, and the ship in which the solitary damsel is tossed about, but chiefly for the fine interpretation, and too humble submission which your goodness hath made to me. For I think it would be very difficult for me to find an occasion to deserve it, if I was not assisted by your great humanity and favour, which I have

plus qu'ung anneè atteinte du dard d'amour, non estant assurè de faliere ou trouver place en votre coeur & affection. Certain le quel dernier point m'en a gardè dupuis peu temps en ca de vous poiot nommer ma Maitresse avec ce que si vous ne m' aymes d'autre sort, que d'amour commune; mais si'l vou plait de fair l'office d'une vraye loyalle Mestres & Amye, & de vous donner Corps & Coeur a moy qui veus estre & a este votre tres-loyal serviteur (si par riguer ne me defendes) je vous promes que non seulement le nom vous sera deu, mais aussi vous prendray pour ma Mestresse en rebuttant tres tantes autres aupres de vous hors de pense & d'affection, & de vous seulement servire; Vous suppliant me faire entiere response a cette ma rude Lettre, a quoy & en quoy me puis fier, & si'l ne vous plait de me faire response par escrite' asseuré moi quelque lieu la ou je la pourroy avoir de bouche, & je m'y trouveray de bien bon coeur. Non plus de peur de vous enuyer. Escrite de la main de celuy, qui volontiers de meureroit votre,

H R.

* LETTRE V.

DE l'etrene si belle que rien plus (notant le tout) je vous remercy tres cordialement, non seulement pour le beau Diamande & navirn en quoy la seulette Damoiselle est tourmentè, mais principalement pour la belle interpretation, & trop humble submission, par votre benignitè en cette casse use, bien pensant, que meriter cela per occasion me seroit fort difficile, si me n' estoit en ayde votre grande humanite & faveur pour laquelle j' ay cherchè, cherche, & chercheray par toutes bonts ù moy possibles d'y demeurer en quelle mon espoir a mis son immuable intention qui dit, *aut illic aut nullibi*. Les demonstrances de votre affection sont telles, les belles mots de lettre si cordiallement couches qui m' obligent a tout jamais vrayement de vous honorer, aymer & servir, vous suppliant le vouloir continuer en ce mesme ferme & constant propos, vous asseurant que de ma part je l' augmenteray plustot que la faire reciproque, si loyauté du cœur le peut avancer. Vous priant aussi que si aucunement je vous ay per cy devant offencè que vous me donnez la mesme absolution que vous demandes, vous asseurant que

sought, do seek, and will always seek to preserve by all the services in my power; and this is my firm intention and hope, according to the motto, *aut illic aut nullibi* (either here, or no where). The demonstrations of your affection are such, the fine thoughts of your letter so cordially expressed, that they oblige me for ever to honour, love, and serve you sincerely, beseeching you to continue in the same firm and constant purpose; and assuring you, that, on my part, I will not only make you a suitable return, but out-do you in loyalty of heart, if it be possible. I desire you also, that, if at any time before this I have in any sort offended you, you would give me the same absolution which you ask, assuring you, that hereafter my heart shall be dedicated to you alone, I wish my body was so too; God can do it, if he pleases; to whom I pray once a day for that end, hoping that at length my prayers will be heard. I wish the time may be short, but I shall think it long, till we shall see one another. Written by the hand of the secretary, who in heart, body, and will, is

Your loyal
and most assured Servant,
H. no other (AB) seeks Rex.

LETTER VI. Original.

The reasonable request of your last letter, with the pleasure I also take to know them, causes me to send you now this newes. The legat, which we most desire, arrived at Paris on Sunday or Monday last past; so that I trust, by the next Monday, to hear of his arrival at Calais: and then, I trust, within a while after, to enjoy that which I have so long longed for, to God's pleasure, and our both comforts. No more to you, at this present, mine awne darling, for lake of time; but that I would you were in myne arms, or I in yours; for I think it long since I kyst you. Written after the killing of an hart, at XI of the clock: minding with God's grace to-morrow, mightily tymely to kill another, by the hand of him, which I trust shortly shall be yours.

HENRY R.

LETTER VII. Original.

DARLING, though I have skant leasure, yet, remembring my promise, I thought it convenient to certifie you breevly, in what case our affaires stand. As touching a lodging for you, we have gotten wone by my Lord Cardinal's means; the like whereof could not have been found

d' oranavant a vous seule mon cœur sera dedié, desirant fort que le corps aynsi pouvoit, Dieu le peut faire si luy plat, a qui je supplie une fois le jour pour ce faire. Esperant que a la long ma priere sera ouye, desyrant le temps bref, pensant le long jusques au reveue d entre nous deux. Escrite de la main du Secretere qui en Cœur, Corps, & Volonte est

Voure loyal & plus assure serviteur,
H. autre (AB) ne cherche R.

hereabouts for all causes, as this bearer shall more shew you. As touching our other affairs, I ensure you there can be no more done, or more diligence used, nor all manner of dangers better both foreseen and provided for, so that I trust it shall be hereafter to both our comforts, the speciallities whereof were both to long to be writne, and hardly by messenger to be declared. Wherfor, till you repaire hydder, I keep something in store, trusting it shall not be long to. For I have caused my Lord your father to make his provisions with speed. And thus, for lake of tyme, darling, I make an end of my letter, writeing with the hand of him, which I would were yours,

H. R.

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* LETTER VIII. Translated from the French, as follows.

THOUGH it does not belong to a gentleman to take his lady in the place of a servant, however, in following your desires, I willingly grant it, that so you may be more agreeably in the place that you yourself have chosen, than you have been in that which I gave you. I shall be heartily obliged to you, if you please to have some remembrance of me. 6 N. R. 1. de R. O. M. V. E. Z.

HENRY REX.

LETTER IX. Original.

THE cause of my writeing at this time (good sweetheart) is wonly to understand off your good health and prosperity, whereof to know I would be as glad as in manner myne awne, praying God, that, and it be his pleasure, to send us shortly togydder, for I promise you I long for it, howbeit, trust it shall not be long to; and seeing my darling is absent, I can no less do, than to send her some fleshe representing my name, which is harts fleshe for Henry, prognosticating, that hereafter, God willing, you must enjoy some of mine; which, if he pleased, I wolde were now. As touching your sisters matter, I have caused Walter Welche to write to my Lord mine mind therein, whereby I trust that Eve shall not have power to deceave Adam. For surely, whatsoever is said, it cannot so stand with his honour, but that he must needs take her his natural daughter now in her extreame necessity. No more to you at this tyme, mine own darling, but that with a wishe I would we were togydder one evening, with the hand of your,

H. R.

* LETTRE VIII.

NEANMOINS qu'l n'apartiene pas a ung gentilhomme pour prendre sa dame an lieu de servante toute fois en suivant vos desirs volontiers le vous outroyeray si per cela vous pussies trouver moins ingrate en la place per vous ehoysie, qui avez este 'en la place par moy donne en vous merciant trescordiallement si vous plete ancore avoir quelque souvenance de moy, 6. N. R. 1. De R. O. M. V. C. Z.

HENRY R.

* LETTER X. Translated from the French, as follows.

ALTHOUGH, my mistress, you have not been pleased to remember the promise which you made me when I was last with you, which was, that I should hear news of you, and have an answer to my last letter; yet I think it belongs to a true servant (since otherwise he can know nothing) to send to enquire of his mistress's health; and, for to acquit myself of the office of a true servant, I send you this letter, begging you to give me an account of the state you are in, which I pray God may continue as long in prosperity, as I wish my own; and, that you may the oftener remember me, I send you, by this bearer, a buck killed late last night by my hand, hoping, when you eat of it, you will think on the hunter; and thus, for want of more room, I will make an end of my letter. Written by the hand of your servant, who often wishes you in your brother's room.

H. REX.

† LETTER XI. Translated from the French, as follows.

THE approach of the time, which I have so long expected, rejoices me so much, that it seems almost ready come. However, the intire accomplishment cannot be till the two persons meet, which meeting is more desired by me than any thing in this world; for what joy can be greater upon earth, than to have the company of her who is my dearest friend? Knowing, likewise, that she does the same on her part, the thinking on which gives great pleasure. You may judge what an effect the presence of that person must have on me, whose absence has made a greater wound in my heart than either words or writing can express, and which nothing can cure but her return: I beg you, dear mistress, to tell your father, from me, that I desire him to hasten the appointment by two days, that he may be in court before the Old Term, or at farthest on the day prefixed; for otherwise I shall think, he will not do the lover's turn, as he said he would, nor answer my expectation. No more at present, for want of time; hoping shortly that by word of mouth I shall tell

* LETTRE X.

TOUTE fois ma mestres qu'l ne vous pleu de souvenir de la promesse que vous me fites quant je estoy dernierement vers vous, c'est a dire de scavoire ce vos bonnes nouvelles & de scavoire responce de ma derniere lettre, neanmoins il me semble quil appartienne au vraye serviteur [voyant que autrement il ne peut rien scavoir] d'envoyer scavoire la salute de sa mestres & pur me acquitter de l'office du vray serviteur, je vous envoye cette lettre, vous suppliant de me avertir de votre prosperité, la quelle je prie a Dieu qu'il soit aussi long comme je voudroy la mienne; & pur vous faire en corps plus souvent souvenir de moy, je vous envoye par ce porteur ung boucke tué hier soir bien tarde de ma main: Esperant que quand vous en mangerez il vous souviendra du chasseur & ainsi a faute d'espace je feray fin a ma lettre. Escrite de la main de votre serviteur qui bien souvent vous souhaitte au lieu de votre frere.

H. R.

† LETTRE XI.

APPROCHANT du temps qui m'a si longement duré me rejoye tante qu'il me semble presque deja venu. Neanmoins l'entier accomplissement ne se perfera tant que les deux personnes se assemblent, laquelle assemblé est plus desiré en mon endroit que nulle chose mondame, car que re-

you the rest of my sufferings from your absence. Written by the hand of the secretary, who wishes himself at present privately with you, and who is, and always will be

Your loyal
and most assured Servant.
H. no other (AB) seeks Rex.

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* LETTER XII. Translated from the French, as follows.

THERE came to me in the night the most afflicting news possible. For I have reason to grieve upon three accounts. First, because I heard of the sickness of my mistress, whom I esteem more than all the world, whose health I desire as much as my own, and the half of whose sickness I would willingly bear to have her cured. Secondly, because I fear I shall suffer yet longer that tedious absence which has hitherto given me all possible uneasiness, and, as far as I can judge, is like to give me more. I pray God he would deliver me from so troublesome a tormentor. The third reason is, because the physician, in whom I trust most, is absent at present, when he could do me the greatest pleasure. For I should hope by him, and his means, to obtain one of my principal joys in this world, that is, my mistress cured; however, in default of him, I send you the second, and the only one left, praying God that he may soon make you well, and then I shall love him more than ever. I beseech you to be governed by his advices with relation to your illness; by your doing which I hope shortly to see you again, which will be to me a greater cordial than all the precious stones in the world. Written by the secretary who is, and always will be,

Your loyal
and most assured Servant,
H. (AB) R.

joyement peut estre si grand en ce monde d'avoire la compagnie de celle qui est la plus chere amye, sachant aussi qu'elle fait la pareille de son cotè, la pansè du quel me fait grand plaisir: Juges adonque, que fera le personage l'absence du quel m'a fait plus grand mal au cœur que ni langue ni escriture peuvent exprimer, & que jamais autre chose excepte cela peut remedier, vous suppliant ma Mestresse de dire a Monsieur votre pere de ma part que je luy prie d'avancer de deux jours le temps assinè, qu'il peut estre en Court devant le vieille terme, ou au moins sur le jour prefischè, car autrement, je penseray qu'il ne feroyt point le tour des amoureus qu'il disoit, in accordant a mon expectation. Non plus d'asteure de faulte de temps. Esperant bientote que de bouche vous diray le reste des peines par moy en votre absence soustenues. Escrite de la main du secretere qui se souhaite d'asteure privement apres de vous & qui est & qui a jamais sera

Votre loyal & plus assure Serviteur
H. autre (AB) ne cherche R.

* LETTRE XII.

NOUVELLES me sont en nuit soudonement venues les plus deplesantes qui me pourroient avenir. Car pour trois Causes touchant icelle faut il que je lamente: la premiere pour entendre la Maladie de ma mestresse, laquelle je estime plus que tout le monde, la santè de quelle je desire autant comme la mienne, & vouloys volontiers porter la moitiè du votre pour vous avoir guery. La seconde pour la crainte que j'ay d' estre encore plus longuement pressè de mon ennuyeux absens qui jusques icy m'a fait toute l'ennuie a lui possible, & quand encore puis juger & deliberer de pys faire, priant Dieu qu'il m'en defasse de si importune rebelle. La troisieme pour ce que le medecin en qui plus me fie est absens asteure quant il me pourroit plus grand plaisir. Car j'espereroy par luy & ses moyens de obtenir une de mes principales joyes en ce

LETTER XIII. Original.

SINCE your last letters, myne awne darling, Water Welche, master Brown, John Care, Yrion of Brearton, John Cocke the pothecary, be fallen of the swett in this house, and thankyd be God all well recovered, so that as yet the pleague is not fully ceased here; but I trust shortly it shall by the mercy of God; the rest of us yet be well, and I trust shall passe it, either not to have it, or at the least as easily as the rest have don. As touching the matter of Wylton, my Lord Cardinal hath had the nunys before him, and examined them, master Bell being present, which hath certified me that for a truth, that she hath confessed her self (which we would have had abbesse) to have had two children by two sundry priests; and, furder, since hath been keeped by a servant of the Lord Broke, that was, and that not long ago. Wherefor I would not for all the gold in the world clog your conscience nor mine to make her ruler of a house which is of so ungodly demeanour; nor I trust you would not, that neither for brother nor sister I should so destain mine honour or conscience: and as touching the pryoresse, or dame Ellenors eldest sister, though there is not any evident case proved against them, and that the pryoresse is so old, that of many years she could not be as she was named; yet notwithstanding, to do you pleasure, I have don that neither of them shall have it, but that some other good and well disposed woman shall have it: whereby the house shall be the better reformed (whereof, I ensure you, it had much need) and God much the better served. As touching abode at Hever, do therein as best shall like you, for you know best what aire doth best with you; but I would it were come thereto (if it pleased God) that neither of us need care for that, for I ensure you I think it long. Suche is fallen sick of the swett, and therefor I send you this bearer, because I think you long to hear tydings from us, as we do in likewise from you. Writeing with the hand,

De votre seul
(of yours only)
H. R.

LETTER XIV. Original.

DARLING, these shall be only to advertise you, that this bearer, and his fellow, be dispatched with as many things to compasse our matter, and to bring it to passe as our wits could imagine or devise; which brought to passe, as I trust, by their diligence, it shall be, shortly, you and I shall have our desired end, which should be more to my

monde; cest a dire, ma Mestresse guerie. Neantmoins en faute de luy je vous envoye le seconde & le tout, priant Dieu que bientot il vous peut rendre sama, & adunques je l' aymeray plus que jamais, vous priant etre gouverné par ses avis touchant votre Maladie, en quoy faisant j' espere bientot vous revoire qui me sera plus grand Cordiale que toutes les pierres pretieuses du monde. Escrite du secretere qui est, & a j'amais sera

Votre loyal & plus assuré Serviteur,
H. (AB) R.

hearts ease, and more quietnesse to my minde, than any other thing in this world, as with Gods grace shortly I trust shall be proved, but not so soon as I would it were: yet I will assure you there shall be no tyme lost, that may be wone, and further cannot be done, for *ultra posse non est esse*. Keep him not too long with you, but desire him for your sake to make the more speed, for, the sooner we shall have word from him, the sooner shall our matter come to pass; and thus, upon trust of your short repair to London, I make an end of my letter, mine awne sweetheart. Writne with the hand of him which desyreth as much to be yours, as you do to have him.

H. R.

LETTER XV. Original.

DARLING, I heartily recommend me to you, assertaining you, that that I am not a little perplexed with such things as your brother shall on my part declare unto you, to whom I pray you give full credence, for it were too long to write. In my last letters I writ to you that I trusted shortly to see you, which is better known at London than with any that is about me, whereof I not a little mervelle, but lake of descreet handling must needs be the cause thereof. No more to you at this tyme, but that I trust shortly, our meeting shall not depend upon other mens light handlings but upon your awne. Writne with the hand of him that longeth to be yours,

H. R.

LETTER XVI. Original.

MYNE awne sweetheart, this shall be to advertise you of the great ellingness that I find here since your departing; for I assure you, methinketh the tyme longer since your departing now last then I was wont to do a whole fortnight. I think your kindness and my fervence of love causeth it; for otherwise I would not thought it possible, that for so little a while it should have grieved me. But now that I am comeing towards you, methinketh my pains been half released, and also I am right well comforted, insomuch that my book maketh substantially for my matter, in writing whereof I have spent above IIII hours this day, which caused me now to write the shorter letter to you at this tyme, because of same payne in my head, wishing myself (specially an evening) in my sweethearts arms whose pritty duckys I trust shortly to kysse. Writne with the hand of him that was, is, and shall be yours by his will.

H. R.

LETTER XVII. Original.

TO informe you what joye it is to me to understand of your conformableness with reasone, and of the suppressing of your inutile and

vain thoughts and fantasies with the bridle of reasone, I assure you all the good of this world could not counterpoise for my satisfaction the knowledge and certainty thereof; wherefore, good sweetheart, continue the same not only in this, but in all your doings hereafter, for thereby shall come both to you and me the greatest quietnesse that may be in this world. The cause why this bearer stayeth so long, is the business that I have had to dresse up geer for you, which I trust ere long to see you occupye, and then I trust to occupye yours, which shall be recompence enough to me for all my pains and labours. The unfayned sickness of this well-willing legate doth somewhat retard his accesse to your person; but I trust veryly, when God shall send him health, he will with diligence recompence his demurre, for I know well where he hath said (lamenting the saying, and brute (Noyse) that he shall be thought imperial) that it shall be well known in this matter, that he is not imperial. And this for lake of tyme farewell. Writne with the hand which faine would be yours, and so is the heart.

H. R.

APPENDIX.

*Two Letters from Ann Boleyn, to Cardinal Wolsey.**

LETTER I.

MY Lord, in my most humblest wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me that I am so bold, to trouble you with my simple and rude writing, esteeming it to proceed from her, that is much desirous to know that your grace does well, as I perceive by this bearer that you do. The which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me, both day and night, is never like to be recompenced on my part, but alonely in loving you, next unto the king's grace, above all creatures living. And I do not doubt, but the daily proofs of my deeds shall manifestly declare and affirm my writing to be true, and I do trust you do think the same. My Lord, I do assure you, I do long to hear from you news of the legate; for I do hope, and they come from you, they shall be very good, and I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more, and it were possible, as I know it is not: And thus, remaining in a stedfast hope, I make an end of my letter, written with the hand of her that is most bound to be,

* Hist. Ref. Part. 1. p. 35.

Postscript by King Henry.

THE Writer of this letter would not cease till she had caused me likewise to set to my hand; desiring you, though it be short, to take it in good part. I ensure you, there is neither of us, but that greatly desireth to see you, and much more joyous to hear that you have scaped this plague so well, trusting the fury thereof to be passed, specially with them that keepeth good diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing of the legate's arrival in France, causeth us somewhat to muse; notwithstanding, we trust by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God) shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time; but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity, as the writer would.

By your
loving Sovereign and friend,
Henry K.
Your humble Servant,
ANNE BOLEYN.

LETTER II.

MY Lord, in my most humble wise that my poor heart can think, I do thank your grace for your kind letter, and for your rich and goodly present, the which I shall never be able to deserve without your help, of the which I have hitherto had so great plenty, that, all the days of my life, I am most bound, of all creatures, next the King's grace, to love and serve your grace; of the which, I beseech you, never to doubt, that ever I shall vary from this thought, as long as any breath is in my body. And, as touching your grace's trouble with the sweat, I thank our Lord, that them that I desired and prayed for are scaped, and that is the King and you; not doubting, but that God has preserved you both for great causes known alonely of his high wisdom. And as for the coming of the legate, I desire that much; and, if it be God's pleasure, I pray him to send this matter shortly to a good end, and then I trust, my lord, to recompence part of your great pains. In the which, I must require you, in the mean time, to accept my good will in the stead of the power, the which must proceed partly from you, as our lord knoweth; to whom I beseech to send you long life, with continuance in honour. Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be

Your humble and
obedient Servant,
ANNE BOLEYN.

Queen Anne Boleyn's last Letter to King Henry *.

SIR.

YOUR grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine antient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn; with which name and place I could willingly have contented my self, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for, the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me, from a low estate, to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king; but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges: yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see, either mine innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that, whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto: your grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

But, if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and

* Records of Hist. Ref. Part I. Page 154.

cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment, I doubt not, (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only request shall be, that my self may only bear the burthen of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight; if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower this sixth of May.

Your most Loyal and ever
Faithful Wife,

ANNE BOLEYN.

Machiavel's Vindication of himself, &c. see p. 78, &c.

A

BREFE COMEDY, OR ENTERLUDE,

OF

IOHAN BAPTYSTES

PREACHYNGE IN THE WYLDERNESSE,

Openynge the craftye assaultes of the hypocrytes,* with the gloryouse Baptyme of the Lord Jesus Christ.

COMPYLED BY IOHAN BALE, ANNO M.D.XXXVIII†.

The worde of God came unto Iohan the sonne of Zachary in the wyldernesse. And he resorted into all the coastes about Iordane, and preached the baptysme of repentaunce for the remyssyon of synnes. Luce iii.

John Bale, the compiler of the following Comedy or Interlude, was the son of Henry Bale, of Covie in Suffolk. Born in the year 1495; entered among the Carmelite Friars at Norwich, at twelve years old, and went from thence to be a

* Alluding to the Popish priests, friars, &c. who, like the Pharisees and Hypocrites of old, were determined, at all events, to prevent the dawning of the Gospel, at the beginning of the Reformation.

† The year in which Henry the Eighth declared his disgust with the see of Rome.

schollar at Jesus College in Cambridge, still remaining, as he himself declares, in the most profound ignorance of all true learning, and greatest blindness of mind, without any tutor or patron, till the word of God began to appear in its proper lustre, and the churches were brought back to the pure fountains of all divinity; and then, by the means of the most noble the Lord Wentworth, he was induced to leave the monstrous corruptions of Popery, and to embrace the purity of the Gospel. Soon after his conversion, he married his wife Dorothy, who also was zealous for the true religion; but he had been utterly undone by Dr. Lee Archbishop of York, and Stokley Bishop of London, had not my Lord Cromwell screened him from their persecutions; after whose death he retired to the Low Countries; from whence he was recalled by Edward the Sixth, who made him Bishop of Ossory in Ireland, Feb. 2, 1552. But, before he had been consecrated six months, he was obliged to fly from thence to escape the persecutions of Queen Mary, who then ascended the English Throne; and, embarking at Dublin, he was taken by the Pirates and sold. But he obtained his ransom, and proceeded to Basil, where he employed himself in his studies till recalled by Queen Elizabeth, who gave him a Prebend of Canterbury; upon which he was rather contented to live, than to return any more to Ireland. He died in November, 1563. He published many Books both in Latin and in English, in Prose and Verse, amongst which this Comedy is one of the scarcest, and gives us a true Idea of the Stage in those times, when it appears the first reformers endeavoured to expose the errors of the Roman Church, and to propagate the Gospel, even in those places which had been remarkable for vice; for, I apprehend, this as well as some other Interludes, composed by him, were the productions of his younger days just after his conversion, as it more particularly appears in the conclusion of this Comedy; and it is further valuable, as it is in no catalogue of plays that ever I saw, and gives us a specimen of the most refined part of our language in King Henry ths Eighth's Reign. To conclude, he was a man of learning, a constant preacher and good antiquary, but a most bitter writer against the Church of Rome, insomuch that he has drawn the whole herd of writers on that side the question upon himself in most bitter invectives, when ever they mention him; and his books are particularly prohibited in the Expurgatory Index, published in folio, at Madrid, Anno 1667.

INTERLOCUTORES.

Pater cœlestis, *i. e. The heavenly Father.*
Ioannes Baptista, *John Baptist.*
Publicanus, *The Publican.*
Pharisæus, *The Pharisee.*
Iesus Christus, *Jesus Christ.*
Turba uulgaris, *The common People.*
Miles armatus, *The Soldier.*
Sadducæus, *The Sadduce.*

BALEUS PROLOCUTOR.

PRÆFATIO.

THE kyngedome of Christ, wyll now* begynne to sprynge,
Which is the preachynge, of his newe testament†.
Now shall Messias, which is our heauenly kynge.
Apere to the worlde, in manhode euydent.
Whose wholsom commynge, Iohan Baptyst wyll preuent,

* Our King being ready to shake off the Popish superstition.
† In opposition to the traditions of the church of Rome.

Preachynge repentaunce, hys hygh waye to prepare,
Whych now we entende, before yow to declare.

The lawe and Prophetes, draweth now fast to an ende,
Which were but shaddowes, and fygures of hys commynge.
Now shall he approche, that all grace wyll extende,
Of cleane remyssyon, our caucyon will he brynge,
To pacyfye God, hys father euerlastynge.
By sheadynge hys bloude, all thynges shall he renewe,
Makynge one people, of the Pagane and the Iewe.

For so moch as we, are geuen to noueltees*,
Of very nature. Lete vs our selues applye,
To accepte these newes, and heauenlye verytees †,
Which are for our synne, most souerayne remedye,
And for our sowles helthe, so hygylye necessarye.
That without knowledge, of them, we can not haue,
A true fayth in him, which dyed our sowles to saue.

Whan man had synned, the harde preceptes of the lawe,
Moses proclamed, the prophetes gaue monycyons.
But non of them all, to the heauenly kyngedome drawe,
Tyll Iohan Baptist come, with clerar exposycyons.
The publycanes then, leaue their yll dysposycyons,
Vnto Christ to come, and hys most holy Gospell,
Where the frowarde sectes, contynuallye rebell,

Ye shall se Christ here, submyt hymself to baptym,
Of Iohan hys seruaunt, in most meke humble wyse.
In poorenesse of sprete, that we shuld folowe hym,
Whose lowlye doctryne, the hypocrytes despyse.
Folowe hym therfor, and shurne their deuylysh practyse.
Be gentyll in hart, and beare your good intent,
Towards hys Gospell, and godlye testament.

INCIPIT COMŒDIA.

Ioannes Baptista.

AS a massenger, I come to geue yow warnynge,
That your lorde, your kynge, your sauer and redemer,
With helth, grace and peace, to yow ys hydre commynge.
Applye ye therfor, delaye the tyme no longer,
But prepare hys waye, makynge the rough pathes smother.
Stryke downe the mountaynes, fyll vp the valleyes agayne,
For all men shall se, their mercyfull sauer playne.

* Traditions. † Preached by the reformers.

The seate of Dauid, whych is the father heauenly,
He cometh to possesse, as a ruler spirytuall.
And in Iacobs howse, to reigne contynually,
Whych is of hys churche, the nombre unyuersall,
Not only of Iewes, but faythfull beleuers all.
That congregacyon, will he euermore defende,
And of hys kyngedome, shall neuer be an ende.

Turba uulgaris.

At these newe tydynges, whom thys good man doth brynge,
My hart within me, for ioye doth leape and sprynge.

Publicanus.

O myghty maker, what confort to vs is thys?
Thyne own sonne to sende, to reforme that is amys.

Miles armatus.

Soch confort to me, as I can not expresse,
Of tunges though I had, thre thousande and no lesse.

Ioannes Baptista.

Approche nyghar fryndes, and tell me what ye saye.

Turba uulgaris.

Ye tolde us, me thought, we shuld prepare a waye,
For the Lordes commynge. Was not your saynge so?

Ioannes Baptista.

My preachynge was it, from it can I not go.
For grounded it is, on Gods myghty worde trulye,
Vttered longe afore, by the prophet Esaye.

Publicanus.

I praye ye tell vs, what ye meane by that waye?

Ioannes Baptista.

Your conuersacyon, which is in a sore decaye.

Laye apart your wrathe, your couetousnesse and pryde,
Your lustes unlaufull, with your other synnes besyde.
Knowledge your trespace, and cease from doynge yll,
Flee mennys tradycyons, and Gods hygh lawes fulfyll.
Make ye strayght the pathes, lete euery man haue hys,
In no wyse reuenge, whan men vse ye amys.

Seke God your father, in sprete and veryte,
But not in shaddowes, as doth the Pharyse,
Whych by outwarde workes, loketh to be justyfyed,
And neyther by faythe, nor by Gods worde wyll be tryed.
Euery depe valleye, to moch more hygthe wyll growe,
The mountaynes and hylles, shall be brought downe full lowe.

Miles armatus.

What meane ye by that? I praye ye hartely tell.

Ioannes Baptista.

Mekenesse wyll aryse, and pryde abate by the Gospell:

The symple fysher, shall now be notable,
The spirytuall Pharyse, a wretche detestable.
The wyse and lerned, the idyote wyll deface,
Synners shall excede, the outward sayntes in grace.
Abiectes of the worlde, in knowledge wyll excell,
The consecrate Rabyes, by vertu of the Gospell.

The poore man by faythe, shall very clerely deme,
The clause that wyll harde unto the lawer seme.
All that afore tyme, vntowarde ded remayne,
The rule of Gods worde, wyll now make strayght and playne.
The couetouse iourer shall now be lyberall,
The malycyouse man wyll now to charyte fall.

The wratheful hater shall now loue ernestlye,
To temperate measure men wyll change glotonye.
Pryde shall so abate, that mekenesse wyll preuayle,
Lechery shall lye down, and clennesse set up sayle.
Slouthfulnesse shall slyde, and dylygence aryse,
To folowe the truthe, in godly exercyse.

Prepare ye therefor, so fast as euer ye can,
To thys lorde whych will, renue ye euery man,
In case ye repent the folye that is past.

Omnes una.

Sory are we for it, and wyll be to our last.

Ioannes Baptista.

What are ye? tell me, ych persone seuerallye.

Turba uulgaris.

I do represent the commen people of Jewry.
In sweate of my browes, my lyuynge I procure,
By daylye labours, and mynde so to endure.

Publicanus.

A publicane I am, and moch do lyve by pollage,
For my offyce is, to gather taxe and toilage.
Moch am I hated, of the Pharyse and Scrybe,
For axyng trybute, it iudgynge vnlaufull brybe.

Miles armatus,

A souldyour I am, or valeaunt man of warre,
The lande to defende, and hys enemyes to conquarre.
Whan my wages are too lyttle for my expence,
To get a botye, I spare no vyolence.

Ioannes Baptista.

For Gods loue repent, and turne ye to the lorde,
That by him ye maye, to hys kyngedome be restorde.

Ad Deum conuertitur turba uulgaris, & peccata sic confitetur.

Turba uulgaris.

I knowe blessed lorde, by playne experiment,
Most nygh vnto helth, is he that sheweth hys sore.
Wherefor I confesse, in place here euydent,
The synnefull lyuynge, that I haue vsed afore.
A wretched synnar I haue bene euermore,
Vnthankfull to thee, to man vncharytable,
And in all my workes, both false and deceyuable.

Hunc tunc baptisat Ioannes flectentem genua.

Ioannes Baptista.

Then take my baptyme, whych is a preparacyon,
Vnto faythe in Christ, wherin rest your saluacyon.
To Christes Gospell your conuersacyon applye,
And lerne by thys sygne, with hym to lyue and dye.

Turba uulgaris.

Myne vsage (ye knowe) is outwarde and externe,
Some godly preceptes for that fayne wolde I lerne.

Ioannes Baptista.

I wyll not moue ye to offer calfe nor gote,
But to charyte, whych is of hyghar note.
With no sacryfyce is God more hyghly pleased,
Than with that good hart, wherby the poore is eased.
For that he accepteth, as though hymselfe it had.

Turba uulgaris.

Thys helthsome counsell, maketh my hart ioyfull and glad.

Ioannes Baptista.

He that hath two coates, lete hym geue one to the nedye,
And he that hath vytayle, lykewyse releue the hungrye.
Helpe alwayes the poore, with herbour, foode and aparell,
With socour, solace, with doctryne and ghostlye counsell.
These thynges done in faythe maye mollyfye Gods yre.

Turba uulgaris.

Farwell to ye then, for I haue my desyre.

Eo exeunte, publicanus coram Deo peccatum agnoscit.

Publicanus.

Thy worde blessed lorde, by this good man declared,
Causeth my conscyence of synne to have remorce.
And to remembre, how that I haue not spared
The poore to oppresse, by crueltie and force.
I consydre yet, how I oft haue bene horce,
Cryenge for custome, exactynge more than due,
To my neyber lorde I haue bene full vntrue.

Illum tunc baptista Ioannes incuruantem genua.

Ioannes Baptista.

Be baptysed then, in token of repentaunce,
And take to ye faythe, with a newe remembraunce.
Thynkynge by thys sygne, ye are from henfourth bounde
Vyces to resyst, acceptynge Christ for your grounde.

Publicanus.

Geue me some precept, or rule, whereon to staye,
That I, in my sort, my lorde God maye obaye.

Ioannes Baptista.

I wyll not bynde ye, your substaunce to dyspence,
But I requyre yow, to abstayne from vyolence.
Though your offyce be to gather and to pull,
Yet be no tyrauntes, but rather mercyfull.
A good waye thys were, for your estate, I thynke.

Publicanus.

Perfourme it I shall, I wolde els I shuld synke.

Ioannes Baptista.

For your peynes ye haue appoynted by the emproure
Your stypende wages, no creature ye ought to deuoure;
For Gods loue therfor, do not man iniury
In taking tollage, aduauntage to haue therby.
Non otherwyse than, it is to yow prescrybed.

Publicanus.

By me from hens fourth, nought from the poore shall be brybed.

Eo decedente, Miles sua confitetur scelera.

Miles armatus.

Experyence doth shewe, where as are good monycyons,
Maye be auoyded all ieopardy and daunger.
At thys mannys counsell, all synnefull disposycyons
I wyll therfor change to a lyfe (I hope) moch better.
No man so wycked, nor so farre out of order,
As I wretche haue bene, in murther, rape and thefte.
Swete lorde forgeue me, and those wayes shall be lefte.

Illum tunc baptisat Ioannes in genua procumbentem.

Ioannes Baptista.

Thys baptyme of myne, to yow doth represent
Remyssyon in Christ, in case your synnes ye repent.
In hys blessed deathe, it assureth yow of grace,
Sealynge your pasport, vnto the hyghar place.

Miles armatus.

My maker I thanke, of hys most specyall gyfte,
For my vsage now, shewe me some ghostly dryfte.

Ioannes Baptista.

Of warre ye haue lawes, vse them with ryght alwayes,
Do no spoyle nor rape, take no vnlaufull prayes.
The offyce ye haue, for the publyque vnyte,
Mynde to exercyse, to the landes tranquyllyte.
Ye maye thus please God, in doynge your feate, ryght well.

Miles armatus.

Father go forewarde, for I moch delyght your counsell.

Ioannes Baptista.

For the publique peace, Gods lawe doth yow permyt,
Stronge weapon to weare, but in no case to abuse it.
If ye mynde therfor, of God to auoyde the daunger,
For couetouse lucre, hurt neyther frynde nor stranger.
But with your wages, yche man be satysfyed.

Miles armatus.

Prayse be to the Lorde, I am moch edyfyed.

Eo locum deserente, intrant Pharisæus *ac* Sadducæus. *Interim* Ioannes Baptista *alloquitur populum.*

Ioannes Baptista.

Of Christ to tell yow, with the dyfference of our baptym,
I washe in water; but remyssyon is of him.
My baptyme is a sygne of outwarde mortyfyenge,
A grace is hys baptyme of inwarde quyckenynge.
The baptyme of me is the baptyme of repentaunce,
Hys baptyme in faythe bryngeth full recouerannce.

My doctryne is harde, and full of threttenynges,
Hys wordes are demure, replete with wholsom blessynges.
I feare the conscience, with terrour of the lawe,
He by the gospell maunys sowle wyll gentylly drawe.
A knowledge of synne the baptyme of me do teache,
Forgeuenesse by faythe wyll he here after preache.

I open the sore, he bryngeth the remedye,
I sturre the conscyence, he doth all pacyfye.
As Esaye sayth, I am the cryars voyce,
But he is the worde, and message of reioyce.
The lanterne I am, he is the very lyght,
I prepare the waye, but he maketh all thynges perfyght,

Pharisæus. Inuicem alloquuntur.

As is said abroade, thys fellawe preacheth newe lernynge*,
Lete vs dyssemble, to vnderstande hys meanynge.

Sadducæus.

Wele pleased I am, that we examyne hys doynges,
Hys doctrine perauenture myght hyndre els our lyuynges,
But in our workynge, we must be sumwhat craftye.

Pharisæus.

Tush, thou shalt se me, vndermynde hym very fynelye.

Et uertens se ad Ioannem, dolose illum alloquitur.

God blesse ye father, and prospere your busynesse.

Ioannes Baptista.

Ye are welcome both, so that ye mynde anye goodnesse.

Sadducæus.

No harme we intende, ye maye trust vs and ye wyll.

Ioannes Baptista.

Ye shewe to the worlde, as though ye coulde do no yll,
But the Lorde doth knowe, what ye haue in your hartes,
And secretelye how ye playe most wycked partes.
Where as sectes remayne, the sprete of God cannot be,
Whose kynde is to knytt, by a perfyght vnyte.

Pharisæus.

That taunte haue I ones, bycause I am a Pharyse.

* This is the term given to the Reformers preaching the gospel, by the priests of the Church of Rome.

Sadducæus.

My parte is no lesse, for I am also a Sadduce.
We wyll thu knowe it, our relygyons are worshypfull.

Ioannes Baptista.

Not so worshypfull, but moch more false and deceytfull,
An outwarde pretence ye haue of holynesse,
Whych is before God a double wyckednesse.

Pharisæus.

A verye wretche art thu, soch vertuouse men to despyse,
As the lawes of God, to hys people doth decyse.
We Pharysees are those, whych syt in Moses seate
As interpretours, the holy scriptures to treate.

Ioannes Baptista.

And them ye corrupt, with your pestylent tradycyons.
For your bellyes sake, have yow false exposycyons.

Sadducæus.

What sayst thu to me? whych in one poynt do not swerue
From Moses fyue bokes; but euery iote we obserue.
Thynkest not vs worthy the gloryouse name we beare,
Of ryghteouse Sadducees? Saye thy mynde without feare.

Ioannes Baptista.

I saye thys unto yow, your observacyons are carnall;
Outwarde workes ye haue, but in sprete nothynge at all;
Ye walke in the letter, lyke paynted hypocrytes;
Before God ye are no better than Sodomytes.

De Christi Baptismo.

Synners offendynge, of weakenesse, doubt, or ignoraunce,
Of pytie God pardoneth. But where he fyndeth resystence
Agaynst the playne truthe, there wyll he punnysh most
For a wyckednesse that is agaynst the holy Ghost;
And that reigneth in yow, whych neuer hath forgeuenesse;
For enemyes ye are, to that ye knowe ryghteousnesse.

Pharisæus.

Auaunt begger, auaunt. Becometh it the to prate
So vnmannerly agaynst our comely estate;
Whych is knowne to be, so notable and holye?
Thu shalt be loked on, I promyse the surelye.

Sadducæus.

Our worthy decrees, the knaue doth not regarde.
But practyseth newe lawes, soch as were neuer hearde.
By whose autoryte, doest thu teache thys newe lernynge?
Doubt not but shortly, thu wylt be brought to a reckenynge.

Ioannes Baptista.

Ye generacyon of vypers, ye murtherers of the prophetes,
Ye Lucifers proude, and vsurpers of hygh seates.
Neuer was serpent, more stynygynge than ye be,
More full of poyson, nor inwarde cruelte.
All your stodye is, to persue the veryte,
Soch is your practyse, deceyte and temeryte,

You boast your selues moch, of ryghteousness and scyence,
And yet non more vyle, nor fuller of neglygence.
How can ye escape the vengeaunce that is commynge
Upon the vnfaythfull? whych wyll admytt no warnynge.
Neyther your good workes, nor merytes of your fathers,
Your fastynges, longe prayers, with other holy behauers,

Shall yow afore God, be able to iustyfye,
Your affeccyons inwarde, vnless ye do mortyfye.
And therefor shewe fourth, the due frutes of repentaunce,
Not in wordes only, but from the hartes habundaunce.
Forsake your maiyce, your pryde and hypocresye,
And now exercyse the frutefull dedes of mercye.

Pharisæus.

It become not the, to shewe what we shall do,
We knowynge the lawe, and the prophecyes also.
Go teache thy olde shoes, lyke a busye pratlynge fole,
For we wyll non be, of thys newe fangeled scole:
We are men lerned, we knowe the auncyent lawes,
Of our forefathers, thy newes are not worth ii. strawes.

Sadducæus.

The ofsprynge we are of the noble father Abraham,
And have the blessynge, so many as of him cam.
We can not perysh, though thu prate neuer so myche,
For we are ryghteouse, wele lerned, famouse and ryche.

Ioannes Baptista.

Great folye is it, of Abraham so to boost,
Where his fayth is not, the kyndred is sone lost.
Ye are Abrahams chyldren, lyke as was Ismael,
Onlye in the fleshe, to whom no blessynge fell.
It profyteth yow lyttle, of Abraham to beare name,
If ye be wycked, but rather it is your shame.

And as touchynge Abraham, the Lorde is able to rayse,
Of stones in the waye, such people as shall hym prayse.
The Gentyles can he call, whom ye very sore despyse,
To Abrahams true faythe, and graces for them deuyse.
No hart is so harde, but he can it mollefye,
No synner so yll, but he maye him iustyfye.

Pharisæus.

Yea, he tolde the so, Thu art next of hys counsell,
And knowest what he myndeth, to do in heaven and in hell,
Now forsoth thu art, a Iolye Robyne Bell.

Sadducæus.

With a lytle helpe, of an heretyke he wyll smell.

Ioannes Baptista.

I se it very wele, agaynst Gods truthe ye are bent,
And come not hyther, your wicked wayes to repent.
For that prynces sake, that will clere vs of care,
But your commynge is, to trappe me in a snare.

Sadducæus.

We knowe hym not we, nor wyll not knowe hym in dede,
But whan he shall come, if he do sowe soch sede,
As thu hast done here, he maye chaunce to have yll spede.

Ioannes Baptista.

Be ware if ye lyst, the axe is put to the rote,
With the Lorde to mocke, it wyll ye no longer bote;
Euery wythered tre, that wyll geue no good frute,
Shall up, whych are yow, of all grace destytute;
And shall be throwne fourth, into euerlastynge fyre,
Where no helpe can be, for no pryce nor desyre.

Pharisæus.

A lewde knaue art thu, yll doctryne dost thu teache,
We wyll so prouyde, thu shalt no longar preache.

Sadducæus.

If we do not se, for thys gere a dyreccyon,
This fellawe is lyke, to make an insurreccyon.
For to hys newe lernynge, an infynyte cumpanye
Of worldlye rascalles, come hyther suspycyouslye.

Pharisæus.

In dede they do so, and therefor lete vs walke,
Vpon thys matter more delyberatlye to talke.

Ioannes Baptista.

The nature of these is styll lyke as it hath be,
Blasphemers they are of God and hys veryte.
Here haue I preached, the baptyme of repentaunce;
After me he cometh, that is of moch more puysaunce.
For all my austeryte of lyfe and godly purpose,
Worthye I am not, hys lachettes to vnlose.

He wyll yow baptyse, in the holy Ghost and fyre,
Makynge yow more pure than your hart can desyre.
Hys fanne is in hande, whych is Gods iudgment,
Vnto hym commytted by hys father omnypotent.
He wyll from hys floore, which is hys congregacyon,
Swepe awaye all fylth, and false dyssymulacyon.

Cleane wyll he seclude the dysguysed hypocrytes,
And restore agayne the perfyght Israelytes;
He wyll brynge the wheate into hys barne or grayner,
The chyldren of faythe to the kyngedome of hys father.
The caffe vnprofytable, whych are the vnfaithfull sort,
Into hell shall go, to their sorowfull dysconfort.

Iesus Christus.

I am Iesus Christ, the sonne of the lyuynge God,
The lyght of hys glorye, the ymage of hys substaunce;
Though he to thys daye hath plaged man with the rod,
Yet now, for my sake, he hath withdrawne all vengeaunce,
All rygour, all fearcenesse, with hys whole hartes displesaunce;
Sendynge me hyther, of his benyuolence;
To suffer one deathe, for all the worldes offence.

The tyme prefixed of my celestyall father,
Is now perfourmed, I reignynge in thys nature,
Borne of a woman, yea, of a vyrgyne rather:
Subject to the lawe, for man which is vnpure,
From deathe dampnable hys pardone to procure;
That he maye receyue, the hygh inherytaunce
Due to the chyldren, of hys choyce or allowaunce.

If ye will nedes knowe wherfor I am incarnate,
It is to be head of your whole congregacyon,
To make means for ye, to pacyfy the hate,
To be the hygh prest, that shall worke your saluacyon,
Your gyde, your confort, your helth, your consolacyon;
I come not to iudge, nor flee, but all to saue,
Come therfor to me, all yow that lyfe wyll haue.

I am become flesh, for myne own promes sake,
Without mannys sede borne, hys kynde to sanctyfye,
Of synners lynage, the synners quarell to take,
Of patryarkes and kynges, as a father and gyde heavenlye,
Poore, that ye shuld thynke, my kyngedom nothing worldlye
In flesh, to the sprete, that the gospell shuld ye brynge,
Beleuynge by me, to have the lyfe euerlastynge.

Ye worldlye people, lerne gentylnesse of me,
Which though I am God, unto the father coequall,
I toke thys nature, with all dyscommodyte,
My selfe to humble, as a creature here mortall
To rayse ye to God, from your most deadlye fall.
Lete thys example be grafted first in your wytt,
How I for baptyme, to Johan my selfe submytt.

Ioannes Baptista.

By the Holy Ghost, assured I am thys houre,
That thys man is he, whych is of the hyghar poure,
Whom I haue preached, The lambe of innocencye,
Whose shoe to vnlose my selfe is far unworthye.
From whens do ye come, I praye ye tell to me.

Iesus Christus.

From Nazareth thys houre, a cytie of Galyle,
From my mother's howse, the heauenly Father from hence
To obeye and serue, with most due reuerence.

Ioannes Baptista.

Your intent or mynde, fayne wolde I understande.

Iesus Christus.

To receyue with other, the baptyme of thy hande.

Hic protensis nunibus baptismo illum prohibet.

Ioannes Baptista.

Requyre not of me, I desyre the instauntlye,
To presume so farre, for doubtlesse I am vnworthye.

I a carnall synner, ought to haue baptyme of the,
My Lorde and Sauer, And dost thu axe it of me?
Perdon me, swete Lorde, for I wyll not so presume.

Iesus Christus.

Without presumpcyon, that offyce shalt thu adsume.

Ioannes Baptista.

The baptyme of me, is but a shaddow or type,
Soch is thy baptyme, as awaye all synne doth wype.
I geue but water, the sprete Lorde thu dost brynge,
Lowe is my baptyme, thyne is an heaueuly thynge.
Now thu art present, it is mete my baptyme cease,
And thyne to florysh, all synners bondes fo releace.

Me thy poore seruaunt replenish here with grace,
And requyre me me not, to baptyse the here in place.

Iesus Christus.

Johan, suffre me now, in thys to haue my wyll,
For vs it behoueth all righteousnesse to fulfyll.
That is to saye, me, as wele as these my seruauntes,
The great graunde captayne, so wele as hys poore tenauntes.
I come not hither to breake the lawes of my father,
As thy baptyme is one, but to comfirme them rather.
If by the lawe in yewth was circumcysed,
Why shuld I dysdayne thys tyme to be baptysed?
The Pharysees abhorre, to be of the common sort,
But I maye not so, whych come for all mennys confort.
I must go with them, they are my bretherne all,
He is no good captayne that from hys armye fall.

Ioannes Baptista.

They are sinners Lorde, and from good lyuyinge wyde.

Iesus Christus.

The more nede is theirs, to haue me for their gyde.

I wyll go afore, that they maye folowe me,
Whych shall be baptysed, and thynke me for to be
Their mate or brother, hauynge their lyuerye token,
Whych is thy baptyme, as thy selfe here hath spoken.
Take water therfor, and baptyse me thys houre,
That thy baptyme maye take strength of hyghar poure.

The people to marke, vnto my kyngedome heauenlye.

Ioannes Baptista.

Then blessed sauer, thy seruaunt here sanctyfye.

Iesus Christus.

The man whych haue fayth, lacketh no sanctyfycacyon
Necessary and mete, for hys helth and saluacyon.
Thyne offyce therfor, now execute thu on me.

Hic Ioannem *subleuat* Iesus, *ac eius baptismo se submittit.*

Ioannes Baptista.

I baptyse the (Lorde) by soch autoryte
As thy grace hath geuen to my poore symplenesse,
Onlye to obeye the hygh request of thy goodnesse.

In terram procumbens Iesus, *tunc dicit, Deo gratias.*

Iesus Christus.

Thys offyce father, which I in thys mortall nature,
Do take vpon me, at thy most hygh appoyntment,
For mannys saluacyon, here to appeyse thy hature,
So prosperé forewarde, that it be to thy intent,
And to thy people, fytte and conuenyent.
And that thu wytsaue, by thy most fatherly poure,
Thy sonne to commende, vnto the worlde thys houre.

Descendit tunc super Christum spiritus sanctus in columbæ specie, & uox patris de cælo audietur hoc modo :

Pater cælestis.

Thys is myne owne sone, and only hartes delyght,
My treasure, my ioye, beloued most inteyrlye ;
Thys is he whych hath procured grace in my syght,
For man that hath done most wylfull trayterye ;
Alone is it he, that me doth pacyfye.
For hys only sake, with man am I now content,
To be for euer, at a full peace and agrement.

I charge ye, to hym, geue dylygent attendaunce,
Heare hys monycyons, regarde hys heauenly doctryne.
In mennys tradycyons, loke ye haue no affyaunce,
Nor in Moses lawe, but as he shall defyne,
Heare hym, beleue hym, drawe only after hys lyne.
For he alone knoweth my purpose towardes yow,
And non els but he, heare hym therfor only now.

Tunc cælum inspiciens Ioannes, *incuruat genua.*

Ioannes Baptista.

O tyme most ioyfull, daye most splendiferus ;
The clerenesse of heauen now appereth vnto vs.
The father is hearde, and the holy Ghost is seane,
The sonne incarnate, to puryfye vs cleane ;
By thys we maye se, The gospell ones receyued,
Heauen openeth to vs, and God is hyghly pleased.

Lete vs synge therfor, togyther with one accorde,
Praysynge these same thre, as one God and good Lorde.

Et expansis ad cælum manibus canit Ioannes.

Glorye be to the Trynyte,
The father, the sonne and sprete lyuynge,
Whych are one God in persones thre,
To whom be prayse without endynge.

BALEUS PROLOCUTOR.

Thys vysyble sygne, do here to yow declare,
What thynge pleaseth God, and what offendeth hys goodnesse.
The worlde hath proude hartes, hygh myndes, with soch lyke ware,
God only regardeth the sprete of lowlynesse.
Marke in thys Gospell, with the eyes of symplenesse.
Adam, by hys pryde, ded Paradyse vp speare,
Christ hath opened heauen, by hys great mekenesse heare.

Iohan was a preacher, Note wele what he ded teache,
Not mennis tradycyons, nor hys owne holye lyfe;
But to the people, Christ Iesus ded he preache,
Wyllynge hys Gospell, amonge them to be ryfe,
Hys knowledge heavenly, to be had of man and wyfe.
But who receyued it? The sinfull commynalte,
Publicanes and synners, but no paynted Pharyse.

The waye that Iohan taught, was not to weare harde clothynge,
To saye longe prayers, nor to wandre in the desart,
Or to eate wylde locusts. No, he neuer taught such thynge.
Hys mynde was that faythe shuld puryfye the hart;
My ways (sayth the Lorde) with mennys ways haue no part.
Mannys ways are all thynges, that are done without fayth,
God's waye is hys worde, as the holy scripture sayth.

If ye do penaunce, do soch as Iohan doth counsell,
Forsake your olde lyfe, and to the true fayth applye;
Washe away all fylth, and folowe Christes Gospell.
The iustyce of men, is but an hypocresye,
A worke without fayth, an outwarde vayne glorye.
An example here, ye had of the Pharysees,
Whom Iohan compared to vnfruteful wythered trees.

Geue eare unto Christ, lete mennys vayne fantasyes go,
As the father bad, by hys most hygh commaundement;
Heare neyther Frances, Benedyct, nor Bruno,
Albert, nor Domynyck, for they newe rulers inuent,
Beleue neyther Pope, nor prest of hys consent.
Folowe Christes Gospell, and therin fructyfye,
To the prayse of God, and hys sonne Iesus glorye.

Thus endeth thys brefe Comedy or Enterlude of Iohan Baptystes preachynge in the wyldernesse, openynge the craftye assaultes of the hypocrytes, with the gloryouse Baptyme of Iesus Christ.

Composed by Johan Bale, *Anno* M.D.XXXVIII.

THE VERY

BEGGARS PETITION AGAINST POPERY;

Wherein they lamentably complain

TO

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH

OF THE CLERGY.

1. Of their abominable covetousness and oppression, in several particulars, from § 3, to § 13. 2. Of their insatiable lechery, being devils at women; and how they apply themselves, by all sleights they may, to have to do with every man's wife, daughter, and maid (as well ladies, as meaner persons, when they come in their way) from § 13, to § 17. 3. They brought in theft with them, and nourished it under them, § 17. 4. That they baffled all laws, that none could take hold of them, though they ravished men's wives and daughters (which that cursed crew would be at again, tho' not in that seeming holy method, but now in an open, odious, debauched way, like infernal incubusses, who now have naturalised succubusses for their turn, &c.) for the law was too weak to hold them; they making such as begin with them quickly to cease prosecuting them, § 18. 5. An example hereof, see in the Bishop of London, § 19. 6. Tho' the statute of *mortmain* was made to prevent giving them any more, yet still they got more than any duke, § 20 and 21. 7. Their yearly exactions came by cursed pretensions of praying people's souls out of purgatory, &c. § 22. 8. This doctrine of purgatory was always opposed by godly, learned men, § 23 and 24. 9. Their hellish policy, in not suffering the New Testament to be translated in the mother-tongue, lest their hypocrisy and cheating should be discovered, § 25, 26. 10. The impudence of Dr. Allen, and Dr. Horsey, fined to the King, but afterwards therefore amply rewarded by the clergy, § 27. 11. The reason of this was, because the Chancellor was one of them, viz. a clergyman § 28. 12. That of giving lands, or money, to the church for the poor, or masses, § 30. 13. They petition to turn these bloodsuckers out to labour and get them wives of their own, § 1, 32. These arguments, and the like, prevailed with this King to cast off the Pope's authority, and why any should be so foolishly wicked as to think to return us to it, I know not; most certainly they will find themselves deceived, with a vengeance, &c.

Presented to King Henry the Eighth, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, *anno dom.* 1538, eight years before his death, and now printed, *verbatim*, from a very old copy, only mending the auto-

graphy, for the ease of the reader, marking the several sections, and collecting the foregoing contents. Worth perusing by both Papist and Protestant, for the one to see how his forefathers and he have been, and are, gulled; and the other to see how he is like to be eternally abused, if he either through fear of death, or otherwise, embrace Popery, Folio, containing six pages, with a wooden cut in the title, representing King Henry the Eighth on his throne, and a Committee of Beggars presenting their petition.

To the KING our Sovereign Lord,

MOST lamentably complaineth, their woful misery unto your Highness, your poor daily bede-men*, the wretched, hideous monsters (on whom scarcely for horror any eye dare look) the foul, unhappy sort of lepers, and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only by alms; how that their number is daily so sore increased, that all the alms of the well disposed people of this your realm is not half enough to sustain them; but that, for very constraint, they die for hunger.

2. And this most pestilent mischief is come upon your said poor bede-men, by the reason that there is (in the times of your noble predecessors passed) craftily crept into this your realm another sort† (not of impotent but) of strong, puissant, and counterfeit-holy, and idle beggars, and vagabonds, which, since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and wiliness of Satan, are now increased under your sight, not only into a great number, but also into a kingdom.

3. These are not the herds (or sheep) but the ravenous wolves, going in herds-clothing, devouring the flock; the bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners and somners: and who is able to number this ide, ravenous sort, which (setting all labour aside) have begged so importunately that they have gotten into their hands more than the third part of all your realm: the goodliest lordships, manors, lands, and territories are theirs. Besides this, they have the tenth part of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grass, wool, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese, and chickens. Over and besides the tenth part of every servant's wages, the tenth part of the wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese, and butter. Yea, and they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights at Easter, shall be taken as an heretick; hereto have they their four offering-days.

4. What money pull they in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, and by men's offerings to their pilgrimages, and at their first masses. Every man and child that is buried must pay somewhat for masses and dirges‡ to be sung for him, or else they will accuse the dead's friends

* This is an ancient word, signifying a poor alms-man, who pray daily for their benefactors, derived from the Saxon word bidden, to pray.

† See them described in the second §.

‡ The dead office in the church of Rome, which begins with *dirige me, Domine*, &c.

and executors of heresy. What money get they by mortuaries*, by hearing of confessions (and yet they will keep thereof no counsel) by hallowing of churches, altars, super-altars†, chapels, and bells, by cursing of men, and absolving them again for money.

5. What multitude of money gather the pardoners‡ in a year? How much money get the somners (i. e. parators) by extortion in a year? By citing the people to the commissaries court, and afterwards releasing the appearance for money. Finally, the infinite number of beggars friars, what get they in a year?

6. Here, if it please your Grace to mark, ye shall see a thing far out of joint; there are within your realm of England fifty-two thousand parish-churches; and this standing, that there be but ten households in every parish, yet are there five hundred thousand, and twenty thousand households; and of every of these households hath every of the five orders of friars a penny a quarter for every order, that is, for all the five orders five pence a quarter for every house; that is, for all the five orders twenty pence a year for every house: *summa*, five-hundred thousand, and twenty-thousand quarters of angels; that is, two hundred and sixty thousand half angels; *summa*, one hundred and thirty thousand angels; *summa totalis*, forty-four thousand pounds, and three-hundred and thirty-three pounds, six shillings, and eightpence sterling: whereof, not four hundred years passed, they had not one penny. Oh grievous and painful exactions! thus yearly to be paid, from the which the people of your noble predecessors, the kings of the ancient Britons‖, ever stood free.

7. And this will they have, or else they will procure him that will not give it them to be taken as an heretick. What tyrant ever oppressed the people like this cruel and vengeable generation? What subjects shall be able to help their prince, that be after this fashion yearly polled? What good Christian people can be able to succour us poor lepers, blind, sore, and lame, that be thus yearly oppressed? Is it any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the taxes, fifteenths, and subsidies, that your Grace, most tenderly of great compassion, hath taken among your people, to defend them from the threatened ruin of their common-wealth, have been so slothfully, yea painfully, levied? Seeing that almost the uttermost penny that might have been levied, hath been gathered before, verily by this ravenous, cruel, and insatiable generation.

8. The Danes, neither the Saxons, in the time of the ancient Britons, should never have been able to have brought their armies, from so far, hither unto your land to have conquered it, if they had at that time such a sort of idle gluttons to find at home. The noble King Arthur had never been able to have carried his army to the foot of the

* A mortuary was a gift left by a man, at his death, to his parish-church, for the recompence of his personal tythes, and offerings, not duly paid in his life-time.

† These are square stones, to be removed at the priest's pleasure, to say mass upon; by some called portable altars.

‡ Those employed by the Pope to grant indulgences.

‖ Before the Conquest: for William the Conqueror, having engaged the Pope to countenance his unjust invasion upon this isle, in return, oppressed the subjects in this manner, to gratify the Pope.

mountains, to resist the coming down of Lucius the emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken of his people. The Greeks had never been able to have so long continued at the siege of Troy, if they had had at home such an idle sort of cormorants to fine. The ancient Romans had never been able to put all the whole world under their obeisance, if their people had been thus oppressed.

9. The Turk, now in your time, should never be able to get so much ground of Christendom, if he had in his empire such a sort of locusts to devour his substance. Lay then these sums to the aforesaid third part of the possessions of the realm, that you may see whether it draw nigh unto the half of the whole substance of the realm, or not; so shall you find that it draweth far above.

10. Now let us then compare the number of this unkind, idle sort, unto the number of the lay-people, and we shall see whether it be indifferently shifted or not, that they should have half? Compare them to the number of men, so are they not the hundreth person. Compare them to men, women, and children, then are they not the four hundreth person in number. One part, therefore, in four hundred parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequal burden is it, that they have half with the multitudes, and are not the four hundreth person of their number? What tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any common-wealth so sore oppressed, since the world began?

11. And what do all these greedy sort of sturdy, idle, holy thieves with these yearly exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing, but exempt themselves from the obedience and dignity from your grace unto them; nothing, but that your subjects should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your Grace, and be under them? As they did unto your noble predecessor, King John, which, because that he would have punished certain traitors that had conspired with the French King to have deposed him from his crown and dignity (amongst the which a clerk called Stephen, whom, afterwards, against the King's will, the Pope made Bishop of Canterbury, was one) interdicted * his land. For the which matter your most noble realm wrongfully (alas, for shame!) hath stood tributary, not to any kind, temporal prince, but unto a cruel, devilish blood-supper, drunken in the blood of the saints and martyrs of Christ ever since. Here were a holy sort of prelates, that thus cruelly could punish such a righteous King, all his realm, and succession, for doing right.

12. Here were a charitable sort of holy men, that could thus interdict an holy realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural Liege Lord and King, for his righteousness. Here were a blessed sort, not of meek herds, but of blood-suppers, that could set the French King upon such a righteous Prince, to cause him to lose his crown and dignity, to make effusion of the blood of his people, unless this good and blessed King, of great compassion, more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the blood of his people, than the

* Excommunicated.

loss of his crown and dignity, against all right and conscience, had submitted himself unto them. O case most horrible, that ever so noble a King's realm and succession should thus be made to stoop to such a sort of blood-suppers! Where was his sword, power, crown, and dignity become, whereby he might have done justice in this manner? Where was their obedience become, that should have been subject under his high power, in this matter? Yea, where was the obedience of all his subjects become, that, for maintenance of the common-wealth, should have holpen him manfully to have resisted these blood-suppers to the shedding of their blood? Was it not altogether, by their policy, translated from this good King to them?

13. Yea, and what do they more? Truly, nothing but apply themselves, by all the sleights they may, to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid; that cuckoldry should reign over all among your subjects; that no man should know his own child; that their bastards might inherit the possessions of every man, to put the right begotten children clear beside their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order. These be they, that by their abstaining from marriage do let the generation of the people, whereby all the realm, at length, if it should be continued, shall be made desert and uninhabitable. 'They mean, that for this sin of whoredom God's vengeance would fall on the land.'

14. These be they that have made an hundred thousand idle whores in your realm, which would have gotten their living honestly in the sweat of their faces, had not their superfluous riches elected them to unclean lust and idleness. These be they that corrupt the whole generation of mankind in your realm; that catch the pox of one woman, and bear it to another: yea, some one of them will boast among his fellows, that he hath meddled with an hundred women. These be they that, when they have once drawn men's wives to such incontinency, spend away their husband's goods, make the women run away from their husbands, yea, run away themselves both with wife and goods, bring both man, wife, and children, to idleness, theft, and beggary.

15. Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomless ocean sea-full of evils, that this mischievous and sinful generation may lawfully bring upon us unpunished? Where is your sword, power, crown, and dignity become, that should punish (by punishment of death, even as other men be punished) the felonies, rapes, murders, and treasons committed by this sinful generation? Where is their obedience become, that should be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether translated and exempted from your Grace unto them? Yes, truly. What an infinite number of people might have been increased, to have peopled the realm, if these sort of folk had been married like other men? What breach of matrimony is there brought in by them? Such, truly, as was never since the world began among the whole multitude of the heathen.

16. Who is she that will set her hands to work to get three pence a day, and may have at least twenty pence a day, to sleep an hour with a friar, a monk, or a priest? What is he that would labour for a

groat a day, and may have at least twelve pence a day to be a bawd to a priest, a monk, or a friar? What a sort are there of them that marry priests, sovereign ladies, but to cloak the priests incontinency, and that they may have a living of the priests themselves, for their labour? How many thousands doth such lubricity bring to beggary, theft, and idleness, which should have kept their good name, and have set themselves to work, had not been this excessive treasure of the spiritualty? What honest man dare take any man or woman in his service, that hath been at such a school with a spiritual man?

17. Oh the grievous shipwreck of the commonwealth! which in ancient time, before the coming in of these ravenous wolves, was so prosperous, that then there were but few thieves; yea, theft was at that time so rare, that Cæsar was not compelled to make penalty of death upon felony, as your Grace may well perceive in his Institutes. There were also at that time but few poor people, and yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked. For there were at that time none of these ravenous wolves to ask it from them, as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles. Is it any marvel, though there be now so many beggars, thieves, and idle people? No truly.

18. What remedy? Make laws against them? I am in doubt whether ye be able: Are they not stronger in your own parliament-house than yourself? What a number of bishops, abbots, and priors, are lords of your parliament? Are not all the learned men in your realm in fee with them, to speak in your parliament-house against your crown, dignity, and commonwealth of your realm, a few of your own learned council only excepted? What law can be made against them that may be available? Who is he (though he be grieved never so sore) for the murder of his ancestor, ravishment of his wife, of his daughter; robbery, trespass, maim, debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge, by any way of action; and, if he do, then is he, by and by, by their wiliness, accused of heresy. Yea, they will so handle him, before he pass, that, except he will bear a faggot for their pleasure, he shall be excommunicated, and then be all his actions dashed! So captive are your laws unto them, that no man, that they list to excommunicate, may be admitted to sue any action in any of your courts. If any man in your sessions dare be so hardy to indict a priest of any such crime, he hath, before the year goeth out, such a yoke of heresy laid in his neck, that it makes him wish, that he had not done it.

19. Your Grace may see what a work there is in London, how the bishop rageth for indicting of certain curates, of extortion and incontinency, the last year, in the Warmol quest*. Had not Richard Hunne commenced an action of *præmunire* against a priest, he had been yet alive, and no heretick at all, but an honest man.

20. Did not divers of your noble progenitors, seeing their crown and dignity run into ruin, and to be thus craftily translated into the hands of this mischievous generation, make divers statutes for the reformation thereof? Among which the statute of *mortmain* was one; to the intent, that, after that time, they should have no more given unto them. But

* Or Wardmote Inquest, erected 32 Henry VIII. 17.

what availed it? Have they not gotten into their hands more lands since than any duke in England, the statute notwithstanding? Yea, have they not, for all that, translated into their hands from your Grace half your kingdom thoroughly? The whole name, as reason is for the ancienty of your kingdom, which was before theirs, and out of the which theirs is grown, only abiding with your Grace, and of one kingdom made twain; the spiritual kingdom (as they call it) for they will be named first, and your temporal kingdom: And which of these two kingdoms, suppose ye, is like to overgrow the other, yea, to put the other out of memory? Truly, the kingdom of the blood-suppers, for to them is given daily out of your kingdom. And that, that is once given them, cometh never from them again: Such laws have they, that none of them may neither give, nor sell nothing.

21. What law can be made so strong against them, that they, either with money or else with other policy, will not break and set at nought? What kingdom can endure that ever giveth thus from him, and receiveth nothing again? O how all the substance of your realm, forthwith your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people, runneth headlong into the insatiable whirlpool of these greedy goulafres to be swallowed and devoured.

22. Neither have they any other colour to gather these yearly exactions into their hands, but that they say, they pray for us to God to deliver our souls out of the pains of purgatory, without whose prayer, they say, or at least, without the Pope's pardon, we could never be delivered thence; which, if it be true, then it is good reason we give them all these things, *all*, were it a hundred times as much.

23. But there be many men of great literature and judgment, for the love they have unto the truth, and unto the commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world, yea, in peril of death to declare their opinion in this matter: Which is, that there is no purgatory, but that it is a thing invented by the covetousness of the spiritualty, only to translate all kingdoms from all other princes unto them, and there is not one word spoken of it in holy scripture. They say also, that, if there were a purgatory, and also if that the Pope, with his pardons for money, deliver one soul thus, he may deliver him as well without money; if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand; if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them all, and also destroy purgatory. And then he is a cruel tyrant without all charity, if he keep them there in prison and in pain till men will give him money.

24. Likewise say they of all the whole sort of the spiritualty, that, if they will not pray for no man, but for them that give them money, they are tyrants, and lack charity, and suffer those souls to be punished and pained uncharitably, for lack of their prayers. These sort of folk they call hereticks, these they burn, these they rage against, put to open shame and make them bear faggots. But, whether they be hereticks or no, well I wot, that this purgatory, and the Pope's pardons, is all the cause of translation of your kingdom so fast into their hands; wherefore, it is manifest, it cannot be of Christ; for he gave more to the temporal kingdom; he himself paid tribute to Cæsar; he took nothing

from him, but taught that the high powers should be always obeyed; yea, himself (although he were most free Lord of all, and innocent) was obedient unto the high powers, unto death.

25. This is the great scab, why they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother tongue, lest men should espy, that their cloaked hypocrisy do translate thus fast your kingdom into their hands; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful, and hypocrites; that they seek not the honour of Christ, but their own; that remission of sins is not given by the Pope's pardon, but by Christ, for the sure faith and trust we have in him. Here may your Grace well perceive, that, except ye suffer their hypocrisy to be disclosed, all is like to run into their hands, and, as long as it is covered, so long shall it seem to every man to be a great impiety not to give them. For this I am sure, your Grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a man as my father, why may I not give them as much as my father did? And of this mind I am sure are all the lords, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen in England: Yea, and until it be disclosed, all your people will think that your statute of *mortmain* was never made with a good conscience, seeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their souls out of purgatory, by giving to the spiritualty, as their predecessors did in times past.

26. Wherefore, if you will eschew the ruin of your crown and dignity, let their hypocrisy be uttered, and that shall be more speedful in this matter, than all the laws that may be made, be they never so strong. For, to make a law for to punish any offender, except it were more for to give other men an ensample to beware to commit such like offence, what should it avail? Did not Dr. Allen, most presumptuously, now in your time, against all his allegiance, all that ever he could to pull from you the knowledge of such pleas, as belong unto your high courts, unto another court, in derogation of your crown and dignity.

27. Did not also Dr. Horsey and his complices most heinously, as all the world knoweth, murder, in prison, that honest merchant, Richard Hunne? For that he sued your writ of *præmunire* against a priest, that wrongfully held him in plea, in a spiritual court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth unto your high courts: and what punishment was there done, that any man might take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five hundred pounds (as it is said, to the building of your star-chamber) and, when that payment was once passed, the captains of his kingdom (because he fought so manfully against your crown and dignity) have heaped to him benefice upon benefice, so that he is rewarded ten times as much. The other, as it is said, paid six hundred pounds, for him and his complices, which, because that he had likewise fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, was immediately, as he had obtained your most gracious pardon, promoted by the captains of his kingdom, with benefice upon benefice to the value of four times as much. Who can take example of this punishment to beware of such like offence? Who is he of their kingdom that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, seeing the promotions that fell to these men, for their so offend-

ing? So weak and blunt is your sword, to strike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverse generation.

28. And this is, by reason that the chief instrument of your law, yea, the chief of your council, and he which hath your sword in his hand, to whom also all other instruments are obedient, is always a spiritual man, which hath ever such an inordinate love unto his own kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal kingdoms and commonwealths of the world should utterly therefore be undone.

29. Here leave we out the greatest matter of all, lest we, declaring such an horrible carrion of evil, against the ministers of iniquity, should seem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our best beloved minister of tightwiseness, which is to be hid, till he may be learned, by these small enormities that we have spoken of, to know it plainly himself. But what remedy to relieve us, your poor, sick, lame, and sore bedemen? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people; nay truly, the more the worse; for ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the priests beards.

30. Divers of your noble predecessors, kings of this realm, have given lands to monasteries, to give a certain sum of money yearly to the people, whereof, for the ancient of the time, they give never one penny. They have likewise given to them to have certain masses said daily for them (the dead) whereof they never said one: if the abbot of Westminster should sing every day as many masses for his founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thousand monks were too few.

31. Wherefore, if your grace will build a sure hospital, that never shall fail to relieve us, your bedemen, so take from them all those things: set their sturdy loobies abroad in the world to get them wives of their own, to get their living with their labour, in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God, Gen. iii. to give other idle people, by their example, occasion to go to labour: tye these holy, idle thieves to the carts to be whipped naked about every market-town till they will fall to labour, that they may, by their importunate begging, not take away the alms that the good christian people would give unto us, sore, impotent, miserable people, your bedemen. Then shall as well the number of our foresaid monstrous sort, as bauds, whores, thieves, and idle people decrease: then shall these great yearly exactions cease: then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people be translated from you: then shall you have full obedience of your people: then shall the idle people be set to work.

32. Lastly, then shall matrimony be much better kept: then shall the generation of your people be increased: then shall your commons increase in riches: N. B. then shall the gospel be preached: then shall none beg our alms from us: then shall we have enough, and more than shall suffice us, which shall be the best hospital that ever was founded for us. Then shall we daily pray to God for your most noble estate long to endure.

Domine, salvum fac Regem.

OR,

God save the King.

AN EPISTLE

OF THE

MOSTE MYGHTY AND REDOUTED PRINCE,

HENRY THE VIII.

By the Grace of God, Kyng of England, and of Fraunce, Lorde of Irelande, Defender of the Faithe, and Supreme Heed of the Churche of England, nexte vnder Christe,

WRITEN TO THE EMPEROURS MAIESTIE,

To all Christen Princes, and to all those that trewly and syncerely professe Christes Religion.

In this epistle bothe the causes are playnely declared, why the Kynges Hyghenes owght neyther to sende nor go to the councill indicted at Uincence, and also how perylouse a thinge it is for all suche, as professe the trewe doctrine of Christ, to come thether.

Herevnto also is annexed the protestation made the last yere, by the Kynges Hyghenes, his holle counsayle and clergye, as touchinge the councille indicted at Mantua, &c.

Rede bothe, O Christen reader, truthe is comynge home, longe afore beynge in captyuytye; steppe forth and meete her by the waye: yf thou see her presente, embrace hir, and shewe thy selfe gladde of here retourne. London, printed by John Berthelet 1538. Octavo, containing nineteen pages.

As the following small Piece is one, if not the very first publick Declaration of King Henry the Eighth, against the Pope, now extant, I apprehend, that it will be doing great Service to the English History, to preserve it in this Collection.

The occasion was the King's being cited by the Pope, in concert with the Emperor, to appear before a general council, as he pretended to be held at Mantua, to answer to such accusations there to be laid against him.

The King communicated this summons to the convocation, then sitting, and demanded their advice; who answered in writing, that, before a general council could be called, it was necessary to consider, who had authority to call it. 2dly, whether the reasons for calling it were weighty. 3dly, who should assist as judges. 4thly, what should be the order of proceeding. 5thly, what doctrines were to be discussed. And lastly, that neither the Pope nor any other Prince, without the consent of all the sovereigns in Christendom, had power to call a general council. And,

Henry, well knowing that he must lose his cause before such a council, as proposed, he had been unwise to submit to its decisions: therefore,

Pursuant to this declaration of his clergy, the King protested against this council, in which protestation he speaks very plainly and freely of the designs and conduct of the Pope; being informed of the council's being moved to Vicenza, he repeateth the same protestation to the Emperor in this letter following.

Henry the VIII. By the Grace of God, Kynge of Englande, and of Fraunce, &c. saluteth the Emperor, Christen Princes, and all true Christen Men, desyringe Peace and Concorde amonges them.

WHERE as not long sithens a boke came forth in oure and all oure counsayles names, whyche bothe conteyned many causes, why we refused the councylle, than by the bysshoppe of Romes vsurped power fyrste indycted atte Mantua, to be kepte the xxiii daye of May, after proroged to Nouembre, noo place appoynted where it shulde be kepte. And where as the same boke doth sufficiently proue, that oure cause coulde take no hurt, neyther with any Thynge doone or decreed in suche a companye of addicte men to one secte, nor in any other councille called by his vsurped power, we thynke it nothynge necessarye so otte to make new protestations, as the Bysshop of Rome and his courtes, by subtyltye and craite, doo inuente wayes to mocke the worlde by newe pretensed generall councilles. Yet not withstandynge, bycause that some thynges haue nowe occurred, eyther vppon occasion gyuen vs, by chaunge of the place, or els throughe other consyderations, whyche, nowe beynge knowen to the Worlde, maye do moche good, we thought we shulde do, but euen as that loue enforceth vs, which we owe vnto Christis fayth and relygion, to adde this epistell: and yet we proteste, that we neyther put forth that boke, neyther that we wolde this epistle to be set afore it, that thereby we shulde seme lesse to desyre a Generall Councille, than any other prynce or potentate, but rather more desyrous of it, so it were free for all partes, and vniuersall.

And further we desyre all good princes, potentates, and people, to esteeme and thynke that noo prynce wolde more wyllingly be present at suche a councille than we, suche a one, we meane, as we speake of in our protestatyon, made concernynge the councille of Mantua. Trewely as our forefathers inuented nothynge more holyer than generall councils, vsed as they ought to be; so there is almost nothynge, that may do more hurt to the christian common welth, to the faith, to our religion, than generall councils, if they be abused, to luker, to gaynes, to the establyshement of errours. They be called generall, and euen by their name doo admonysshe vs, that all Christen men, which do discent in any opinion, maye in them openly, frankely, and without feare of punysshement or displeasure, say theyr mynde. For seynge suche thinges, as are decreed in generall councils, touche egally all men that gyue assent therevnto, it is mete that euery man maye boldely saye there that he thinketh. And verely we suppose, that it ought not to be called a generall councylle, where alonlye those men are harde, which are determined for euer, in all poyntes, to defend the Popysh

part, and to arme theym selfes to fyght in the byshoppe of Romes quarelle, though it were against God and his scriptures. It is no generall council, neyther it ought to be called generall, where the same men be onely aduocates and aduersaries, the same accused and iuges. No it is agaynste the lawe of nature, eyther that we shuld condescende to so vnresonable a lawe against our selfes, eyther that we shuld suffre our selfes to be lefte withoute all defence, and, beynge oppressed with greattest iniuries, to haue no refuge to succour our selfes at. The Byshop of Rome*, and his, be our great ennemyes, as we and all the worlde may well perceyue by his doynges. He desyreth nothinge more than oure hurte, and the destruction of oure realme: do not we then violate the iudgement of nature, yf we gyue hym power and auctoritie to be our iudge? his pretended honour fyrste gotten by superstition, after encreased by vyolence, and other wayes, as euylle as that: his power sette uppe by pretense of relygyon, in dede, both agaynste relygyon, and also contrary to the worde of God: his Primacye, borne by the ignorancye of the worlde, nourysshed by the ambition of bysshops of Rome, defended by places of scripture, falsely vnderstande. These iii. thynges we saye, which are fallen with vs, and are lyke to fall in other realmes shortly, shall they not be establyshed again, yf he maye decyde our cause as hym lysteth? yf he maye at his pleasure oppresse a cause moste ryghtuouse, and set vp his, moste againe truth? certaynely, he is verye blynde, that seeth not, what ende we maye loke for of our controuersie, if suche our ennemye may gyue the sentence.

We desyre, yf it were in any wyse possible, a councill, where some hope maye be, that those thynges shall be restored, which, nowe beinge deprauate, are lyke, if they be not amended, to be the vtter ruine of Christen relygyon. And as we do desyre suche a councyll, and thinke it mete, that all men, in all their prayers, shoulde craue and desyre it of God; euen so we thinke it pertayneth vnto oure office, to prouyde bothe that these popyshe subtylties hurt none of our subiectes, and also to admonysshe other Christen Princis, that the Bysshope of Rome maye not by their consent abuse the auctoritie of kynges, eyther to the extynguyshing of the true preaching of scripture, that now begynneth to spryng, to grow, and spred abrode, eyther to the troublyng of princes liberties, to the dimynishynge of kynges auctorities, and to the great blemysshe of theyr princely maiestie. We dout nothing but a reder, not parciall, wyll soone approue suche thynges, as we write in the treatyse folowynge, not soo moche for oure excuse, as that the worlde maye perceyue both the sondry deceytes, craftes, and subtylties of the Papistes, and also, how moch we desyre, that controuersyes in relygyon maye ones be taken awaye. All that we sayde there of Mantua, maye here well be spoken of Uincence. They do almoste agree in all poyntes. Neyther it is lyke, that there wolle be any more at this councille at Uincence, than were the last yere atte Mantua. Trewelye he is worthy to be deceyued, that, beynge twyse mocked, wolle not beware the thyrde tyme. Yf any this last

* Published a bull of excommunication against him; and tried to excite all princes of Christendom, against Henry, and offered his kingdom to the King of Scotland, &c.

yere made forth towarde Mantua, and, beynge halfe on their waye, thanne perceyued, that they hadde taken vppon them that iourney in vayne, we do not thynke them so foolysshe, that they wolle hereafter ryde farre oute of towne to be mocked. The tyme also, and the state of thynges is suche, that matters of relygion maye rather nowe be broughte farther in trouble, as other thynges are, than be commodiousely intreated of and decyded. For where as, in maner, the hole worlde is after suche sorte troublyd with warres, so incombred with the great preparations that the Turke maketh, canne there be any manne so agaynste the setlynge of relygyon, that he wolle thynke this tyme mete for a generall councill? Undoubtedlye it is mete that such controuersies, as we haue with the byshoppe of Rome, be taken as they are; that is moch greatter, than that they maye eyther be discussed in this soo troublesome a tyme, or elles be committed vnto proctours, without our greate ieoperdie, all be it the tyme were neuer so quiete. What other princes wyll do, we can not tell; but we will neyther leaue our realme at this tyme, neyther we wyll truste any proctour with oure cause, wherein the holle staye and welth of our realme standeth, but rather we wyll be atte the handlynge therof our selfe. For excepte both an other iudge be agreed vppon for those matters, and also a place more commodiouse be prouyded, for the debating of our causes, all be it al other thynges were as we wolde haue them, yet maye we lawfully refuse to come or sende any to his pretended councylle. We wolle in noo case make hym our arbyter, whyche, not many yeres paste, oure cause not harde, gaue sentence agaynste vs. We wolle that suche doctrine, as we, folowynge the scripture, do professe, rytely to be examinyd, discussyd, and to be brought to scripture, as to the onely touche stone of true lernynge. We wyll not suffre them to be abolyshed, ere euer they be discussyd, ne to be oppressed, before they be knowen: moche lesse we wyll suffre theym to be troden downe beinge so clerely trewe. No, as there is no iote in iote in scripture, but we wolle defende it, thoughe it were with ieoperdie of our lyfe, and peryll of this our realme: so is there no thynge, that doeth oppresse this doctrine,, or obscure it, but we wolle be at continuall warre therwith. As we haue abrogated all olde Popishe tradicions in this oure realme, which eyther dyd helpe his tyranny or increase his pryde: soo, yf the grace of God forsake vs not, we wyll wel forsee, that no newe naughtye tradicions be made with our consente, to bynde vs or our realme. Yf men wyll not be willyngely blynde, they shall easyly see euen by a due and euident profe in reson, though grace dothe not yet by the worde of Christ enter into theym, howe small thauctorytie of the bysshop of Rome is, by the lawfull denyall of the Duke of Mantua for the place. For yf the bysshoppe of Rome dydde ernestly intende to kepe a councyll at Mantua, and hath power, by the lawe of God, to calle prynces to what place hym lyketh; why hath he not also auctoritie to chose what place hym lysteth? The Bysshop chose Mantua, the Duke kepte hym oute of it. Yf Paule, the bysshoppe of Romes auctoritye, be so great, as he pretendeth, why coulde not he compel Fredericus, Duke of Mantua, that the councille myghte be kepte there?

The Duke wolde not suffre it. No, he forbadde hym his towne,

Howe chaunceth it, that here excommunicacyons flye not abrode; Why dothe he not punysshe this duke?

Why is his power, that was wonte to be more than fulle, here emptye? wonte to be more than all, here nothynge? Dothe he not calle men in vayne to a councille, yf they, that comme at his callynge, be excluded the place, to the whyche he callethe theym? Maye not kynges iustelye refuse to come at his call, whan the Duke of Mantua maye denye hym the place, that he choseth? Yf other prynces order hym as the Duke of Mantua hath doone, what place shall be lefte hym, where he maye kepe his generall councill? Again, if prynces haue gyuen hym this auctoritie, to calle a councille; is hit not necessarye, that they gyue hym allso all those thynges, withoute the whyche he canne not exercyse that his power? Shall he call men, and wolle ye let hym fynde no place to call them unto? Truely he is not wonte to appoynte one of his owne cyties, a place to keepe the councill in. No, the good manne is so faythefull and frendely towarde other, that seldome he desyreth prynces to be his gestis. And admytte he shulde calle vs to one of his cityes, shulde we safely walke within the walles of suche our ennemyes towne? Were it mete for vs there to dyscusse controuersyes of relygyon, or to kepe vs out of our ennemyes trappes? Mete to studye for the defence of suche doctrine as we professe, or rather howe we myghte in suche a thronge of perylles be in sauegarde of our lyfe? Well, in this one acte the bysshoppe of Rome hathe declared, that he hathe none auctoryte vppon places in other mennes domynyons, and therfore, yf he promyse a councille in anye of those, he promyseth a councille in anye of those, he promyseth that that is in an other man to perfourme, and so may he deceyue vs agayne. Nowe, if he calle vs to one of his owne townes, we be afrayde to be at suche an hostes table. We saye, better to ryse a hungred, then to goo thense with oure bellyes fulle. But they saye, the place is founde, we neede noo more seke where the councill shall be kepte. As who saythe, that, that chaunced at Mantua, maye not also chaunce at Uyncence. And as thoughe it were very lyke, that the Uenecians, menne of suche wysedome, shoulde not bothe forsee and feare also that, that the wyse Duke of Mantua semed to feare. Certes, whanne we thynke vppon the state, that the Uenecians be in nowe, hit seemeth noo verye lykely thynge that they wolle eyther leaue Uincence, theyr cytye, to so many nations, without some greate garrison of souldyers, or elles that they, beynge elles where so sore charged all redy, wyll nowe norysshe an armye there. And, if they wolde, dothe not Paulus hym selfe graunt, that it shulde be an euyll presydent, and an euyll exaumple, to haue an armed councille: how so euer it shal be, we most hartely desyre you, that ye wolle vouchesafe to rede those thynges that we wrote this last yere touchynge the Mantuan councille. For we nothynge doubte, but you, of youre equytye, wyll stande on our syde agaynste theyr subtyltye and fraudes, and iudge, excepte we be deceyued, that we, in this busynesse, neyther gaue soo moche to oure affectyons, neyther withoute greatte and mooste iuste causes, refused theyr councylles, theyr censures, and decrees. Whyther these oure wrytynges please all menne, or noo, we thynke, we ought not to passe

moche. Noo, yf that, that indyfferentely is wrytten of vs, maye please indyfferente reders, our desyre is accomplysshed. Then false and mystakyng of thynges, by men parcyall, shall moue vs nothynge, or elles very lytel. Yf we haue sayd aughte agaynste the deceytes of the bysshop of Rome, that maye seme spoken to sharpely, we praye you, impute it to the hatredde we bare vnto vyces, and not to any euylle wyll that we bare hym. Noo, that he, and all his, maye perceyue, that we are rather at stryfe with his vyces, than with hym and his: oure prayer is, bothe that it maye please God at the laste to open theyr eyes, to make softe theyr harde hartes, and that they ones maye with vs, theyr owne glorye set aparte, study to set forthe the euerlastynge glorie of the euerlastynge God.

Thus, myghtye Emperoure, fare ye mooste hartely well, and ye Christen princes, the pylors and stay of Christendome, fare ye hartely well: Also all ye, what people so euer ye are, whiche doo desyre, that the gospel and glory of Christ maye florysshe, fare ye hartely well.

Gyuen at London oute of oure palace at Westmynster,
the eyghte of Apryll, the nyne and twentye yere of
our reygne.

A LAMENTABLE AND PITEOUS

TREATISE*,

Verye necessarye for euerie Christen Manne to reade, wherin is contayned, not onely the high Entreprise and Valeauntnes of

THEMPEROUR CHARLES THE V. AND HIS ARMY,

(In his Voyage made to the Towne of Argier in Affrique, agaynst the Turckes, the Enemyes of the Christen Fayth, Thinhabitoures of the same)

BUT ALSO THE

MYSERABLE CHAUNCES OF WYNDE AND WETHER,

WITH DYUERSE OTHER ADUERSITES,

Hable to moue euen a stonye Hearte to bewayle the same, and to pray to God for his Ayde and Succoure.

Which was written and sent vnto the Lorde of Langest. Truly and dylygently translated out of Latyn into Frenche, and out of Frenche into English. 1542. Ricardus Grafton excudebat, cum Priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. Octavo, containing twenty-seven Pages.

To the ryght hygh and myghtye Lorde, Syr Wyllyam of Bellay, Vyceroy of Pyment, and Knyght of the Ordre of the Mooste Christen Kynge. Syr Nycolas Uyllagon, Gretynge.

I haue geuen you to wytte (ryght honorable Lorde) by my laste letters, that, in makyng hast towarde you, I was retarded and constrayned to tarye at Rome, because of the renewyng and grefe of the woundes, that I was hurt of; the

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which, by the dyffyculte and length of the way, recreased and waxed worsse dayly. For the truthe is, that the daylye procedynge of my sorenesse hath holly taken from me hope to depart from hens, and from my departyng hath hyndred me much more then I wold. Howbeit, beyng contynually incyted by great desyre to se you agayne, and seyng the let of my departyng out of this towne, as yet vnredy, I haue aduysed me to put in wryting the ordre and estate of my voyage, and send it to you, because that, in suche wyse, ye should the sooner knowe it; which I myselfe wold sooner haue doue, yf my dysease would haue suffred it. And, by the same meanes, the delay of my commyng towarde you to be excused. Your good frende Franceys Guyche, a worthy man and lyberall, by greate amyte hath receyued me into his house, and kyndly entreated me. And hath doone so muche by his great dylygence, that, by the helpe of medycyns, I hope ryght soone to come into the way of amendement, wherby I am greatly beholden to hym. It hath been he, that, whan I would haue enforced me to haue gone on my waye, hath letted me tyll I were somewhat more at ease, and stronger to endure the trauayle of the waye, and the disposycion of wynter; which yf he had not done, I was in daunger to haue fallen in another greuous malady, for with the payne and smert of my woundes, all my body was swollen, so that almoste I was fallen into an hydropsy. Howbeit, as nowe I purpose, as sone as my dysease is paste, to put me in waye with all dylygence to se you ryght soone. At Thuryn.

And fare ye well.

AS, in the sommer paste, my pryuate, necessary, and domestiqual busynes moued me to retourne into Fraunce, I was aduertised by my frendes of Themperours iorney into Italy, and of the purposed passage of his army into Affrique: Who, knowynge the councell and purpose of Themperour, dyd moue and persuade me to thire good and honeste entreprise. Then I, vnderstandyng well my fayth and duetye accordyng to my profession, knewe that I was bound, with all my powre, to employe my selfe to fight against thenemys of the faith; and lykewyse fearynge greately, that my body, longe accustomed with the peynes of warre, shuld by the meanes of muche ease become to tendre for lacke of vse and exercise, if I shuld haue taryed longe lyngerynge with my frendes; wherfore, I purposed with my selfe, to deferre and set asyde my former busynes tyll another tyme, rather then to leaue suche a present and oportune occasyon of honour in so necessary a matter. Nowe then, the mynd and purpose of Themperour (as I perceaued by my frendes letters) was thus, as foloeth.

Themperour beyng in Allmeigney, to thentent to appease and set a staye in the controuersyes and dyssencyons, whiche are amonge the Allmeignes in matters of religion, dyd there fynde Ferdinand his brother, and the sonne of the same Ihon, which last of all obteyned the realme of Hungarye, and had knowledge that they wer inflamed with great and pernycious dyscordes, and in mynde to fyght together violentlye for the right of the saide realme. The whiche sonne of Ihon, for the feare that he had of the powre of Ferdinand, called and sought ayde of the Turckes; whiche when Ferdinand sawe commyng, in preuentynge theim, with all his powre, beseged the towne of Buda, enforcynge him selfe moost dylygently to haue taken the saide towne before the Turckes cam. The which, when Themperour knew, and consyderynge howe necessary it was to stoppe the Turckes from entryng within our lymites and boundes, dyd dyspatche a porcion of his armye to go and ayde his brother, to

thentent that the soner and the easyer he myght attayne to thend of his entreprise, and to take the saide towne of Buda; notwithstandyng he beeynge allwayes troubled with the feare of their purposed commynge, aswell of the strength of the place, as also of the dylygence of the enemyes which resisted and withstode him, was constreigned to tarye the commynge of the saide Turckes. And therfore Themperour, leauynge his former entrepryse of the controuersyes of the faithe, thought yt muche better to set a staye and ordre in this aforesaide warre. And for that he knewe wel, that it was a verey daungerous and ieoperdous thinge, so sone and vnaduysedly to goo against the might and force of the Turckes beinge so freshly arryued, inlesse they had been, in some parte, weryed by longe soiournynge and taryenge after theyr commyng: Wherfore he was mynded to set forwarde his hoost into another place, more farther back from the partes of Christendome, and therfore, leauynge with his brother Ferdinand, for his ayde and helpe, the hoost before sent, supposyng theim ynough, because the tyme was not conuenient for warre, seinge that wyntre was at hande; and the saide Ferdinand receauyng the whole charge and guydynge of the said hoost to the parties aforesaide, Themperour, with great trauayle and dylygence retorned to Italye, at which place beinge arryued, he caused with al spede newe menne of warre to be taken vp, and in a lytle tyme had readye a perfite hoost of men; and lykewyse ther was made aswell at Gene, as also at Naples, diuerse shippes and galyes imediatlye, to conducte and brynge the saide armye into Affrique. For it was now more necessarye for hym to assayle Affrique, then enye other contrey of Turcky, for feare that, if he had made his armye into Turcky, he had leaft his enemyes in Affrique without warre, whiche shuld haue turned to the great feare of the Spanyardes, whom he purposely kept, to be ayded by theim, bothe of money and menne, at his inuadynge of Turcky

In the meane ceason, that all thynges were makynge readye, and that the gallyes were furnysshed with vytayles and artillarye, receauyng the menne of warre, Themperour had communicacion with the B. of Rome, in the towne of Luke, to thentent to aduertise him of his entreprise, counsell and purpose of the saide warre. The B. of Rome, because Affrique hathe fewe good hauens to lande in, aduysed him not to take the sea, neither to abyde thereon, and toke muche pein to persuade Themperour from hys purpose. Howbeyt, that the reason of the sayde bisshop was alwayes very good, yet notwythstandyng, for other greater consideracions, Themperour dyd remayn in his fyrst purpose; for he knewe how great a nombre of people wer oppressed in Hongrie, and how nedeful it was, that the warre in that place shuld not be long continued; and therfore chaunged his purpose, to arryue in another place, to thentent, that our enemyes shuld be compelled to kepe warre, wythin theyr owne countre; he sawe well that it was a woorke that requyred greate dylygence, and so much the rather, because he had conceaued wyth him selfe, that the Turckyshe warre requyred a greater prouision. In such sorte, that, before the sommer next foloynge, he coulde not prepare so great an armye; wherfore in the meane tyme, he thought it more conuenient to make warre in Affrique, to thentent to deliuer the Spaniardes from the feare of the Affricans, and that afterwarde he myghte the more

easely preserue the sayd Spaniardes for his Turckyshe warres: For the Spaniardes are accustomed, when Themperour doth aske eny moneye of theim, to excuse theim selues by the neyghboured of the saide Affricanes their enemyes. So that, by this meanes, and suche lyke reasons, the B. of Rome was persuaded, and allowed the wyl and mynde of Themperour, and, praysynge his wisdome, did departe.

All these thinges then beyng readye, as is aforesayde, Themperour commaunded that the gallyes, whiche were laden with vytayles and instrumentes of warre, shulde departe from Naples and Gene, and go to the ysles of Balcares, the whiche nowe is called the Ysle of Maiorque and Minorque, and that there they shulde tary; and he him selfe within short tyme after departed from the hauen of Ueneri, beynge accompaignyed with xxxvi. great shippes, takynge his course to the Ysle of Corphou; and after he had sayled a lytle while, without any trouble, there dyd sodaynlye aryse a meruelous greate tempeste, whiche deuyded the whole nauye, in suche wise, that with great pein and strength of owers, the barque, that Themperour was in, with vii. other shippes onlye, myght skace recouer the land of the sayd Ysle of Corphou; so that all the other were dryued by the great violence and vehemency of the tempeste vnto dyuerse places ferre asonder, in suche wise, that they arryued not with the other vii. shippes, before two dayes were expired, duryng whiche tyme Themperour was constreigned to remayne at the foresayde hauen to abide the sayde shippes. And, after the arryuynge of the sayde shippes, he passed with all his nauye vntyl he came to a towne of Boniface, the which towne is so situate vpon a rocke, that iii. quarters therof no man maye come nygh, hauynge but onelye one place to entre at, which is thorough the caue and holowe parte of the foote of a mountayne standyng in the stead of a dytche, for the same towne, so that the sayde towne is not praysed for eny other thynge, but for the hauen beyng so verye nere vnto it; in the whiche towne, after Themperour had a lytle tyme rested him selfe, and seyng the wether well dysposed, he departed from thence, with all his armye, and without any trouble he arryued in the Ysle of Sardague nere to the see of Affrique, and in the same place he refresshed hym selfe in the towne of Lahorgera; in whiche place, the same daye that they arryued, there chaunced a woondrefull, straunge, and meruelous thynge, for, in the nyght folowyng, ther was a kowe that calfed a calfe with two heades, the which was brought to Themperour to behold. Two days after, Themperour parted from that place, and, for the space of two dayes folowyng, had a meruelous good wynde, and approched nere the Baleare of Minorque, into the whiche, thynkynge to entre, they were dryuen backe with a wondrefull, sodayne, and sore tempest, so sharpely, that skase, with verye greate pein, was it possible for them euer to haue recouered the hauen; which neuerthelesse came to passe, and that throughe force and strengthe of oers in spight of bothe wynde and wether; and the tempest was so great, that for the space of vii. dayes contynuallye, dooyng our vttermoost, we had not ben hable to haue made iiii. legges. So that for the contynuance of the great storme and wynde we were dryuen to abyde at ancres, without the hauen, the reste of the nyghte, and the morowe after; seinge the porte of Mahon to be harde by vs, we arriued into the

same, not without greate and excedynge peine and labour. This hauen (of al that I haue seen) is the fayrest and best, were it not that it is very harde entreinge into the same, whiche commeth of the nature of the place; for al the border of this ysle is compassed about, with veraye high mountaignes and hilles; and the place, by which they enter into the same porte, is so streyght and narrowe, that it is vereye ieoperdious and daungerous to auenture to entre into the same, without a smal and softe wynde; but to the rest, it is veray propre and handsome to herbour and kepe safe a great nombre of shyppes, aswell for the length, whiche is ii. legges, as also for the corners, wholes, and turnyng places, whiche let that no tempeste of the see maye once vexe, greue, or trouble enye ship that is therin. And harde by are manye mountaignes, couered with forestes and great woodes, whiche is a necessarye thinge, and profitable for theim, that shall arryue there. And, at the ende of the saide hauen, is situate and buylded a veraye fayre towne, vppon the toppe of the mountaignes; the whiche, if yt were buylded and furnysshed with menne, as it is stronge by nature of the place, it shulde be more hard for the barbarousse to wynne and take, then to assayle it, as he hathe done.

Nowe then Themperour rested in this place the space of two dayes, so longe as the storme and rage of the tempest of the sea continued, the whiche as sone as it was alayed, we departed thence, and we bordred upon Maiorque; and, when Themperour was come, he founde ther arryued Ferrande Gonzaga, viceroy of Naples, and an hundred and fyftie shyppes of the Italyans, and with theim beynge accompanyed with seuen galleyes stronge and well trymmed: which, with them that Themperour brought, made the nombre of fyftye galleyes, ouer and aboue all the nombre of the forsayde shyppes; and yet Themperour loked for fyftene great shyppes to be sent hym out of Spayne, with a great nombre of other shyppes, all laden, which then were arryued vpon the border of Affrique, and shortly after was shewed vnto Themperour; who, hearynge the sayde newes, commaunded euery man to go aborde, and to hoyse up the sayles, and to take theyr course vnto Affrique; and so we lette behynde us the ysle of Maiorque, the whiche to descrybe vnto you, the nature and kynde therof is farre otherwyse then of Minorque; for the see costes of the same be flat and lowe, without any fruytfull mountaignes, or haboundynge with any good thyng; but the myddle therof is hyllye and stony grounde, vnfruytefull and baren, and that, because it lyeth more nere to the south, then doth Spayne, by reason wherof the wyntre is more temperate, without any sharpe colde, beyng plentyfull of all suche fruyte, as customably doth growe in Affrique. The inhabitauntes therof dooe vse the lawes, customes, and language of the Traconytes, greatly resemblynge them in all thynges. They use, in the makynge of theyr morter to buylde with all, to put softe earthe, grauel, small stones, and sande, which is the substance and princypall thynge, wherwith the walles of theyr chefe towne is buylded.

Nowe to retourne to Themperour: when all the gallyes and shyppes were departed from the foresayde ysle of Maiorque in good ordre, he toke hys waye vnto Affrique, towarde the towne of Argiere, and

dyd arryue nere vnto the same, within ii. dayes after his departyng from the foresayde ysle of Maiorque; and there founde his forefayde gallyes, whiche were harboured fyue legges longe frome the sayde towne of Argiere, that bordereth harde vpon the see coste; who, spying vs a farre of, made towardes vs; but ymmediatly they were commaunded by Themperour to retourne agayne to the same place, where they lay before, to stoppe or let, that no succoure shulde come vnto the towne from that parte. Themperour then, approchynge somwhat nere vnto it, commaunded that, with all dilygence, twelue shyppes, trauersyng before the towne, shulde go on the other parte, to spye and see yf they coulde fynde a more commodyous place to harboure his sayde gallyes in, where they myght lye in lesse daunger of tempestes and stormes of wynde and wether. Which was quickely done; and, perceauing that he had a more sure abyding and commodyous place, Themperour, with the strength of his nauye, passed before the sayde towne, and went to the place aforesayde, where they cast ancres, waytinge in the same place for the shyppes that were laden with vytayles and other baggages of warre; and, from the sayde place, one myghte easely see all the proporcyon and sytuacion of the sayde towne, and a great parte of the countrey nygh vnto it. The daye folowynge (perceauyng the see to aryse and swell a lytle and lytle) we wayed oure ancres, and remoued, chosynge another place, where the wynde myght doo vs lesse harme and dammage, the whiche place is called Matasus. And, this thyng done, behold, there came forth two shyppes of the Turcke to spye, the whiche incircumspectly fell into oure handes; and, quyckly perceauing theyr folyshness and ignorance, caste about theyr sayles, and recouered the depth in such wise, that it was not possyble to take one of them; for the one was sonke in the see by oure people, and the other, with swyfte sayling, and strength of ores, saued her selfe: neuerthelesse, it was knowen by them whiche were taken, that they were espyes sent to knowe the state and prouisyon of our army. The rest of the daye was spent in assemblyng together to the sayde place all the gallyes, in the meane tyme, and whyle the see dyd asswage. Whyle this was doynge, Themperour commaunded the Lorde Ferrande Gonzaga and James Bossus, menne of great wytte, and practized in warres, that with a lytel fysher bote they shulde ronne alonge the wynde, espying or searchyng out a mete and conuenyent place where to land his armye. And these, obeyinge the commaundement of Themperour, dyd theyr dilygence, and, when they retorned, shewed the place chosen by theim for this purpose. The daye foloyng, the see was woondreous still and calme. Afterwarde, Themperour, drawyng more nere to the towne, landed all his army without anye maner of resistence of the enemyes; and the ordre and araye of the same armye was as foloeth: the nombre of the footmen were xxii. M. wherof vii. M. were Spanyardes, whiche came aswell from Naples, as also from Sicile. Ther was also vi. M. Allmeignes, vi. M. Italyans, and iii. M. of diuerse other nacyons, whiche, of theyr owne good willes, foloyinge Themperour, sought theyr honoures and aduentures, beside the housholde seruauntes of Themperour, and beside iii. C. of diuerse other nacyons, which were

sent from Malta by the Knyghtes of the Rhodes, the whiche also were of diuerse countryes. The nombre of the horsemen were xi. C. that came oute of Spayne, of the whiche, iiii. C. ordinarily weyted upon Themperour. Then, assone as our menne were landed (for this daye there wer but fewe menne of armes that came alande) couragiously they assembled theim selues together, euery manne accordynge to his owne nacion, purposing euery man with him selfe wisely to set vpon, and assayle our enemies, whiche by diuerse course and skyrmishes sought to hurt vs; but, assone as they approched and came nere to vs, they were dryuen backe by our people, with the artillarye and harquebusshes, that they wer compelled to ronne dispersed and oute of araye, in suche sorte and maner, that we had none hurte by them. Our enemyes then, beinge driuen backe, wer constreigned to kepe theim selfes in the mountaignes.

Our armye then began to drawe nere the towne; the Spanyardes had the forwarde, or vantgard, vnder the gouernaunce of the Lorde Ferrand Gonzaga. Themperour set forwarde in the battayll, accompaignyed with his Allmaignes; in the arriergarde or hinder warde was the Italyans and the Rhodyans, beyng vnder the gouernaunce of the Lorde Camillus Columna. And in this ordre we wente forwarde the same day, almoste halfe a legge, where we passed awaye the night with lytle slepe. For the Numydyans, whiche were creapte vp into the mountaignes, came downe often tymes, and noyed vs euyl with bowe shott, moost chefely that parte which was nearest to Themperour's tentes; against whom there were by Themperour sent iii. compaignyes of Spanyardes, to refreyne and stoppe them, or at the leaste to staye theyr fearcenes and boldnes: but our enemye, knowynge the places and conueighaunces of the countrees, at the commynge and sight of the foresaide menne, they gate them backe into the woodes and mountaignes, places moost sure and safe, lettyng our people from commyng up; whiche they coulde not always do any long tyme, for our people, with great courage and hardynes, went up and made them flye; but at the last, perceauyng the nombre of our enemyes to encreace dayly more and more, and they beynge wery with so often skyrmysshynge, or fightynge with theyr enemyes, were constreigned to come backe agayne to the armye; whiche they dyd not without great losse, seing they contynued in battayle, from the firste settynge of the watche, tyll the dawnynge of the daye, and speciallye for because they were euell prouyded of gonne powder. Then it is to be vnderstande, that the waye of the halfe legge, whiche we went, is a flat and euen grounde, and that ther is none other let therin, but certen wild busshes and shrubbes; and such is the place, tyll ye come to the foote of dyverse lytle hylles, or mottes, whiche contynue from the sayde playne to the towne of Argiers, and are in length almoste halfe a legge. And vnder the same playne the see floweth, begynnynge at the rocke, from whence we firste came to searche a more sure place (as is aforesayde) and it is of length, from the sayde towne to the rocke, about v. or vi. legges, measured with a strayte lyne: howbeit, they, that shall iorney it, shall fynde nere x. legges; because the mounteignes continue, and come from the sayde rocke to the foresayde lytle hylles, whiche

in maner do compasse the towne, so that ther is none other playne, sauynge the valyes of the sayde mounteignes, betwene theim; for the sayde lytle hylles are set in such sort, that they shewe as though they were an hauen: for lyke wise as, wher the see beateth vpon the lande, it maketh it eyther streyte, or compasse lyke a bowe; so, in lyke maner, the mounteignes beyng farther in the lande, or nearer to the hauen, that is to saye, semeth to be nye, wher they lye flat, and, when they be croked, or compassed hauenlyke, shewe much larger then the playne. In this place then (lyke as ye haue hearde) the iii. enseignes or banners beyng returned, Themperour caused the armye to approche neere the towne; whiche to bring to passe, it was conuenient to wynne and obtayne the vpper partes of the sayde lytle mottes, or hylles, that ioyne vnto the playne, and enclose the sayde towne, receauynge all that came from the mounteignes, which we haue declared to come from the former rocke: the which mounteignes also were necessarye to be had, to let our enemyes from stoppinge oure entreprise, for by theim oure aduersaries ceased not to prouoke and assayle vs; and so sore troubled vs, that our people coulde not get up easelye; for they, possessing the top of the hylles, might lyghtly withdrawe theim selfes, when we woulde do oure endeuours to pursue theim. And it was farther thought, that, yf it were possible to obteyne the heigth of the sayde mounteignes, it shoulde be then muche more easye to stoppe and let, that they shoulde haue no succour of vitayles, whych myght haue come to theim of the towne by lande; and therfore it was deuysed, that they shoulde driue awaye, oute of the sayde mounteignes, the Numidoys, that so muche had molested vs; and in the very selfe same place he set his vauntgarde, or forward. And, for so muche as it was very harde to brynge to passe, because of the heigth and vprightnes of the mounteigns, that not withstandinge, by the wisdome and good gouernment of the Lorde Fernande Gonzaga, the Spanyardes had the honour of the gettyng vp. The mounteignes then beyng occupied with the vauntgarde, the campe, or battayle, remained amonge the lytle hylles, of the whyche is spoken before, and a lytle farther, by the hauen of the see, was set the riergarde; and, the army beynge thus ordred, the towne of Argiers semed to be shut in a triangle; for of the one side it had the see, and on the other two partes laye oure army, in suche wise, that they were enclosed from ayde and succour of anye parte, forasmuche as the townes and countrees there aboute, beyng oure enemyes, myght haue come and done us displeasoure. Neuerthelesse, we, beynge holpen by the commodite and heigth of the sayde mounteignes, wher we wer, feared very lytle their comminge; considering also, that, in the same campe or felde, were many dyches, or caues, and wholes, of the nature of the place, which also serued vs wel in steede of dytches and trenches: so that then, all our enemyes beynge dryuen into the sayde towne, and all thynges beynge in good ordre and staye, beholde, in the euenynge tyde, ther came a sodeyne and piteous calamyte or miserye, vneuitable or vneschuable; for there fell so greate and vehemente haboundaunce of rayne, commynge downe with suche vyolence and force, and contynuyng so longe, that it was not possible eny longer to endure it

without present death; and the same tempest ceased not, from the fyrst houre of the nyght, tyll the nexte daye after: and yet, that was mor greueous and painful to the poore souldyers, there came suche a wynde, that blew so colde and sharpe, and with suche vyolence, that neuer was there sene a more piteous nyght; for the poore souldyers, commyng out of theyr shyppes, not takynge eny stuffe with them, had not a cloth to couer them selfes, neither cappe, cloke, nor tentes to lye in. By the whiche intollerable tempest there were so many beaten and febled, that both strength and courage feyled them together, by the reason of the greate peine and griefe that they had endured. Durynge the whiche tyme, the see roase more then euer it had beene sene before, and in suche a rage, that many of our shyppes, losyng theyr ancres and theyr gables, were broken and beaten in peces against the see bankes; the other, beynge fylled with water, were drouned and sonke into the depe, where was greate losse and dammage, aswel of apparel, artillary, and other prouision, as also of the vytayles, wherwyth they were laden. And this euell chaunce, happenyng in the nyght, was piteouslye augmented by the fortune of the daye folowynge; for a freshe the rayne and wynde cam agayn with suche vehemency and vyolence, that it was impossible for eny manne lyuynge to stande on his fete; the whiche thinge knowynge oure enemyes, they perceaued well it was no tyme to let vs be in rest; so that a greate nombre of theim, commyng very secretly out of their towne, came vnto oure watche, and destroyed theim, and afterward drewe toward vs, tyll they came to oure trenches or bullwarkes, settynge vpon vs with bowe shotte. Notwithstandynge that we wer then wondrefully astonnyed, yet with all dilygence we stoode to oure defence, and, spedely armyng vs, we assayled theim in suche wise, that, at our first settynge on, they drewe backe, for none other purpose, then to haue drawen vs to theyr displeasoure into some streyght or destruction, in fallynge amonge theyr embushmentes, by pursuynge theim incircumspectly. We were, in this metynge, more in nombre then oure enemyes, but they had the vauntage of vs, aswel for the commodyte of the place beyng aboue vs, as also of the diuersite of weapons and artillary, whiche they vsed; for they, kepynge the higher parte of the mounteigne, so troubled vs with the shotte of theyr crossbowes, longe bowes, and greate stones, and other kindes of artillary, that by no meanes we coulde get vp to theim; for, by the reason of the contynuaunce of the rayne, and greatenes therof, we had altogether laide aside the vse and occupienge of oure harquebusshes, so that it was impossible to finde enye meane howe to resiste theim, beyng farre of; and therfore we drewe nere vnto theim, euen tyl we came to their holebardes, and fought hande to hande and manne with manne: but to bring this thinge to passe was veraye peinfull to vs, aswell for rhe greate strengthe of oure enemyes, as also for the situacion of the place, beynge so difficile and harde to clyme vp vnto, and the greate nombre of bowe shotte, that on vs they discharged, when we enforced our selues thervnto.

This maner of warre was veraye straunge to our people which had not bene accustomed with the maners and courses that oure enemyes

vsed with vs, which neuer woold ioyne together, ner ieoparde all their strength to the auenture of one battayle; but, beinge dispersed and scattered, they prouoked vs with their shotte, to thentent to drawe vs out of araye, and to haue broken our ordre. And, if it happened us to pursue theim, they wer alwayes in a redynes to flye, to thentent to drawe vs ferther of, and to seperate vs one from another, and then, perceauyng vs a litle nombre, they shulde retorne with greater compaignye vpon vs, and easely defeate vs beyng their pursuers, and the lesser nombre; and the same day the horsse-men (whiche turned to our great hurte) caused to come forth with theim oute of the towne a sorte of footemenne of lyke nombre, which being so well trymmed and broken in the feactes of their warre, that they could promptely and readely applye theim selfes to al poyntes and feactes therof, and ranne, when nede was, as swyftlye as the horses theim selfes. Oure people (as is aforesaide) being deceaued with this straunge manner of warre, pursued our enemyes (which so strayed abroade) euen till they came almoost at the walles of the toune of Argier, into the whiche our enemyes hasted to entre, and incontynentlye they of the toune with all spede shot of their artillary, with all other their ordinaunce vpon the pursuers; wherevpon foloed a greate murther and destruccion of our people, in such maner, that many of the Italyans (not exercized in warre) tooke their flyght, and by that meanes there was none lefte to kepe the felde, but the Knyghtes of the Rhodes, with a certen nombre of Italyans, beinge honest menne, whiche regardinge their honour dyd not flye. We then, consyderyng all thinges, did aduyse with our selfes, that our enemyes, seying the flight of our people, woolde not fayle to issue forth to pursue vs, lyke as it came to passe; and we tooke councell to withdrawe vs betwene ii. lytle hilles in suche a secrete place, where a fewe might easely withstande a great nombre. Now then, as I haue writen vnto you, all the place rounde aboute the toune was full of lytle hilles, the which are the cause, that the waye is altogether in a manner noysome, croked ouertwhart, and in many places narowe, according as the hilles stand, some nere, and some ferther of, one from another,

We thus purposyng, and incontinently after our remouyng, behold, our enemyes cam forth of the toune, in great nombre, earnestly intending to haue pursued vs sharply; but assone as they perceaued vs, they began to put in use their accustomed trade, to thentent to drawe vs out of strength, who seing that we wold not come forth, dyd send ther people afore up the mounteignes, to thentent that being aboue vs, they might with stones, and other theyr artyllary, dryue vs oute; the which caused that manye of our people, not being prepared against such sorte of warre, left their place and fled from their strength and holde, not withstanding we enforced vs allwayes to dooe nothinge, that myght redounde to our reproche, and to take as lytle harme as we could; which thinge seing, our enemyes, and hauinge great spyght that so small a compaignie shulde withstand so great a nombre of people, they agreed to drawe nerer, and settinge fiercely forward came vpon vs, with a bonde of horssemenne, against whose commynge, our armoures stood us in good stede. Nowe then, we seinge that all

hope of our lyues dyd lye in wysdome, and boldnes of courage, we purposed rather honestly to dye in battayle, than in flyenge to be myserably destroyed by theim; and this to dooe we wer greatlye incited and sturred withe the hope that we had in the nere commynge and readye succour, which we looked to haue quickly of themperour. And, being thus purposed and confyrmed, we withstode our enemyes by great force of speares. So that when yt chaunced enye of theim to come among vs and to medle with vs; we shortened their passage and slewe theim among vs, which was not hard to dooe, forasmuch as they are not muche accustomed to weare herneysse. And perceauynge this, they drawynge backe, beganne agayne the use of their shotte as they had done before, wher withall they dyd vs much harme, because we were very nygh one to another, and that so greatly, that we were dryuen to breake our ordre, and to saye the trouthe, we were sore troubled; at which tyme, beholde, themperour came polytikly with a compeignye of Allmaignes, whiche when our enemyes perceaued, they left of noyeng and greuyng vs, and gaue vs a lytle leasour and space to breathe our selfes. When themperour had set his armye in the largest places that he could fynde amonge the lytle hilles (of the which, often tymes we haue made mencyon) and our enemyes coulde not well perceaue what was the nombre, because of the hilles which were betwene theim; wherfore, to knowe this, they approched more nearer, but seinge that it auayled nothing, fearynge that if they shuld haue stayd to long viewyng of vs, the themperours men, beyng nere, woolde haue medled with theim; and therfore, they drewe back, and strayte way entred the toune, blowynge the retraicte, and so saued them selfes in the toune in good ceason, lashinge oute, and shotynge of, in all the haste, theyr greate gonnes and harquebusshes; then was themperour himselfe in great daunger, for in the meane while that he was with the vaunt garde, geuyng courage unto theim, that were in the formost brunt. The great Gonnes caryed away v. or vi. of them to whome he spake, and tooke councel of; howbeit, he him selfe neuer chaunged colour, nether shewed eny token of feare in goyng forth with his purpose, as though nothinge had chanced. These thinges thus dooen, and our enemyes gone backe and we deliuered, themperour, with a small losse of his Allmeignes, brought back the armye to the campe. As concernyng the Knyghtes of the Rhodes which were in all, skase the nombre of an hundred, there was viii. of theim that remayned slaine with the Gonnes, and xxx. that skaped being sore wounded. As for the Italyans, whiche remayned among vs, I knowe not for a truthe, howe great the nombre was, nether of theim that wer slaine, ner yet of those that wer hurt and wounded, for because that I my selfe was sore wounded, and for that the great grefe and peine of my woundes caused in me a great maladye and disease, that yt was not possible for me to go vnto one that coulde tell me the nombre. In this meane while that we were thus tormented wyth the wynde, rayne, and enemyes, our shippes of warre, rydyng alongest the coste, were woondrefully turmoyled; and suche was the rage and crueltye of the storme, that there was nether ancre ner gable, the whiche coulde holde theim from breakynge and dashynge against the earthe, or from beatynge one against another, so

that the water entreynge, sanke theim in the depe. And our enemyes much more augmentynge this fortune (whiche seinge aswell our losses as also our other miseryes, bothe of our people and shippes in great nombre) went downe to our arryuage, to thentent to kyll theim, whom the tempest had spared; the which thing seinge, themperour dispatched. ii. M. Spanyardes that brought backe our enemyes, and delyuered the maryners from that perill and danger, whiche was to our smal aduauntage; for the maryners, seing the great daunger of the see, and thassuraunce of the lande, regarded none other thyng but the sauynge of theym selfes, and therfor conueighed theim selfes, oute of the daunger of the water, whiche was the cause that the oftener our shippes dyd beate against the bankes, and so were drouned in great nombre. Suche was this tempest, that xxx. shippes wer lost, which chaunce was so greueous when it was tolde the army, that in maner they wer vtterly put in despayre; for at their comminge foorth of the shippes, to thentent they woolde be the more lyght and hable to iourneye, they pestred not theim selfes with enye necessarye prouisyon, neyther tooke they with theim vytayles, but for ii. dayes onlye, the which wer gone and spent ii. jorneyes before; therfore, consydering a great part of the shippes perisshed, they feared that the rest shuld peryshe in lyke maner, so that, when nede shuld come, there shuld remayne none to cary theim awaye, in such sort that they looked for nothinge more sure then presente death. And seinge that we lacked artillary, and that, on theother side, it boted not, either to seke or hope for vytayles, so that they vtterlye dyspayred of the wynninge of the towne, and this confusyon and despayre endured all that daye and nyght foloynge.

Thre days after, the see somewhat assuaged, but yet not so, that it was possible to haue entreprised the goynge for enye vytayles; and themperour, in this necessite, coulde none otherwyse prouyde for his armye, but commaunded that the horses whyche he had caused to be brought with hym in the barques, to be kylled for the sustentacion of the poore souldyers, the which by the space of iii. dayes dyd eate none other meat; for the tempest, in brusynge and noyenge of the shyppes, had loste and drouned a great quantyte of meale, corn, and bysket, and other vytayles, as peason, beanes, wyne, oyle, and poudered fleshe, with thewhiche they were wel laden at their commyng foorth. And so, by this meanes, there was loste many horses, and a great nombre of artillarye, aswell of that which serued for the safegarde and defence of shippes, as also of that whiche we tooke out for the besegynge and assautynge of the toune, the greatest parte wherof our enemyes might haue tysshed for; and the some of the grayne that we loste was so muche, that skacely ther remayned ynough to serue vs in our journeye homeward, although we made great hast.

The Emperour then, consyderyng all his fortunes and losses, determyned to differre this assaute tyll the next sommer foloynge, or soner, yf he could bryng hys armye; and, therfore, commaunded that euery man should get him to the see-syde; which thynge was much more easyer to be done, then was their landynge. And then was sene there a pyteous and lamentable syght; for the poore souldyers, beyng so feynt, as is aforesayde, wette, and washed with water, from toppe

to too, beyng feble, by sufferynge so longe the great famyne; fynding the way, by which they shuld go, so slabby and slyppery, that many of them, lackyng strength, fell downe pyteously starke ded, or very nigh ded, without hauyng helpe or succour of eny man in the worlde; for the earth, by the reason of the former rayne, was so wette and slyppery, that it was not possible to fynde any place once to rest in; so that, yf any wold haue rested, or stande styll, he was constreigned to staye him selfe vpon his staffe. Neuertheles God alwayes ayded vs, for in thende (except it were a veray small nombre) we with good courage achieued wisely this our retraicte, in such sorte, that, for to come vnto the place where we shuld go aboorde, we passed lustely thorowe thre dytches of ronnynge water, wherin we went vp to the harde gyrdelles; and this retraicte, or fleying backe, endured the space of three dayes.

Nowe then, assone as we were all arryued harde by the shyppes, the emperour commaunded, that, while the Allmeignes and Italyans wente aborde, the Spanyardes (in whome he had a better opinion) shuld tary alande, for the resystence of the enemyes, yf any chaunced to folowe them, and to do asmuch as they myght, that euery man were set aborde: hewbeit, the former tempest had broken and destroyed so many of the lytle botes, by which our people shuld haue bene caryed, one after another, vnto the greate shippes, that it was not possible to boorde in so lytle time as ii. dayes; nether might the Spanyardes came awaye before all was done; and, the third day, then a great nombre of the Spanyardes beyng caryed and borded, the winde beganne to blowe, and the see to swell, in such wise, that they had much adoe to brynge the rest aborde, but yet, at the last, it was dooen. The maryners foreseyng, or perceauyng the tempest, beganne to departe, and they that fyrst were laden, and gone, were moste happy, for the tempest, so encreasynge, would not suffre the other to come of the coste, but of force kept them in, to the great daunger of breakyng theyr shippes agaynste the rockes; so that a Rhodyan, hauynge his gables and ancres broken, was in great daunger to be dryuen in peces agaynste the stones of the bankes; but, by the great laboure of the slaues, at the laste they gate more into the see, and then the masters counceled, rather to put them selfes to the chaunce of the wether, then to remayne there in daunger; the other three, foloynge the purpose of this, dyd, in lyke maner, put them selfes to the fortune of the wether, and, by this meane, at the last arryued al foure at the toune of Buge; which thyng was not done without great laboure and perill, for the one of theim, losynge his rudder, escaped peryshynge very narowlye.

The Emperour, lookyng for the assuagynge of the tempest, dyd remayne, this mean tyme, harde by the shore, thynkynge that, if the rage dyd still contynue, that he woulde, with strength of men, tolle forth his shippes, with lytle botes, into the depth of the see; but forasmuche as he had proued often tymes, and myght not bryng it to passe, and also seynge the tempest contynue, he commaunded to set forward with the shippes, and to folowe the Rhodyans, leauynge behynde him, for the succoure of them that remayned, foure great

gallyes; that afterwarde, as we were informed, wer, by the rygoure and force of the tempest, brosed and beaten agaynst the rockes of the see-bankes, and a great nombre of oure people caste vpon the same bankes, which, beyng destytute of all hope and comforte, commended them selfes to God, purposyng to go towarde the towne of Argiers, to ask mercy of our enemyes, and to put theim selfes vndre raunsome; but the Numidoys, oure enemyes, without any pitie or compassion, slewe them, and destroyed them, before they came nere the toune. Such was thende of the Affricane warre, that what, for the troublesomenes of the tymes, and the great labour which we had endured, we were desyrous of reste; notwithstandynge we obteyned not, for the place would not suffre it; forasmuche as the hauen of Buges had before it no maner of defence to kepe of the wynde and wether commyng from Europe, the which caused that we could not longe remayne there; for the see, beynge vexed and troubled with wynde, brake and brosed our shyppes, in such sorte that we were in no lesse perill then when we escaped at Argiers. Afterwarde, by good chaunce, ther was arryued a ship, laden with corne and other vytayles; the whiche, sone after she was come into the hauen, by the sore tempests and furye of the winde, euen before our eyes, was drouned and sonke; by the which tempeste, although we susteyned no hurte, yet I thought it mete to be spoken of, that ye may knowe what feare we were in. And, after that the see had thus tormented vs a great parte of the daye, at the laste came a myserable and cruel nyght, that vaxed us in such sorte, that we vtterly despayred; but, the day foloynge, the great rage and furye beinge a lytle assuaged and appeased, it began to be somewhat calme. And yer ferther, I had forgotten to tell you, that, durynge this greate tempest, by a wonderfull vyolence of the winde, the captaynes shyppe of the gallyes was caryed, whiche, in commyng to the hauen, had cast ouer boorde both mastes and sayles; whiche tempest vsed no lesse rygorousnes with the shippes of the Rhodyans; for, by a wondrefull violence, it toke vp a bote oute of the shippes, lyftynge it so high, that it had lyke, in the commynge downe, to haue fallen into one of the gallyes; so that it was none other lyke, but the saide tempest woolde haue executed his furye euen vpon all the rest of the shippes, as that dyd vpon theim that skaped from Argier.

And, after this great tempest, the see beyng some what appeased; on the which, because we durst not sayle, we were in daunger to haue perished for hungre; for, although Buges was oures, yet we had much adoe to get enye succour of theim; for the Mores (agaynst whome our people, dwellynge in the saide toune, haue alwayes warre) doe occupye, and holde all the countre and regions therabout; so that we coulde haue no maner of succoure ner aide of them, for lacke of corne and greyne, whiche alwayes was brought to theim out of Spayne. And for because that, a longe tyme before, ther cam no shippe out of Spayne that had brought theim enye grayne; and also, for that we arryued there, being many in nombre, therefore we coulde not be much ayded by theim.

And, after that themperour had consydered all these parylles and daungers, both he and all his people gaue them selues to prayer vnto

God, and receaved the holye sacrament, to pacefye the yre and wrath of Almighty God; and, after the chaungyng of the mone, the rage and fury of the wynde ceased, and the see waxed calme. In the whiche tyme of feare, and that the good occasion and conuenyent tyme of our departure shoulde not be loste, the captayne of the knightes of the Rhodes, hauyng communicacyon with themperour, obteyned to haue a certayne compauye with him, with whome Fernand Gonzaga goyng, I my selfe also departed from the sayde place, and we arryued at the towne of Tunes: but themperour, by the councell of Andridore, captayne of hys nauye, dyd remayne tyll the tempest was more allayed. And, partyng from Tunes, we came to Dextran, which is in Sicyle; and anone after, we had made certayne oblacyons and offerynges to the Blessed Vyrgyne, we went to Pauoram; in the whiche place I bethought my self of certen business of myne owne, which I had put of tyll my retourne from Affrique; and yet, for all that, I made towarde Rome as fast as I coulde, where I was constreyned to tarye, for that my sores and woundes so sore vexed and tormented me; and to the entent that, in the meane tyme, I woolde not be found ydle, I was wyllynge to compile and gather this little treatyse of the iorneye made into Affrique; in the whiche, I make no mencion of the noble actes of the valyant capteynes, for that woolde conteygne to long a matre.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

A BREFE CHRONYCLE,

Concerning the

EXAMINACION AND DEATH

Of the blessed Martir of Christ,

SIR IOHAN OLDCASTELL, THE LORD COBHAM,

Collected together by

JOHAN BALE.*

In the latter time shall many be chosen, proued and purgfyed byfyre, yet shall the vngodly lyue wickedly styll, and haue no vnderstanding. Dan. xii. 10.

Imprinted at London, by Anthony Scoloker, and Wyllyam Seres, dwelling wythout Aldersgate.

Cum Gratia & Priuilegio ad Imprimendum solum.

This is printed from the first edition in octavo, containing seven sheets, in a black old English letter. In the title-page is a curious frontispiece cut in wood, representing Sir John Oldcastle, in a warlike posture, with his armour,

* See p. 202. Vol. I.

helmet, and shield, in his left hand, on which is engraven a crucifix, with a Virgin Mary on one side, and Sir John on the other; and with a drawn sword flamed at the point, in his right hand; the whole being circumscribed with this inscription:

☞ Sir. Iohan. Oldcastle. the. worthy. ✠
Lord. Cobham. and. mooste. valyaunt.
Warryoure. of. IESU. Chryste. ✠
Suffred. Death. at. London. Anno. 1418.

If we would trace the grounds of this persecution and process against Sir John Oldcastle, and other holy martyrs hereafter mentioned, it will be necessary to look back to the reign of Edward the Third, when, a great contest happening at Oxford between the monks and seculars, Dr. John Wickliff attacked the exorbitant jurisdiction of the Pope and bishops, and was supported by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Henry Lord Piercy. This, of consequence, drew upon him the invectives of the clergy; but, though he was summoned and appeared to the Archbishop of Canterbury's citation before a council held on purpose at London, he so defended himself, and was so well protected by the Duke of Lancaster, then in the chief management of the government, that he was acquitted; yet the Pope, being informed of what had past, demands satisfaction of him; but all that followed, upon this occasion, was his second citation before a council at Lambeth, where he was prohibited to preach against the Church of Rome, which he no ways regarded: for, Edward being dead, and the realm much troubled, during the minority of Richard the Second, Wickliff spread his opinions openly, and gained many disciples. So that he was again summoned to appear before William Courtnay, Archbishop of Canterbury, eight other bishops, and several doctors at London, in May 1382; where they laid many heretical and erroneous doctrines to his charge, condemned them, and obtained a power from King Richard to seize upon and imprison such as taught or wrote the said doctrines with most warmth. I do not believe that Wickliff was so overawed with this acquisition of the Ecclesiasticks, as to recant his just opposition of the abominations of the church of Rome, as the Popish writers pretend; but this I am certain of, that he died soon after, upon his living at Lutterworth, on the thirty first of December, 1384, leaving many writings in defence of his doctrines, and many disciples to teach and defend them, even with their blood.

Wickliff's death at first gave the Ecclesiasticks some hopes of suppressing his heresy, as they called it. But, when Thomas Arundel succeeded Courtnay in the see of Canterbury, he found his works so much admired and defended, that, in a council held at London in 1396, he condemned eighteen more propositions collected from the said works, and became the greatest persecutor of all those that maintained his doctrines, amongst whom was this noble champion in Christ, Sir John Oldcastle.

The Archbishop being extremely incensed against the Lollards, which was now become a general name for the followers of Wickliff, or any others that opposed the exorbitancies of the Pope and prelates, priests or monks, had obtained of the late King an order to send commissioners to Oxford, to take informations concerning the doctrine of the Wickliffites; thereby to discover the chief abettors of that heresy, and by what means it was spread so generally over the kingdom, and especially in the dioceses of London, Hereford, and Rochester. These commissioners returned while the convocation sat, during the time of Parliament, and the Archbishop laid their informations before it; where, after several debates, it was resolved necessary to inflict exemplary punishment on the principal favourers of the Lollard heresy, before it could be rooted out. Then it was concluded, that Sir John Oldcastle, Baron of Cobham, was their chief favourer and protector; and therefore he ought and should be first attacked, and a process formed against him for heresy, as here you will find, in terror to the whole sect.

THE PREFACE.

In the prophane histories* of old oratours and poetes, both Grekes and Latines, are they moch commended and thought worthy of æternall memory, whyche have eyther dyed for theyr naturall countrey, or daungered theyr liues for a commenwelthe. As we reade of Codrus, that was King of Athens, of Quintus Curcius, the Romane, of Ancurus, the Phrigiane, Vlysses, Hermas, Theseus, Menesius, Scipio Aphricanus, Mucius Sceuola, Valerius Cocles, the two bretheren of Carcago, which were both called Philenus, and the thre noble Decianes, with other diuerse. In the sacred scryptures† of the Byble, hath Moyses, Iosue, Gedeon, Iepthe, Debera, Iudith, Dauid, Helias, Iosias, Zorobabel, Mathathias, Eleasarus, and the Machabees theyr just prayses for theyr mighty zele and manyfold enterpryses concerning the childeren of Israell. Among the Papistes‡ also, which are a moost prodigious kinde of men, are they moost hyghly auaunced by lyeng signes, false miracles, erroniouse writtinges, shrines, relykes, lyghtes, tabernacles, aulters, sensinges‖, songes and holydays, which haue bene slayne, for the lyberties, priuileges, auctoritee, honour, ryches and proude maintenance of theyr § holy whorysh church**.

¶ As were Antidius, Bonifacius, Benno, Thomas Becket, Iohan the Cardinall, Petrus de Castronouo, Peter of Millaine, Paganus, Stanislaus of Cracouia, Steuen Colyer of Tholose, Bonauenture of Padua, Iulianus the Cardinall of S. Angell. And in our tyme Iohan Fysher, Thomas More, Fryre Forest, Reynoldus, and the Charterhouse monkes, whiche suffred here in Ingland, with an infinite nombre more. What is than to be thought of those†† godly and valyaunt warryours, which haue not spared to bestow their moost dear liues for the veritee of Iesu Christ, against the malygnaunt mustre of that execrable Antichryst of Rome, the deuels‡‡ own vicar? Of whose gratyous nombre, a very speciall membre and vessel of God's election, was that vertuous knight, Sir Iohan Oldcastell, the good Lord Cobham, as wil plentuously appeare in this processe following.

He, that hath iudgement in the spyrite, shall easely perceyue by this treatise, what beastly blockheades these blody bellygods were in theyr vnsauery interrogations; and again what influence of grace this man of God had from aboue concerning his answeres, specyally in that moost blind and ignoraunt tyme, wherein all was but darknesse, the sonne appearing sacke-clothe, as St. John‖‖ hath in the Apocalyps: most surely fulfilled Christs promes in him, which he made to his Apostles, 'Cast not in your minde aforehande (saith he§§) what answere ye shall make, whan these spiritual tyrauntes shall examine you in theyr sinagoges, and so deliuer you vp vnto kinges

* Plutarch, Propert. Cicero. Catullus, Horatius, Lucanus. † Exod. xiv. Eccles. iv. 5. Iudicum xi. Reg. xvij. 2 Mach. vi ‡ Sigebertus Bemblacensis. ‖ The offering of insense to the host and reliques and images, &c. as it is used in the church of Rome. § Petrus Equilinus. ** Wicleuius, Vincentius, Leander, Volateranus Æneas. Ioan. E. c. †† Heb. xi, Act. v. Apoc. Iohan. viii. ‖‖ Iohan iii. Apoc. vi. §§ Luke xxi. Math. x. Mark xiii. Luke xii.

and debitees. For I will geue you such vtteraunce and wisdom in that houre, as all your enemies shall neuer be able to resist.' This onely sentence of Christ is ynough to proue him* his true disciple, and them, in their folyshe questions, the manifest members of Sathan. I remembre that, xiiij. yeares ago, the tru seruaunt of God, Wyllyam Tindale, put into the prent a certain brefe examination of the sayd Lord Cobham. The which examinacion was written in the tyme of the sayd Lordes trouble, by a certein frinde of his, and so reserued in copyes vnto this our age. But sens that tyme I have found it in theyr owne writtings (which were than his vttre ennemyes) in a moche more ample fourme than there. Speciallye in the great processe, which Thomas Arundell, the Archbisshop of Caunterbury, made than against him, written by his owne notaryes and clerkes, tokened also with his owne signe and seale, and so directed vnto Rychard Clyfford, than Bisshop of London, with a generall commaundement to haue it then publisshed by him, and by the other bisshops, the whole realme ouer.

Furthermore, I have seane it in a copye of the writting†, whiche the said Rychard Clyfforde sent unto Robert Mascall, a Carmelyte Fryer, and Bisshop of Herforde, vnder his signe and seale, and in a copye of his, also directed to the Archdeacons of Herforde and Shrewesbury. The yere, moneth, and daye of theyr date, with the beginninges of theyr writtinges, shall hereafter follow in the boke, as occasion shall require it. Besides all this, Thomas Walden, being in those daies the Kinges confessour, and present at his examinacion, condemnacion, and excreacion ‡, registered it amonge other processes more in his boke, called Fasciculus Zizaniorum Wicleuij. He maketh mention of it also in his first Epistle to Pope Martyne the Fifth, and in his solempne sermon de Funere Regis. Onely such reasons haue I added thereunto, as the afore named Thomas Walden‖ proponed to him in the tyme of the examinacion, as he mentioneth in his first and second bokes aduersus Wicleuistas, with the maner of his godly departing out of his frayle lyfe, which I found in other writtinges and chronycles. His youth was full of wanton wyldenes, before he knewe the scryptures, as he reporteth in his answere, and for the more part vnknowen vnto me; therefore I writ it not here. His father, the Lord Reynold of Cobham, Ioseph Frosyart nombreth alwaies amongest the moost worthy warriours of Ingland.

In all aduenterous actes of worldely manhode was he euer bold, strong, fortunate, doughty, noble, and valeaunt. But neuer so worthy a conquerour as in this his present conflyct with the cruell and furyous frantick kingdome of Antichryst. Farre is this Christen Knight more prayse-worthy, for that he had so noble a stomake in defence of Chrystes veritee agaynst those Romish supersticions, than for any temporall nobilities eyther of bloode, byrth, lands, or marciall feates. For many thousandes hath had in that great corrage, which in the other haue bene most faynt-harted cowards, and very desperate

* Sir John Oldcastle. † Thomas Walden in Fasciculo Zizaniorum Wicleuij. ‡ al. Excreacyon.
‖ Walden. Cont. Wicleuistas, in prologo doct. vii. lib. ii. cap. lxvi.

dastards, whereas he perseuered most faithfully constaunt to the ende. Many Popish parasites, and men-pleasing flatterers, haue written large commendacions and encomies of those ; but, of such noblemen as this was, very few, or in a maner none at all. Whan I sometime rede the workes of som men lerned, I meruayle not a lytle to see them so aboundaunt in vayne flatteryng prayses for matters of no value, yea, for thinges to be dispraysed rather than praysed, of menne that were godly wyse.

Polydorus Virgilius,* a collectour somtyme in Ingland of the Popes Peter-pens, and afterwarde archdeacon of Welles, hath in this point deformed his writtinges greatly, pointinge our Inglysh chronycles moost shamefully with his Romish lyes, and other Italysh beggery. Battels hath he described there at large wyth no small discommendings of some princes, whiche were godlye ; but the priue packing of prelates and craftie conscience† of the spiritualtee hath he in euery place almoost full properly passed ouer. He was to familyar with the bishops and toke to moch of their counsell, whan he compiled the xxvi. bokes of his Inglysh hystory. And not greatly is the land beholden vnto him in that worke, for any large prayse of erudicyon that he hath geuen it there‡. A singular beautee is it to the Chrysten relygion, whan theyr auncient monumentes are garnished among others with men of freshe lyterature, which therin hath small remembraunce or none. Unlesse it be Gildas, Bedas, Alcuinus, Ioannes Scotus, Aldelmus, Neuburgus, and one or two more, none are in that whole worke mencioned concerning that, as though Ingland had alwaies bene most barren of men lerned. This do I not wryte in disprayse of his lerning (which I know to be very excellent) but for the abuse therof, being a most syngular gyft of God.

I wold wyshe som learned Inglysh man (as there are now most excellent fresh wyttes) to set forth the Inglysh Chronclyes in their right shape, as certein other landes hath done afore them, al affections set a-part. I can not think a more necessarye thing to be laboured to the honour of God, bewty of the realme, erudicion of the people, and commoditie of other landes, next the sacred scryptures of the Byble, than that work wold be. For, trulye, in those they haue there yet, is vyce more auaunsed than virtu, and Romish blasphement, in the lamentable history here following, and such other, which hath bene long hyd in the darke. Marke diligently the sentence of the said Polidorus, concerning this good Lord Cobham, and thervpon consider his good workemanship in other maters. In the counsell of Constance (saith he§) was the heresye of Iohan Wicleue condempned, and two at the same tyme burned in that cyte which were the chefe heades of that secte. All this is true, though the feate handeling thereof be altogether Italysh.

But whereas he saith after, that, whan this was ones knowen to their companyons in Ingland, they conspired in their madnesse against the whole clergye, and finally against the kinge also, for that he was than

* Polidorus Anglice Historye. Lib. iv. † al. Conveyaunce. ‡ No men are lerned with him, but Italyanes. § Polidorus Anglice Historie, Lib. xxii.

a fauter of Christen relygion, hauing to their great captaynes Sir Iohan Oldcastell and Sir Roger Acton, he maketh a most shamfull lye: For how coulde Sir Roger, with his companye, conspire vpon that occasyon, being dead more * than iiij yeres afore? And Sir Iohan Oldcastell remaining all that season in Wales? Iohan Hus suffered death † at Constaunce, the year of our Lord, a. M. cccc. xv. in July. Hierom of Prage, in the yere of our Lord, a. M. cccc. & xvj. in May, whiche were the two heades he speketh of. Sir Roger Acton was brent with his companye in the yere of our Lord, a. M. cccc. xiij. in January, as witnesseth Walden, Fabian, and Iohan Maior, in their chronycles and writtinges. Nowe reken these nombers and yeres, and marke the proper conueyance of this Romish gentelman ‡, the Popes collectour, to clought vp that crooked kingdom of theyrs. He can by such legerdemaine both please his frindes in Ingland, and also at Rome.

Also that he followeth with lye vpon lye, as that they came than to London, to destroy the king; that he in his own person met wyth them there in armes, that they cowardly fledde, that som were taken there, and brent out of hand, and that the Lord Cobham and Sir Roger Acton were cast into the Tower of London upon that occasyon. Semeth it not a mater somwhat lyke to the purpose (thinke ye) that men should be there burned for making such an insurrection or tumult? I trowe he hath cobled here somwhat workemanly. And whereas he saith in the end, that the king thervpon made an acte, that they from thensforth shuld be taken as traitours against his owne persone, whiche were proued to follow that secte, he maketh an abominable ly §. For that acte was made only at the bi-shops complainte and false sute in the fyrst yere of his reigne, and by force of that acte those innocent men than suffred. More than iiij. hundreth of such manifest lyes coude I gather out of his chronycles, moch more than might more eyes and iudgements do.

Now lett vs expend what the true cause shuld be of this godly mannes condemnacion and death, all dreames of Papistes set a-part. The truth of it is, that, after he had ones throughlye tasted the Chrysten doctrine of Iohan Wicleue and of his disciples, and perceived their liuinges agreeable to the same, he abhorred all the supersticious sorceries (ceremonies I shuld say) of the proud Romish church. From thensforth he brought all thinges to the touchestone of God's word. He tryed all maters by the Scryptures, and so proued their spyrites, whether they were of God or nay.‖ He maintained such preachers in the dioceses of Caunterbury, London, Rochester, and Herforde, as the bisshoppes were sore offended with. He exhorted theyr pryestes to a better waye by the gospell, and, whan that wolde not helpe, he gave them sharpe rebukes. He admonished ** the kinges, as Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth, and Henry the Fifth, of the clergyes manifolde abuses, and put into the parlament-

* More than two years before the death of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. I apprehend the iij. has been a fault of the press; because the exact time is described a few lines below.
† Acta Consilii Constantiensis. ‡ Polidore Virgil.
§ Waldenus in Sermone de Funere Regis. ‖ Iohan. iii. 1 Thess. v. Math. vii. 1 Iohan iv.
** Walden. in Fasciculo Zizaniorum Wicleuii.

house certein bokes, concerning their iust reformation, both in the yere of our Lord, a. M. ccc. xcv. and in the yere a. M. cccc. x. Of the first boke, this is the beginning*: *Prima conclusio. Quando Ecclesia Angliæ, &c.* which I have here left oute, least thys treatyse shuld be to great. The other boke was made by one Johan Purueye, a master of art of Oxforde. Beside the xviij. conclusions that Master Johan Wicleue had put in long afore that.

In the yere of our Lord a. M. ccc. xci. this noble Lord Cobham † with certein other more, mocioned the king at Westminster, at the time of his parlament, that it were very commodious to Ingland, if the Romish bisshoppes auctoritee extended no further than the Occeane Sea, or the hauen of Calys, consydering the charges and vnquietnes of sutes there, and that mens causes coulde not be throughlye knowen so farre of. Wherevpon the king made this acte by consent of his lordes, that no man from thensforth should sue to the Pope in any mater, nor publysh any excommunication of his, vnder payne of losing their goodes, with perpetuall imprisonnement ‡. Thys and the aforenamed boke had cost him with Sir John Cheny and other more his lyfe, in the sixt yere after, at the crafty accusement of certein prelates (though it hath in the chronycles ‖ an other colour) had not God than moost graciously preserued him. An other cause of his death, yet, besides all that hath been sayd afore, was this: He caused § all the workes of John Wicleue to be written at the instaunce of Iohan Huss, and to be sent into Boheme, Fraunce, Spayne, Portingale, and other landes. Whereof Subinco Lepus, the archbisshop of Prage, caused ** more than two hundreth volumes fayre written openly to be brent afterwarde, as witnesseth Æneas Siluius, de Origine Bohemorum.

These causes knowen, with other more that I coulde reherse, consider whether the world. that is alwaies so wicked, was worthye to †† holde soche a noble Chrysten warryour as this was, or naye? Consyder also the iust punyshment of the Lorde for wycked lawes that were than made, with the exceding mischeues that the spiritualte ‡‡ than vsed. And way the miserable estate that the realme was in sone after, for contempt of his eternali word. And thervpon lawd his rightuousnes, and beware of lyke contempt and plage in these dayes. In the florishyng tyme, euen in the beginnyng of the xxxvii. yere of his age ‖‖, which was about foure yeres after the death of thys Lord Cobham. His sonne Henry the Sixt successed in hys rome, and had the gouernaunce of this whole realme, being but a babe of eight moneth §§ old, and odde dayes. What a dolour was this vnto men of rype discretyon naturally louing their countrey, and regarding the common-welth therof? Yea what a plage of God was it, after the scryptures ***, to haue a yong child to their kyng? And that it shuld the more manifestly appeare to com that waye, or, of the stroke of God, he was a childysshe thing all the dayes of his lyfe.

* Fabianus. † Walden. Polidorus in Histor Anglorum, Lib. xx.
‡ Treuisa in Addicionibus Cestrensis, Polidorus. ‖ Fabianus, Polidorus.
§ Walden. cont. Wicleui. Lib. ii. cap. 70. ** Acta Consilii Constanciensis Hermannus, Shedel.
†† Hebr. xi. Esay x. Nahum iii. ‡‡ Viz. the clergy. §§ Waldenus in Sermone de Funere Regis. §§ Al. Monethe.. *** Esay. iii.

'I shall geue you,' sayth the Lorde* in his hyghe dyspleasure, 'Chylderen to be your princes, and yonge infauntes without wisdome shal haue the gouuernaunce of you.' What wretched calamities the realme suffred afterward for the space of more than fourscore yeres, and thre, tyl the dayes of King Henry the Seuenth, it is vnspeakable. Sens the preaching of Iohan Wicleue, hath the Lorde suffred the pompouse Popysh prelates to shew themselues forth in theyr owne ryghte coulours, that they myght now in the lyght of hys gospel appeare, as they are in dede; euen spightful murtherers, ydolaters and sodomites. Afore hys tyme, they lurked vnder the glyttering shyne of hypocresye, and coulde not be seane in their mastryes. The fryers with their charminge sophistrye threwe such a darke myst ouer the vniuersall worlde, that supersticyon coulde not be knowen for supersticyon, nor ydolatrye for ydolatrye.

Unspeakable fylthynes of all fleshly occupieng was than called pryestes chastitee, as it is yet, and will be tyl it come to the hyghest, that God may take ful vengeaunce. Then was whoordom † worshiped in prelates of the churche, and sacred wedlocke rekened such a detestable vyce as was worthy in a pryest ‡ moost cruell death. As was seane for example in Sir Wyllyam Wyghts, whiche was brent || for the same at Norwych, in the yeare of our Lorde 1428.

Thus was whight iudged blacke, and lyght darkenesse, so yll was mens syghte in those dayes. By soch meanes (sayth the prophet §) 'they drewe wickednes vnto them, as it were with a corde, and all kindes of synne, as yt were with a cart rope.' If Englond, at that tyme, had not bene vnthankfull for the syngular benefyght that God than sent them by those good menne, the dayes of Antichryst and his beastly brood had bene shortened there longe agoo, as it is euen now, and here after lyke to be more largely. A moost orient** freshe myrrour of Chrysten manhode appeareth thys worthye Lord Cobham in our age, the veritee now open, which was, in her absens, a lampe of contempt before worldlye wyse men. In him, maye noble men beholde here plainlye a moost noble stomake and pretiouse faith, in the middes of great Antichrystes morde mustre: His corrage was of suche value that it gaue hym the victory ouer them by the clere iudgement of the scryptures††, what though the worldes iudgement be farre otherwise. And as for the cruel death, which he most contumeliously suffred, it is now vnto him a most plentuouse winning ‡‡, for in the iust quarell was it of his Lord Jesus Christ.

Myght those bloudy blusterers haue had their full swaye now of late, they wolde haue made more Oldcastells, Actons, Brownes, and Beuerlays; yea, they wolde haue made there a greater hauocke vpon Christes congregation, than euer did Paul in his raging furie |||. They ment more than they vttered, whan they approched so nigh (as did cruell Haman) to the presence of noble Assuerus §§. But, blessed be the eternall Father, whiche hath geuen suche godlye wysdome vnto our moost worthy kyng, that he, perceyuing their sleyghtes, so abated

* Id. ib. † Apoc. xviii. ‡ The Church of Rome forbids its priests to marry.
|| Walden in utroque Opere. § Esay. ** Rising or early. †† 1 Johan. v. 1 Cor. xv.
‡‡ Phil. I. Apol. 1. ||| Act. viii. §§ Hester v.

their tyrannouse fercenes. Praye noble men, pray, yea with the true clergye and comunes, that, lyke as he hath now with Duke Iosue the ouerhande of wycked Hierico *, by his onely gift, and is through that becomen an whole perfyght kyng † within his own realme farre aboue all his predecessours, so that he may in conclusion ouerthrow her clerely. For as yet the dredefull damsell ‡ (tirannye) that was Cayphas dorekeper, dwelleth in the houses ‖ of bisshoppes, and dayly compelleth poore Petre to deny his master. As many eyes, as euer had vygylaunt Argus, had he nede to haue, that is compassed with soch a sort, as are the broode of the wilye serpent. Consyder what heauenly things ye haue receyued of the scryptures vndre hys permissyon, and yet pray ones again for his gratiouse continuance to the more increace of knowledge. *Amen.*

O Babylon, *thy marchauntes were prinees of the earth. And with thyne Inchauntementes were all nations deceyued.* Apocal. xviii.

The great Processe of Thomas Arundell, the Archbisshop of Caunterbury, and of the Papisticall Clergye with him, agaynst the most noble Knight, Sir Iohan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, in the Yere of our Lord, a. M. cccc. and xiii. wherin is conteyned hys Examinacion, Imprisonnement, and Excommunication.

The Processe before his Examinacion.

AFTER that the true seruaunt of Iesus Chryst, Iohan Wicleue §, a man of very excellent lyfe, and learning, had, for the space of more than xxvi. years, moost valeauntly battelled with the great antichryst of Europa, or pope of Rome, and his dyuersly disgysed ¶ host of anointed hypocrites, to restore the church again to the pure estate that Chryst left her in at hys ascensyon, he departed hens most christenly into the handes of God, the yere of our Lord 1387, and was buried in his own parish-church of Lutterworth, in Lincolnshere **. No small nombre of godly disciples left that good man behynd hym to defende the lowlynesse of the gospell agaynst the exceading pryde, ambition, symony, auarice, ipocrysye, whoredom, sacrylege, tyrannye, ydolatrouse worshipinges, and other fylthy frutes of those stifnecked pharysees. Agaynst whome Thomas Arundell, than Archbisshop of Caunterbury, so fierce as euer was Pharao, Antiochus, Herodes, or Cayphas, collected, in Pauls church at London, an vniversall sinode ††

* Iosue vi. † Having thrown off the supremacy and impositions of the Pope and See of Rome, and declared himself Supreme Head over all persons as well ecclesiastical, as civil, in his dominions. ‡ Matth. xxvi. John xvii. ‖ Walden in Sermone.
§ Ex Operibus & Scriptis Thome Waldeni. ¶ Priests and friars, who dressed themselves in various sorts of habits. ** It should be Leicestershire.
†† Thomas Arundell in magno processu.

of all the pàpisticall clergye of England, in the yere of our Lord a M.cccc. & xiii. as he had done diuerse other afore, to withstand their moost godly enterpryse. And thys was the fyrst yere of King Henry the Fifth, whome they had than made fit for theyr hande.

As these hygh prelates, with theyr pharysees and scribes, were thus gathered in thys pestilent counsell against the Lord *, and his worde, fyrst there resorted vnto them the xii. inquisitours of heresyes (whome they had apointed at Oxford the yere afore, to serche out heretikes, with all Wickcleues bokes) and they brought two hundreth and lxvi. faithfull conclusyons whome they had collected as heresyes of the seyd bokes. The names of the seyd inquisitours were these †: Iohan Witnam, a master in the New College, Iohan Langedon, monke of Chry-church in Caunterbury, William Ufforde, regent of the Carmelytes, Thomas Plaxton, regent of the Dominikes, Robert Gylbert, Rycharde Earthysdale, Iohan Lucke, Rycharde Snedisham, Richarde Flemming, Thomas Rottborne, Robert Rondbery, and Rycharde Grafdale. In the meane season caused they theyr hyred seruauntes to blowe it forth abroade throughout all the whole realme, that they were there congregated for an wholesome vnitee and reformacion of the churche of Ingland, to stoppe so the mouthes of the comen people. Such is always the comen practise of these subtile sorcerers, whyls they are in doing mischief, to blere the eyes of the vnlerned multytude, with one false craft or other.

After a certein communication, they concluded among themselues, that it was not possible for them to make whole chrystes cote without seme (meaning thereby their patched popysh synagoge) onlesse certeyn great men were brought out of the way, which semed to be the chefe mainteiners of the seyd dysciples of Wicleue. Among whome the most noble knight Sir Iohan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, was complained of by the generall proctours, yea rather betrayers, of Chryst in his faithfull membres, to be the chefe principall. Him they accused first, for a mighty maintener of suspected preachers in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Herforde, contrary to the mindes of their ordynaries. Not only they affirmed him to haue sent thyther the seid preachers, but but also to haue assisted them there, by force of armes: notwithstanding their sinodall constitution made afore to the contrarye. Last of all, they accused him, that he was farre otherwise in beleue of the sacrament of the altre, of penaunce, of pilgrymage, of ymage worshipping, and of the ecclesiastycall power, than the holy churche of Rome had taught many yeres afore.

In the ende, it was concluded amonge them, that, wythoute anye farther delaye, processe shulde oute agaynst hym, as agaynst a moost pernycyous heretike.

Som of that Felloushyp, whyche were of more craftye experyence than the other, wold in no case haue that mater so rashlye handeled, but thought thys Waye moche better: consydering the said Lord Cobham was a man of great byrthe, and in fauer at that tyme with the Kyng; theyr counsell was to know first the Kynges mynde, to saue all

* Iohan iii. Psalm i. Psalm ii. † Walden. in Fasciculo Zizaniorum Wicleuii.

thynges right up. This counsell was well accepted, and therypon the Archbisshop, Thomas Arundell, wyth his other bisshoppes, and a great part of the clergye, went strayght wayes vnto the Kyng, as than remayninge at Kenyngton, and there layed forth moost greuous complayntes against the seid Lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemysh, beinge a man moost godly.

The Kyng gentilly harde those bloud-thursty rauenours, and, farre otherwise than became* his princelye dignitie, he instantly desyred them, that, in respect of his noble stock and knighthoode, they shuld yet favourably deal with him; and that they wold, if it were possible, without all rigour, or extreme handeling, reduce him againe to the churches vnitee. He promised them also, that in case they were not contented, to take some delyberacion, his selfe wold seryously common the mater with him.

And after the kyng sent for the seyd Lord Cobham; and, as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him, betwixt him and him, to submit himselfe to hys mother the holy church, and, as an obedient child, to acknowledge himselfe culpable. Vnto whome the christen knight made this answere: you moost worthy prince, saith he, am I always prompt and wylling to obeye, for so moche as I knowe you a Christen Kyng, and the appointed minister of God †, bearing the sworde to the punishment of all yll doers, and for the sauegarde of them that be vertuous. Unto you, next my æternal God, owe I my whole obedience, and submit me therevnto, as I haue done euer, all that I haue eyther of fortune or nature, redy at all times to fulfill whatsoeuer ye shall in that ‡ Lorde commaund me: but as touching the Pope, and his spiritualty, truly I owe them neither sute nor seruice; for so moch as I knowe him by the scriptures ‖, to be the great antichryste, the sonne of perdicyon, the open adversary of God, and the abhominacyon standing in the holy place. When the Kyng had hearde this, with sochelyke sentences more, he wolde talke no longer with him, but lefte hym so vtterly.

And, as the archbisshop resorted again vnto him for an answere, he gaue him his full auctoritee § to cyte him, examine him, and punysshe him, according to the develish decrees, whiche they call the lawes of holye church. Than the seyd archbisshop, by the counsell of hys other bisshoppes and clergye, appointed to call before him Sir Iohan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, and to cause him personally to appeare to answere to suche suspect articles as they shuld lay against him. So sent he forth his chefe sommener, with a very sharp citacion vnto the castell of Cowling ¶, where as he at that tyme dwelt for his solace. And as the seyd sommener was thether comen, he durste in no case entre the gates of so noble a man, without his lycens, and therfore he returned home agayne, hys message not done. Than called the archbysshop one Iohan Butler vnto him, which was then the dorekeeper of the Kynges priue chamber, and with him he covenaunted, through

* Because he should not have stooped so low, as to yield to their arbitrary proceedings, but, by his supreme power, secured his good servant from their tyrannical usurpations.

† Rom. xiii. 1 Pet. ii. ‡ Viz. Life and fortune. ‖ 2 Thess. ii. Mat. xxiiii.

§ Ex vetusto Exemplari Londinensium. ¶ Al. Towlynge.

promises and rewardes, to haue this mater craftely brought to passe vnder the Kynges Name. Whereupon the seyd Iohan Butler toke the Archbysshops sommener with hym, and went vnto the sayd Lord Cobham, shewing him, that it was the Kynges pleasure that he shuld obeye that citacyon, and so cyted him fraudulently. Than said he vnto them in fewe wordes, That in no case wold he consent to those most deuelysh practises of the pryestes. As they had informed the Archbisshop of that answere, and that it was mete for no man priuately to cyte him after that, without parell of lyfe: he decreed by and by to haue him cyted by publike processe, or open commaundment. And in all the hast possible, vpon the Wednysday before the natiuite of oure ladye, in September, he commaunded letters citatory to be set vpon the great gates of the cathedral church of Rochester (which was but iii. English myles from thens) charging him to appeare personally before him at Ledys in the xi. daye of the same moneth and yere, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those letters were taken downe anon after, by such as bare fauer vnto the Lord Cobham, and so conveyed asyde. After that caused the Archbisshoppe newe letters to be set vpon the natiuitee daye of our ladye, whiche also were rent downe, and vtterly consumed.

Than for so moche as he did not appeare at the daye appoynted at Ledys, (where as he sate in consistory, as cruell as euer was Cayphas, with his court of hipocrites about him) he iudged him, denounced him, and condemned him of most depe contumacy. After that whan he had bene falsely informed by his hired spyes, and other glosing glauerers *, that the sayd Lord Cobham had lawghed him to scorne, disdayned all hys doings, mainteined his old opinions, contemned the churches power, the dignite of a bisshop, and the ordre of the pryesthode (for all these was he than accused) in hys mody madnes without iust profe, dyd he openly excomunicate him; yet was he not with all this ferce tirranny qualifyed, but commaunded him to be cited afresh, to appeare afore him the Saturday before † the feast of St. Matthew the apostle, with these cruell threatninges added thereunto: that, if he did not obey at the daye, he wold more extremely handle him. And, to make himselfe more strong towardes the performance thereof, he compelled the laypower by most terrible menacinges of curses and interdictions, to assyst him against that sedicious apostate, schismatike, that heretike, that troubler of the publycke peace, that enemye of the realme, and great adversarye of all holy church; for all these hateful names dyd he giue him.

This most constaunt seruaunt of the Lord, and worthy Knight, Sir Iohn Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, beholding the vnpacable fury of antichryst, thus kindled against him, perceiuing himself also compased on euery side with deadly daungers, he toke paper and penne in hand, and so wrote a Christen confession, or rekening of his faith (whiche followeth hereafter) and both signed and sealed it with his owne hande. Wherin he also answereth to the iiii. chefest articles that the archbisshop layed against him. That doone, he tooke the copye with him, and

* Tale-bearers.

† After the feast of St. Matthew it being the 23d, whereas St. Matthew falls on the 21st.

went therewith to the Kyng, trustinge to fynd mercy and fauer at his hande. None other was that confession of his, than the common beleue, or somme of the churches faith, called the Apostles Crede, of all christen men than used. As thus:

The Christen Beleue of the Lord Cobham.

I BELEUE in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heauen and Earth. And in Iesu Chryst his only sonne our Lord, whiche was conceyued by the Holy Gost, borne of the Virgyn Mary, suffred vnder Ponce Pilate, crucified, dead and buried; went doun to Helle, the third daye rose againe from death, ascended vp to heauen, sitteth on the right hande of God the Father Almightye, and from thens shall come agayne to iudge the quicke and the dead. I beleue in the Holy Gost, the vniuersall holy churche, the communion of sainctes, the forgeuenes of sinnes, the vprising of the flesh, and everlasting life. Amen.

And for a more large declaration (saith he) of this my faith in the catholik church, I stedfastly beleue that there is but one God Almighty, in and of whose godhead are these iij. parsonnes the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Gost, and that those iij. parsonnes are the same selfe God Almightye*. I beleue also that the seconde parsonne of this most blessed trinite†, in most conuenient tyme appointed thereunto afore, toke flesh and bloud of the most blessed Virgyn Mary, for the sauegard and redempcion of the vniversall kynd of man, which was afore lost in Adams offence. Moreouer I beleue that the same Iesus Chryst our Lord, thus being both God and man, is the onely head of the whole Christen churche, and that all those that hath bene or shal be saued, be membres of this most holy churche. And this holy church I think to be divided in to iij. sortes or companyes.

Whereof the first sort be now in heauen, and they are the sainctes from hens departed. These, as they were here conuersaunt, confyrmed‡ alwayes their lyues to the most holye lawes and pure examples of Chryste, renouncyng sathan, the worlde, and the flesh wyth all their concupicences and euels. The second sort are in purgatory (if any such be‖ by the scryptures) abydyng the mercy of God and a full delyueraunce of payne. The thyrde sorte are here vpon the earth and be called, The Churche Mylytaunt; for daye and nyght they contend agaynst the crafty assaultes of the deuel, the flattering prosperities of thys worlde, and the rebellyouse fylthines of the fleshe.

Thys latter congregation by the iuste ordinaunce of God is also seuered into iij. diuerse estates, that is to say, into pryesthode, knighthode, and the comens§. Amonge whome the wyll of God is, that the one should ayde the other, but not destroye the other. The pryestes, fyrst of all, secluded from all worldlynesse, shuld conforme theyr lyues vtterly to the examples of Chryst and his apostles. Euermore shulde they be occupied in preaching and teaching the scryptures purely, and in geuing wholsom counsels of good liuing to the other two

* 1 Iohan v. † Gal. iv. Iohan i. Luc. ii. ‡ Al. Conformed.
‖ Contrary wrote he, ad Parliamentum. Ex Waldeno. § Al. Commens.

degrees of men. More modest also, more louing gentyll and lowlye in spirite shuld they be than any other sortes of people.

In knighthode are all they whyche beare sworde by lawe of office. These shuld defende Gods lawes, and see that the Gospell were purely taught, conforming their lyues to the same, and secludynge all false preachers: yea, these ought rather to hasard their lyues than to suffer such wycked decrees as eyther blemisheth the eternal testament of God, or yet letteth the fre passage therof, wherby heresies and scismes might spring in the church. For of none other aryse they, as I suppose, than of erronyous constitutions, craftely fyrst creping in vnder ypocrites lyes for auauntage. They ought also to preserue Gods people from oppressors, tirauntes, and theues, and to see the clergie supported so long as they teache purely, pray rightly, and minister the sacramentes frely. And, if they see them do otherwise, they are bound, by lawe of office, to compell them to chaunge theyr doinges, and to see all thinges performed according to Gods prescript ordinaunce.

The latter fellouship of this church are the common people, whose dewtye is to beare their good mindes and true obedience to the aforesaid ministers of God, theyr kinges, cyuile gouernours, and pryestes. The right office of these, is iustly to occupy euery man in his facultee, be it merchaundise, handycraft, or the tilthe of the grounde. And so one of them to be as an helper to another, followynge all wayes in theyr sortes the iust commaundementes of theyr Lord God.

Ouer and besydes all thys, I moost faythfully beleue that the sacramentes of Chrystes church are necessary to all Chrysten belieuers, thys alwayes sene to, that they be truly ministred according to Chrystes fyrst institucion and ordinaunce. And for so moch as I am malyciously and moost falsely accused of a misbeleue in the sacrament of the aulter, to the hurtful slaundre of many: I signifye here vnto al men, that thys is my fayth concerning that. I beleue in that sacrament to be contayned very Christes body and bloude vnder the similytudes of breade and wyne, yea, the same body that was conceyued of the holy Gost, borne of Mary, the Virgyn, done on the cresse, dyed, that was buried, arose the thyrde day from the death, and is now gloryfied in heauen. I also beleue the vniuersall lawe of God to be moost true and perfight, and they which do not followe it in theyr fayth and workes, at one tyme or other, can neuer be saued. Whereas he that seekerh it in faith, accepteth it, learneth it, delighted therein, and perfourmeth it in loue, shall tast for it the felicitee of euerlasting innocencye.

Finally, This is my faith also, that God wyll axe* no more of a Christen beleuer in this lyfe, but only to obey the preceptes of that moost blessed lawe. If any prelates of the churche require more, or els any other kynd of obedience, than thys ro be vsed, he contemneth Chryst, exalting himselfe aboue God, and so becometh an open antichryst. Al these premisses I beleue particularlye, and generally all that God hath left in hys holy scryptures, that I shuld beleue. Instauntly desiring you me† lyege Lord and moost worthy kyng, that thys confession of mine may be iustly axamined by the most godly, wise, and lerned men of your realme. And, if it be found in all pointes

* Exact or require. † Al, my.

agreeyng to the veritee*, than let it be so allowed, and I thervpon holden for none other than a true Christiane. If it be proued otherwise, than let it be vtterly condemned; prouided alwaies, that I be taught a better beleue by the word of God, and I shall most reuerently, at all tymes, obey therunto.

Thys brefe confessyon of hys fayth the Lord Cobham wrote (as is mencyoned afore) and so took it with him to the courte, offerynge yt wyth all mekenesse unto the Kyng to rede it over. The Kyng wold in no case receive it, but commaunded yt to be delyvered vnto them that should be his iudges. Than desyred he in the Kynges presens that an hondred knights and esquiers might be suffered to come in vpon hys purgacyon, whiche, he knewe, wold clere him of all heresyes. Morouer, he offred hymselfe after the lawe of armes, to fyght for lyfe or death with any man lyuing, christen or heythen, in the quarel of his faith, the king and the Lordes of his councell excepted. Finally, with all gentilnesse he protested before all that were present, that he wold refuse no manner of correction that shuld after the lawes of God be ministred vnto him, but that he wold at all tymes with all mekenes obey it. Notwithstandyng all thys, the Kyng suffered him to be summoned personally in his own pruy chambre. Than sayed the Lord Cobham to the Kyng, that he had appealed from the archbisshop to the Pope of Rome, and therfore he ought, he sayd, in no case to be his iudge. And, having hys appeale there at hande redye written, he shewed yt wyth all reuerence to the Kyng. Wherwith the Kyng was than moche more displeased than afore, and said angerly vnto him, that he shuld not pursue his appeale; but rather he shuld tarry in hold, tyll such tyme as it were of the Pope allowed. And than, wold he or nyld he, the archbisshop should be his iudge. Thus was there nothing allowed that the good Lord Cobham had lawfully afore required. But for so moch as he wold not be sworn in all things to submit himselfe to the church, and so to take what penaunce the archbisshoppe wold enioyne him, he was arested againe at the Kinges commaundement, and so led forth to the Towre of Lonnon, to kepe his daye (so was it than spoken) that the Archbisshop had appoynted hym afore in the Kynges chambre.

Then caused he the aforsayd confessyon of his faith to be copyed agayne and the answere also (whiche he had made to the iiij. articles proponed agaynst hym) to be wrytten in maner of an indenture, in two shetes of paper; that, whan he should come to his answere, he might give the one copye vnto the Archbisshop, and reserve the other to himselfe. As the daye of examinacion was comen, whiche was the xxiij. day of Septembre, the Saturday after the feast of St. Mathewe, Thomas Arundell, the Archbisshop, sytting in Cayphas roume, in the Chapterhouse of Paules, wyth Rychard Clyfforde, Bisshop of London, and Henry Bolinbroke, Bisshop of Winchester, Sir Robert Morley, Knight, and lefetenaunt of the Towre, brought personally before him the seyd Lord Cobham, and there left hym for the time, vnto whom the Archbisshop said these wordes:

Of Christ's Words.

The first Examinacion of the Lord Cobham.

SIR Iohan, in the last general conuocation of the clergye of thys our prouynce, ye were detected of certein heresyes, and by sufficient witnesses founde culpable. Whervpon ye were by forme of spirituall lawe cyted, and wolde in no case appeare. In conclusion, vpon your rebellyous contumacie, ye were both priuatelye and openlye excommunicated. Notwythstanding, we neuer yet shewed ourselfe unreadye to haue geven you youre absolucion (nor yet do not to thys houre) wolde ye haue mekelye axed it.

Unto this the Lord Cobham shewed as tho' he had geuen none eare, hauing his mynde otherwise occupied, and so desyred none absolucion. But he sayd, he wolde gladly before him and his brethern make rehersall of that fayth, which he helde and entended always to stande to, yf it wolde please them to lycens him therevnto. And than he toke out of hys bosome a certein writting endented, concerning the articles wherof he was accused, and so openly redde it before them, geuing it vnto the Archbisshop, as he had made therof an ende.

Whereof this is the Copye.

* I IOHAN Oldcastell, Knight and Lord Cobham, wyll all Chrysten men to vnderstand, that Thomas Arundell, Archbisshop of Caunterbury, hath not onely laid it to my charge malytiously, but also very vntruly by hys lettre and seale, written against me in most slaunderouse wyse that I should otherwyse fele † and teach of the sacramentes of the church (assigning specyally the sacramente of the aulter, the sacrament of penaunce, the worshipping of ymages, and the going of pilgrymage unto them) far otherwise than either beleueth or teacheth the vniversall holye churche, I take Almyghtye God vnto wytnesse, that it hath bene and nowe is, and euermore wyth the helpe of God, yt shall be my full intent and wyll to beleue faythfully and wholy all the sacraments that euer God ordeined to be mynystred in the holy church. And morouer for to declare me in these iiij. poynts, afore rehersed:

I beleue that, in the most worshipful sacrament of the aulter, is Christs very bodie in forme of bread, the same body that was borne of the blessed Virgin Mary, done on the crosse, dead, and buried, and that the thyrd day arose from death to lyfe, the whiche body is nowe glorified wyth the father in heauen. And as for the sacrament of penaunce, I beleue that it is nedefull to all them that shall be saued, to forsake theyr sinne and to do penaunce for it wyth true contricion to God, confessyon of theyr fautes, and dewe satisfactyon in Chryste, like as Gods lawes limiteth and teacheth, els can they have no saluation. This penaunce I desyre all men to do. And as for ymages, I vnderstand that they perteyn nothing to our Chrysten beleue, but were permitted, long sins the faith was geuen vs of Christ, by sufferance

* Ex utroq; Exemplari. † Think or understand.

of the church, for to be as kalenders vnto layemen to represent or bring to mind the passion of our Lorde Iesus Chryst, with the martirdom and good liuing of the sainctes.

I think also that whatsoever he whiche doth that worship to dead ymages, that is duely belonginge vnto God, or that putteth his faith, hope, or confidence in the helpe of them, as he shuld do only in his eternall lyuing God, or that hath affection in one more than in another; he perpetrateth, in so doing, the abhominable sin of idolatry. Moreover, in this am I fully perswaded, that euery man dwellynge on thys ærth is a pilgrym, eyther towardes blesse or els towardes payne*.

And that he which knoweth not, nor wyll not know, nor yet kepe the holy commaundementes of God in hys lyuing here (all be it that he goeth on pylgrymage into all quarters of the worlde) yf he departeth so, he shal surely be dampned. Agayne, he that knoweth the holy commaundements of God, and so perfourmeth them to the ende of his lyfe to his power, shal without fayle be saued in Chryst †, thoughe he neuer in his lyfe go on pylgrimage, as men vse now a daies to Caunterbury, Walsingham, Compostell, and Rome, or to anye other places.

This answere to his artycles thus ended and redde, he delyuered yt to the Bisshops as is sayde afore. Than counseled the Archbisshop wyth the other two bisshoppes and with dyuerse of the doctours, what was to be done in thys matter, commaunding him for the tyme to stand aside. In conclusion by theyr assent and informacion, he sayd thus unto him:

Come hider, Sir Iohan; in thys your writtinge are many good thinges conteyned, and ryght catholyck also, we deny yt not. but ye must consyder that thys daye was appoynted you to answere to other poynts concerning those articles, whereof as yet no mencion is made in thys your byll; and therefore ye must yet declare vs your minde more plainly. As thus, whether that ye holde, affirme, and beleue, that in the sacrament of the aulter, after the consecracion rightly done by a pryest, remaineth materyall bread or not? Moreouer, whether ye do hold, affirme, and beleue that as concerning the sacrament of penaunce (wheras a competent nombre of pryests are) every Chrysten manne is necessarely bound to be confessed of hys synnes to a pryest ordayned by the churche or not?

After certein other communication, thys was the answere of the good Lord Cobham: that none otherwise would he declare his minde, nor yet answere vnto hys artycles, than was expresselye in his writtinge there conteyned.

Than sayd the archbisshop again vnto him: Sir Iohan, beware what ye do; for, if ye answere not clerely to those thinges that are here obiected against you, specially at the tyme appointed you only for that purpose, the lawe of holy church is, that, compelled ones by a iudge, we may openly proclayme ye an heretike.

Vnto whome he gaue this answere: Do as ye shall thinke it best, for I am at a poynt.

* Genes. xxiii. Ps. ii.

† Note, here is no mention of Purgatory; we are saved in Christ without Purgatory.

Whatsoeuer he or the other bisshoppes did axe him after that, he bad them resort to his byll, for therby wold he stande to the verye death. Other answere wolde he not geue that day, wherewith the bisshoppes and prelates were in a maner amased and wonderfullye desquyeted. At the last, the archbisshop counseled again with his other bishoppes and doctours. And in the end therof declared vnto him, what the holy church of Rome, following the sayinges of St. Austyn, St. Hierom, St. Ambrose, and of other holy doctours, had determined in the sayd matter, no maner of mencion ones made of Chryst; which determinacion (sayth he) ought all Chrysten menne both to beleue and to followe.

Than said the Lord Cobham vnto him, that he wold gladlye bothe beleue and obserue what soeuer the holy church of Christes institucion had determined, or yet what soeuer God had willed him eyther to beleue, or to do. But that the Pope of Rome, with his cardinalls, archbysshoppes, bysshoppes, and other prelates of that church, had laufull power to determyne suche matters as stode not wyth his worde throughly, that wolde he not (he sayd) at that tyme affyrme. Wyth thys, the archbysshoppe bad hym to take good aduysement tyll the Monday nexte followinge (whiche was the xxv. daye of Septembre) and than iustly to answere, specyallye vnto thys poynte, Whether there remayned materyall breade in the sacrament of the aulter, after the wordes of consecracion, or not? He promysed hym also to sende vnto him, in wryttinge, those maters clerely determined, that he myght than be the more perfyghte in hys answere-making. And all this was not els but to blynde the multitude with somwhat. The nexte day following, according to hys promes, the archbisshoppe sent vnto hym, into the Towre, thys folysh and blasphemouse writting, made by hym, and by hys vnlerned clergye.

The Determinacion of the Archbysshoppe and Clergye.*

THE faith and determinacion of the holy church, touching the blesfull sacrament of the aulter, is this: That, after the sacramentall wordes be ones spoken by a pryest, in his masse, the materyall bread, that was before bread, is turned into Chrystes very body; and the materyall wyne, that was before wyne, is turned into Chrystes very bloud: And so there remayneth in the sacrament of the aulter, from thens forth no materyall breade, nor materyall wyne, whiche were there, before the sacramentall wordes were speken. How beleue ye this artycle?

Holy Churche hath determined, that euery Chrysten man, lyuing here bodyly vpon earth, ought to be shriuen † to a pryest, ordeyned by the church, if he may come to him. How fele ye thys artycle?

Christ ordeyned Sainct Peter the apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose see is the holy church of Rome; and he graunted, that the same power, which he gaue vnto Peter, shuld succede to al Peters successours, whiche we call now Popes of Rome. By whose speciall power, in churches particular, be ordeyned prelates, as archbisshops, bisshops,

* Ex magno processu Thomæ Arundeli. † Confessed.

parsons, curates, and other degrees more; vnto whome Christen menne ought to obeye, after the lawes of the church of Rome. Thys is the determinacion of Holy Church: How fele ye this artycle?

Holy Church hath determined, that it is meritoryous to a Christen man to go on pilgrymage to holy places, and there specially to worship holy relyques, and ymages of sainctes, apostles, martirs, confessours, and all other saintes besydes approued by the church of Rome. Howe fele ye thys artycle?

And, as the good Lord Cobham had red ouer thys moost wretched writtynge, he marueled greatly of their madde ignoraunce. But that he consydered agayne, that God had geuen them ouer, for theyr vnbeleues sake, into moost depe errours, and blindnesse of soule. Agayne, he perseyued herby, that theyr vttermoost malyce was purposed against him, how soeuer he shulde answere; and therfore he put his lyfe into the handes of God, desyring his onely Spirit to assist him in his next answere. Whan the sayd xxv. daye of Septembre was come (which was also the Monday afore Mychelmasse) in the sayd yere of our Lord M. cccc. and xiij. Thomas Arundell, the Archbisshop of Caunterbury, commaunded his judicyall seate to be remoued* from that Chapter-house of Pauls to the Dominike Fryers, wythin Ludgate, at London. And, as he was there set with Rychard, the Bisshop of London, Henry, the Bisshop of Wirchester, and Benet, the Bisshop of Bangor, he called in vnto him his counsell and his officers, with diuerse other doctours and fryers; of whom these are the names here followynge:

Master Henry Ware, the officyall of Caunterbury.

Philip Morgan, doctour of both lawes! Howell Kiffin, doctour of the canon lawe; Iohan Kempe, doctour of the canon lawe; Willyam Carleton, doctour of the canon lawe; Iohan Witnam, of the New College, in Oxford; Iohan Whighthead, a doctour, of Oxforde: Also Robert Wombewell, vicar of Saint Laurence in the Iewry†; Thomas Palmer, the warden of the Mynors, Robert Chamberlaine, prior of the Dominickes; Rychard Dodington, prior of the Augustines; Thomas Walden, prior of the Carmelites; all doctours of diuinitie. Iohan Steuens also, and Iames Cole, both notaries, appointed there purposly to write all that shuld be eyther sayd or done. All these, with a great sort more of pryestes, monks, chanons, fryers, parish clarks, belringers, and pardoners, disdained him with innumerable mockes and scornes, rekening him to be an horrible heretik, and a man accursed afore God.

Anon, the archbysshope called for a masse-boke, and caused all those prelates and doctours to sweare there vpon, that euerye man shulde faythfullye doo hys offyce and dewtye that daye; and that, neyther for fauer nor feare, loue nor hate, of the one partye nor the other, any thinge shuld ther be witnessed, spoken, or done, but according to the trueth, as they wold answere before God, and all the world, at the daye of dome. Than were the two forseyd notaries sworne also to wryte and to witnes the wordes and processe, that there shuld be vttered on both partyes, and to saye their minds (if they otherwise knewe it) before they

* Ex utroque Exemplari. † London.

shuld regester it. And all thys dissimulacion was but to colour their mischeues before the ignoraunte multytude.

Consydre herin (gentyll reader) what this wicked generacion is, and how farre wyde from the iust feare of God; for, as they were than, so are they yet to this daye.

After that, came forth before them Sir Robert Morley, knight, and lefetenaunt of the Towre, and he brought with him the good Lord Cobham, there leauing him among them, as a lambe among wolues, to his examination and answere.

The latter examinacion of the Lord Cobham.*

THAN sayd the archbysshoppe vnto hym: Lord Cobham, ye be advesed (I am sure) of the wordes and processe which we had vnto you, vpon Saturday last past, in the Chapterhouse of Paules; which proces were now to long to be rehersed agayne. I sayd vnto you than, that ye were accursed † for your contumacy and disobedience to holy church, thinking that ye shulde, with mekenes, haue desired your absolucion.

Than spake the Lord Cobham, with a moost cherefull contenaunce, and sayd: God sayth, by his holy prophet ‡, '*Maledicam benedictionibus vestris*' (which is as moch to say, as,) I shall curse, wheras you blesse.

The archbisshop made than, as though he had continued forthe hys tale, and not heard hym, saying: Sir, at that tyme I gentilly proferd to haue assoyled ‖ you, if ye wold haue asked it; and yet I do the same, if ye wyll humbly desyre it in due forme and maner, as holy church hath ordeined.

Than sayd the Lord Cobham: Naye, forsoth, wyll I not; for I neuer yet trespased against you, and therfore I wyll not do it: And, with that, he kneeled down on the pauement, holding vp hys handes towardes heauen, and sayd: I shryue me here vnto the, my Eternall, Lyuynge God, that, in my frayle youth, I offended the (Lord) most greuously in pryde, wrath, and glottony, in couetousnes and lechery. Many men haue I hurt in mine angre, and done manye other horryble synnes; good Lord, I aske the mercy. And therwith, wepingly, he stode vp againe, and sayd, with a mighty voyce: Lo, good people, lo; for the breaking of Gods lawe, and his great commaundementes, they § neuer yet cursed me; but, for theyr owne lawes and tradicions, most cruelly do they handle both me and other men; and therfore both they and theyr lawes, by the promes of God **, shall vtterly be destroied.

At this, the archbisshop and hys companye were not a lytle blemysshed. Notwithstanding, he toke stomake vnto hym agayn, after certein wordes had in excuse of theyr tyrannye, and examined the Lord Cobham of his Christen beleue.

Wherunto the Lord Cobham made thys godly answere: I beleue (sayth he) fullye and faythfullye the vnyuersall lawes of God. I beleue, that all is true which is conteyned in the holy sacred scryptures of the Byble. Finally, I beleue all, that my Lord God wolde I shulde beleue.

* Ex vetusto Exemplari Londinensium. ‖ Excommunicated. ‡ Malac. ii.
‖ Pardoned, or absolved. Hiere. ii. Apoc. xviii. The Popish ecclesiasticks.

Than demaunded the archbisshop an answere of the byll, which he and the clergy had sent him into the Tower the daye atore, in maner of a determinacyon of the church concerning the iiij. articles wherof he was accused, specially for the sacrament of the aulter, how he beleued therin?

Wherevnto the Lord Cobham sayd, that with that byll he had nothing to do. But this was his beleue (he sayd) concerning the sacrament: That his Lord and Sauer Iesus Chryst, sitting at his last supper, with his moost dere disciples, the night before he shuld suffer, toke bread in his hand, and, geving thankes to his eternall Father, blessed it, brake it, and so gaue it vnto them, saying: Take it vnto ye, and eate thereof all; this is my body which shall be betraied for you; do this hereafter in my remembraunce. This do I thoroughly beleue (saith he) for this faith am I taught of the gospell in Mathew, in Marke, and in Luke, and also in the First Epistle of St. Paull to the Corinthianes *.

Than asked the archbisshoppe, If he beleued that it were bread after the consecracion or sacramental wordes spoken ouer it.

The Lord Cobham sayd: I beleue that in the sacrament of the aulter is Chrystes very body, in fourme of breade, the same that was born of the Virgyn Mary, done on the crosse, dead and buried, and that the thyrd day arose from death to lyfe, whych nowe is glorified in heauen.

Than sayd one of the doctors of the lawe, After the sacramental wordes be vttered, there remaineth no breade, but the onely body of Chryst.

The Lord Cobham sayd than to one Master Johan Whighthead, You sayd ones vnto me in the castell of Coulynge †, that the sacred host was not Chrystes body; but I held than against you, and proved that therin was his body, though the seculars ‡ and fryers || could not therin agree, but helde yche one against other in that opinyon. These were my wordes than, yf ye remembre it.

Than shouted a sort of them together and cryed with a great noyse: We say all it is Gods body.

And dyuerse of them asked hym in great angre, Whether it were materiall bread after the consecracion, or not?

Than loked the Lord Cobham ærnestly vpon the archbisshop, and sayde: I beleue surely that it is Chrystes body in fourme of breade. Sir, beleve not you thus?

And the archbisshoppe sayd: Yes mary do I.

Than asked him the doctours: Whether it were onely Chrystes body after the consecracion of a pryest, and no bread or not?

And he sayd vnto them: It is both Chrystes body and bread. I shall prove it as thus; for lyke as Chryst, dwelling here vpon the earth, had in him both Godhead and Manhead; and had the inuisible Godhead couered vnder that Manhead, which was only uisible and seane in him: So, in the sacrament of the aulter, is Christes very body and very bread also, as I beleue the breade is the thyng, that we see with our eyes; the body of Christ (which is his flesh and his bloud) is there vnder hydde and not seane but in faith.

* Math. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi. † Al. Towlynge. ‡ Secular, or the parish priests. || Regulars, or priests that live in monasteries, following the orders or rules of Dominick, Benedict, &c.

Than smyled they yche one vpon other, that the people shulde iudge hym taken in a greate heresye. And wyth a great bragge diuerse of them sayde: It is a foule heresy.

Than asked the Archbisshop, What breade it was? And the doctours also inquired of him, Whether it were materiall or not?

The Lord Cobham sayd unto them: The scryptures maketh no mencion of this worde materiall, and therefore my fayth hath nothing to do therwith; but thys I say and beleue it, that it is Chrystes bodye and bread; for Chryst sayde in the syxt of Johans Gospell: *Ego sum panis viuus, qui de celo descendi*, i. e. I, whiche came down from heauen, am the liuing and not the dead bread. Therfore, I say now agayn, like as I said afore, As our Lord Iesus Chryst is very God and very man, so, in the most blessed sacrament of the aulter, is Chrystes very body and breade.

Than seyd they all with one voyce: It is an heresye.

One of the Bisshoppes stode vp by and by, and sayd: What, it is an heresye manyfest, to say that it is breade after the sacramentall worde be ones spoken, but Chrystes body onely.

The Lord Cobham sayd: St. Paule, the apostle, was (I am sure) as wyse as you be nowe, and more godlye lerned; and he called yt breade, wrytting* to the Corinthianes: The breade that we breake, sayth he, is it not the partaking of the body of Christ? Lo, he calleth it breade and not Chrystes body, but a meane whereby we receyue Chrystes body.

Than sayd they agayne: Paule must be otherwise vnderstanded; for it is surely an heresye to say that it is breade after the consecracion, but onely Chrystes body.

The Lord Cobham asked, Howe they coulde make good that sentence of theyrs?

They answered him thus: For it is against the determinacion of the holy church.

Than sayde the Archbisshop vnto hym: Sir Johan, we sent you a wrytting concerning the faith of thys blessed sacrament clerely determined by the church of Rome, our mother, and by the holy doctours.

Than sayd he again vnto him: I knowe none holyer than is Chryst and hys apostles; and as for that determinacion, I wote, it is none of theyrs, for it standeth not with the scryptures, but manifestly against them. If it be the churches, as ye say it is, it hath bene hers onely sins she receiued the greate poyson of worldly possessions, and not afore.

Than asked they hym, to stoppe his mouth therwith, If he beleued not in the determinacion of the church?

And he said vnto them: No, forsooth, for it is no God. In all our crede is IN but thryse mencioned, concerning Beleue; IN God the Father, IN God the sonne, IN God the Holy Gost. The byrthe, the deathe, the buriall, the resurrection, and ascensyon of Christ hath none IN for beleue, but IN hym. Neyther yet hath the church, the sacramentes, the forgeuenes of synne, the latter resurrection, nor yet the life euerlasting any other IN, than IN the Holy Gost.

Than sayd one of the lawiers: Tush, that was but a worde of office. But what is your beleue concerning holy church?

* 2 Cor. x.

The Lord Cobham answered: My beleue is (as I sayde afore) that all the scryptures of the sacred byble are true. All that is grounded upon them I beleue thoroughly; for, I know, it is Gods pleasure that I shuld so do. But in youre lordly lawes and ydell determinacions haue I no beleue; for ye be no part of Chrystes holy churche, as your open dedes doth shew. But ye are very antichrystes, obstinatly set agaynst his holy lawe and wyll. The lawes, that ye haue made, are nothing to his glorye, but onely for your vayne glory and abhominable couetousnes.

This, they said, was an exceading heresy (and that in a great fume) not to beluc the determinacion of holy church.

Than the Archbisshop asked him: what he thought holy church?

He sayd unto hym: My beleue is, that holy church is the nombre of them, whiche shall be saued, of whom Chryst is the head. Of this church one part is in heauen with Chryst, another in purgatory (you say) and the third is here in ærth. This latter part standeth in thre degrees, in knighthode, pryesthode, and the comunaltee, as I sayde afore plainly, in the confessyon of my beleue.

Than saide the Archbisshop vnto him: can ye tell me, who is of this church?

The Lord Cobham answered: yea, truly can I.

Than said *Doctor Walden, the pryor of the carmelytes: It is a doubte unto you who is therof; for Christ sayth in Math. *Nolite iudicare*, i. e. Presume to iudge no man. If ye here be forbidden the judgment of your neighbour or brother, moche more the iudgment of your superiour.

The Lord Cobham made him thys answere, Chryst sayth also in the selfe same chapter of † Math. that, lyke as the yll tree is knowen by hys yll frute, so is a false prophet, by his workes, appeare they neuer so gloryous; but that ye left behind ye. And in ‡ Iohan he hath this text: *Operibus credite?* i. e. Beleue you the outward doings? And in another place of Iohan: *Iustum iudicium iudicate*, i. e. Whan we knowe the thing to be true, we may so iudge it, and not offende; for David || sayth also: *Recte iudicate filii hominum*, i. e. Iudge rightly alwayes ye children of men. And as for your superioritee, were ye of Chryst, ye shuld be meke ministers, and no proude superiours.

Than sayd Doctour Walden vnto hym: Ye make here no difference of iudgments; ye put no diversitee between the yll iudgements, which Chryst hath forbidden, and the good iudgementes, which he hath commaunded vs to haue; rash iudgement and right iudgement, all is one with you; so is iudgement presumed and iudgement of office, so swift iudges alwayes are the lerned scolers of Wicliue.

Unto whome the Lord Cobham thus answered: It is wel sophistried of you, forsooth; preposterouse are your iudgements euer more; for as the prophet Esay sayth §, Ye iudge yll good, and good yll; and therefore the same prophet ** concludeth, that your wayes are noe Gods wayes, nor Gods ways your wayes. And as for that vertuouse man Wicleue, whose iudgements ye so hyghely disdayne: I shall saye here for my part both before God and man. That, before I knewe

* Walden contr. Wicliuistas, Lib. iii. cap. 67. † Math. vii.
‡ Iohan v. ib. vii. Deut. i. || Psalm lvi. § Esay v. ** Esay lv.

that dispised doctrine of his, I neuer absteyned from synne *. But, syns I lerned therin to fear my Lorde God, it hath otherwise, I trust, bene with me; so moch grace could I neuer finde in all your gloriouse instructions.

Than sayde Doctor Walden agayn yet unto hym: It were not well wyth me, so many vertuous men lyuing and so many lerned men teaching the scryptures, being also so open, and the examples of fathers so plentuouse, if I than had no Grace to amende my lyfe till I hearde the deuell preache. St. Hierom saith, that he, whyche seketh suche suspected masters, shall not fynde the mydday lyght, but the mydday Deuell †.

The Lord Cobham said: Your fathers, the olde pharisees, ascribed ‡ Chrystes miracles to Belzebub, and his doctrine to the deuell; and you, as their naturall children, have still the selfe same iudgement, concernyng his faithfull followers. They, that rebuke your vicious lyuinge, must needs be heretykes; and that must your doctours proue, whan ye haue no scryptures to do it.

Than said he to them all: To iudge you as ye be, we nede no further go, than your own propre actes: Where do ye find in all Gods lawes, that ye shuld thus syt in iudgement of any christen men, or yet sentens anye other man vnto death, as ye do here dayly? No ground haue ye in all the scryptures so lordely to take it vpon ye, but in Annas and in Cayphas, which sate thus vpon Chryst, and vpon his apostles after his ascensyon. Of them onely haue ye taken it to iudge Chrystes members, as ye do, and neyther of Peter nor Iohan.

Than sayde some of the lawyers: Yes, forsoth, sir, for Chryst iudged Iudas.

The Lord Cobham sayd: No, Chryst iudged him not, but he iudged himselfe, and thervpon went forth, and so did hang himselfe. But, indede, Chryst sayd, "Wo unto him," for that couetous act of his, as he doth yet styll vnto many of you; for, sens the venime was shed into the church, ye neuer followed Chryst; neither yet haue ye stand in the perfection of Gods lawe ‖.

Than asked him the Archbishoppe, what he ment by that venime?

The Lord Cobham sayd: Your possessyons and lordshippes. For than cryed an aungell in the ayre (as your owne chronycles mencioneth §) "Wo, wo, wo, this day is venmie shedde in the church of God." Before that tyme all the Bisshops of Rome were martirs in a maner; and sens that time we rede of very few. But, indede, sens that same time one ** hath put down another, one hath poysoned another, one hath cursed another, and one hath slayne another, and done much more mischiefe besides, as all the chronycles telleth. And let all men consydre well thys, that Christ was meke and mercifull; the Pope is proud and a tiraunt. Christ was pore and forgaue; the Pope is riche and a most cruell manslayer, as his dayly actes doth proue him. Rome is the very nest of antichryst; and out of that nest cometh all his disciples: Of whom prelates, priestes, and monkes are

* Walden in Prefacione Doctrina 7. † Hieron in Breuiari in Minori.
‡ Luke xi. Iohan x. ‖ Geraldus Cambrensis, Dist. i. cap. 17.
§ Ranulphus Cestrensis in Polychro. Lib. iv. cap. 26. ** Pope.

the body, and these pylde † fryers are the tayle, whiche couuereth his moost fylthy part.

Than sayd the Pryor of the Fryre Augustines, Alac, sir, why do ye say so? That is uncharitably spoken.

And the Lord Cobham said: Not onely is it my saying, but also the Prophet Esayes, longe afore my tyme. The Prophet, sayth he ‡, which preacheth lyes, is the tayle behinde. As you fryers and monkes be lyke the Pharisees, divided in your outward apparell and vsages, so make ye diuisyon among the people; and thus you, with snch other, are the very natural members of antichryst.

Than sayed he vnto them all: Chryst sayth in his gospell ‖: 'Wo to you scribes and pharisees, ypocrites; for ye close vp the kingdom of heauen, before men, neither entre ye in yourselves, nor yet suffre any other that would entre into it.' But ye stop vp the ways thereunto with your owne tradicions, and therfore are ye the houshold of antichryst; will not permit Gods verytee to haue passage, nor yet to be taught of his true ministers, fearinge to haue your wickednes reproued? But, by such vayne flatterers as vpholde you in your mischeues, ye suffre the common people moost miserably to be seduced.

Than sayd the Archbisshop. By oure lady, Sir, there shall no soche preach within my diocese (and God wyll) not yet in my iurisdiction (yf I may knowe yt) as either maketh diuision or yet dissension amonge the poor commons.

The Lord Cobham sayd: Both Chryst and his apostles were accused § of sedicion making, yet were they most peceable men. Both Daniell ** and Chryst prophecyed, that such a †† troublous tyme shulde come, as hath not bene yet sens the worldes beginning. And this prophecye is partly fulfylled in your daies and doinges. For many haue ye slaine alredy, and more wyll ye sle here after, if God fulfil not his promes. Chryst saith also, if those dayes of yours were not shortened, scarsly shuld any flesh be saued. Therfore loke for it iustly, for God wyll shorten your dayes. Moreouer, though pryestes and deacons, for preaching of Gods word, and for ministring the sacramentes, with prouision for the pore, be grounded in Gods lawe, yet haue these other sectes no maner of ground therof, so farre as I haue red.

Than a doctour of lawe, called master Iohan Kempe, plucked out of his bosome a copye of that byll, whiche they had afore sent him into the Tower, by the Archbisshops councell, thinking therby to make shorter worke with him. For they were so amased with his answeres (not al vnlike to them which dysputed wyth Steuen ‡‡) that they knewe not well howe to occupye the tyme, there wyttes and sophistry (as God wolde) so fayled them, that daye.

My Lord Cobham (sayth this doctour) we must brefely know your mynde concerning these four poyntes here following. The fyrst of them is thys. And than he redde vpon the byll. The fayth and the determinacion of holy church, touching the blessed sacrament of the aulter, is this: that, after the sacramentall wordes be ones spoken by a pryest in hys masse, the materiall breade, that was before breade, is

† Shaven. ‡ Esay ix. ‖ Math. xxiii. § Luke xxiii. Joan. xvi.
** Daniell xii. †† Math. xxiv. ‡‡ Actes vi.

turned into Chrystes very bodye. And the materiall wyne, that was before wyne, is turned into Chrystes very bloude. And so there remaineth in the sacrament of the aulter from thens forth no materiall bread, nor materiall wyne, which were there before the sacramentall wordes were spoken: Sir, beleue ye not this?

The Lord Cobham sayd: This is not my beleue. But my fayth is (as I sayd to you afore) that, in the worshypfull sacrament of the aulter, is very Chrystes body, in fourme of breade.

Than said the Archbisshop, Sir Johan, ye must say otherwise.

The Lord Cobham sayd: Naye that I shall not, if God be vpon my syde (as I trust he is) but that there is Chrystes body in fourme of breade, as that comen * beleue is,

Than redde the doctor agayne.

The second poynt is this: holy church hath determined that euery chrysten man, lyuing here bodely vpon earth, ought to be shryuen to a pryest ordeined by the church, if he may come to him: Sir, what say ye to this?

The Lord Cobham answered and sayd: A diseased or sore wounded man had nede to haue a sure wyse chyrurgion and a true, knowing both the ground and the daunger of the same. Moost necessary were it, therfore, to be fyrst shriuen vnto God, whiche only knoweth our diseases and can helpe vs. I deny not † in this the going to a pryest, if he be a man of good lyfe and lerninge; for the lawes of God are to be required of the pryest, which is godly lerned. But, if he be an ydiote or a man of viciouse lyuing that is my curate §, I ought rather to flee from him, than to seke vnto him. For sonner might I catche yll of him, that is nought, than any goodnesse towardes my soules helth.

Than redde the doctour agayne.

The third point is this: Chryste ordeined Sainct Peter the apostle, to be his vicar here in ærth, whose see is the church of Rome. And he graunted that the same power, which he gaue vnto Peter, shulde succede to all Peters successours, which we call now Popes of Rome. By whose speciall powr in churches partycular be ordeined prelates, as archbisshops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more. Unto whom chrysten men ought to obeye after the lawes of the church of Rome. This is the determinacion of Holy church. Sir, beleue ye not this?

To this he answered and sayd: He, that followeth Peter moost nighest in pure lyuing, is next vnto him in succession: But your lordely ordre esteemeth not greatly the lowly behauer of pore Peter, whatsoeuer ye prate of him. Neither care ye greatlye for the humble maners of them that succeded him tyll the tyme of Siluestre ¶, which for the more part were martirs, as I tolde ye afore. Ye can lett all their good conditions go by you, and not hurt your selues with them at all. All the worlde knoweth thys well inough by you, and yet ye can make boast of Peter.

With that, one of the other doctours axed him: Than what do ye say of the Pope?

* Al. common. † Wald 2.

§ Parish Minister or Priest. ¶ Silvester I, for, as Platina confesseth. Silvester II sold himself to the Devil, for his help to gain the Popedom.

The Lord Cobham answered. As I said before: He and you together maketh whole the great antichryst. Of whom he is the great heade, you bysshops, priestes, prelates, and monkes are the body, and the begging fryers are the tayle, for they couuer the filthinesse of you both, with their subtyle sophistrye. Neuer will I in conscience obey any of you all, tyll I see you with Peter follow Chryst in conuersation.

Than redde the doctour agayne.

The fourth poynt is this. Holy church hath determined that it is meritoriouse to a chrysten manne to go on pilgrymage to holy places. And there specially to worship holy relikes and ymages of sainctes, apostles, martirs, confessours, and all other sainctes besydes approued by the church of Rome. Sir, what say ye to this?

Whervnto he answered: I owe them no seruice by any commaundment of God, and therfore I minde not to seke them for your couetousnes. It were best ye swept them fayre from cobwebs and duste, and so layed them vp for catching of scathe; or els to bury them fayre in the ground, as ye do other aged people whiche are Gods ymages. It is a wonderfull thyng, that sainctes, now being dead, shuld become so couetous and nedye, and therupon so bytterly begge, which, al their lyfe-time, hated all couetousnesse and beggynge. But this I saye vnto you, and I wold all the world shuld marke it: That with your shrines and idolles, your fayned absolutions and pardons, ye drawe vnto you the substaunce, welthe, and chefe pleasurs of all chrysten realmes.

Why, Sir, (said one of the clerkes) wyll ye not worship good ymages?

What worship shuld I geue vnto them? sayd the Lord Cobham.

Than sayde Fryer Palmer vnto him: Sir, ye wyll worshyp the crosse of Chryst, that he dyed vpon?

Where is it, sayd the Lord Cobham?

The Fryer sayd: I put the the case, Sir, that it were here euen now before you?

The Lord Cobham answered: This is a great wyse manne, to put me an ærnest question of a thyng, and yet he his selfe knoweth not where the thyng itselfe is. Yet ones again aske I you, what worship I shuld do vnto it?

A clerke said vnto him: Such worship as Paull speaketh* of, and that is this. God forbidde that I shuld ioye but onely in the crosse of Jesu-christ.

Than sayd the Lord Cobham: And spreade his armes abroade. This is a very crosse, yea, and so moche better than your crosse of woode, in that it was created of God. Yet, will not I seke to haue it worshipped.

Than said the Bisshop of London, Sir, ye wote wel that he died on a materiall crosse?

The Lord Cobham sayd: Yea, and I wote also, that our saluacion came not in by that materiall crosse, but alone by him which dyed therupon. And well I wote that holy Saint Paull reioysed in none other crosse, but in Chrystes passion and death onely, and in his own sufferings of like persecution with him, for the selfe same veritee, that he had suffred for afore.

* Gal. vi.

An other clerke yet asked him: Wyll ye than do none honour to the holy crosse?

He answered him: Yes, if he were myne, I wolde lay him vp honestlye, and see vnto him, that he shuld take no more scathes abroade, nor be robbed of his goodes as he is now a-dayes.

Than sayd the Archbisshop vnto him, Sir Johan, ye haue spoken here many wonderfull wordes to the slaundrous rebuk of the whole spiritualtee, geuing a great yll example vnto the common sort, here, to haue vs in the more disdayne. Moche time haue we spent here, abought you, and al in vaine, so farre as I can see. Well, we must be now at this short poynt with you, for the day passeth away, ye muste eyther submit yourselfe to the ordinaunce of holy church, or els throwe your selfe (no remedy) into moost depe daunger. See to it, in tyme, for anon it will be els to late,

The Lord Cobham said: I know not to what purpose I shulde otherwise submitte me. Moch more haue you offended me, than euer I offended you, in thus troubling me before thys multitude.

Than sayd the Archbisshop agayne unto him: We ones again require you to remembre your selfe wel, and to haue none other opinion in these maters, than the vniuersall fayth and beleue of the holy church of Rome is. And so lyke an obedient child to returne again to the vnitee of your mother. See to it, I say, in tyme, for yet ye may have remedy, where as anon it will be to late.

The Lord Cobham sayd expressely before them all: I will none otherwise beleue in these poyntes, than I have tolde ye here afore. Do with me what ye will.

Finally, than the Archbisshop sayd: Wel than I see none other, but we must nedes do the lawe; we must procede forth to the sentence diffinitiue, and both iudge ye and condempne ye for an heretike.

And wyth that the Archbysshope stode up, and redde there a byll of his condempnacion, all the clergye and laytee avaylyng* their bonnettes. And this was therof the tenour.

The diffinitive Sentence of his Condempnacion. †

IN Dei nomine, Amen. *Nos Thomas permissione diuina Cantuariensis ecclesiæ Archiepiscopus, Metropolitanus, totius Anglie primas, & Apostolicæ sedis legatus*, and so forth, in barbarous Latin, which we haue here translated into Inglish for a more playne vnderstanding to the reader:

In the name of God. So be it, We Thomas by the sufferaunce of God, Archbisshop of Caunterbury, Metropolitane and Primate of all Ingland, and Legate from the Apostolyke Seate of Rome, wylleth this to be knowen vnto all men. In a certein cause of heresy, and vpon diuerse articles, wherevpon Sir Iohan Oldcastle, Knight and Lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused, and presented before vs in our last convocation of all our province of Caunterbury, holden in the cathedrall churche of Paules at London. At the laufull denouncement and request of our vniuersall clergye in the seid conuocation, we proceded against him, accordinge to the lawe (God to

* Pulling off. † Ex magno processu Thome Arundeli.

witness) with all the fauer possible; and, following Chrystes example in all that we might, which wylleth not the death of a synner, but rather that he be conuerted and lyve,* we toke vpon vs to correct him, and sought all other ways possible to bring him agayne to the churches vnytee, declaringe vnto him what the holye and vniuersall church of Rome hath sayd, holden, determined, and taught in that behalfe. And though we found him, in the catholike faith, farre wyde and so stifnecked, that he wold not confesse his erroure, nor pourge himself, nor yet repent him therof. We, yet pyteing him of fatherly compassion, and intierlye desyrynge the helthe of his sowl, appoynted him a competent tyme of delyberacion, to see if he wold repent, and seke to be reformed. And sens we haue found him worse and worse, considering therfore, that he is incorrygible, we are driuen to the very extremitee of the lawe, and, with great heuynes of harte, we nowe procede to the publicacyon of the sentence diffinityue against him.

Than brought he forth an other byll conteyning the sayd sentence, and that he redde also in his bauger† *Latyne.*‡

Christi nomine inuocato, ipsumq. solum preoculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitati, and so forth; whiche I have also translated into Englysh that men may vnderstand it:

Chryst we take vnto witness, that nothing els we seke in this our whole enterpryse, but his onely glory. For as much as we have found by dyuerse actes done, brought forth, and exibited, by sundry euidences, sygnes, and tokens, and also by many moost manifest proues, the seid Sir Johan Oldcastell, knight and Lord Cobham, not only an euident heretyke in his owne parsonne, but also a mighty mainteyner of other heretikes against the fayth and relygion of the holy and universall church of Rome, namely about the two sacramentes of the aulter, and of penaunce, besides the Popes power and pylgrymages. And that he, as the chyld of iniquitee and darkenes, hath so hardened his hart, that he will in no cas attend vnto the voice of his pastour. Neyther will he be alured by strayght admonishments, nor yet be brought in by fauourable wordes. The worthenes of the cause first wayde on the one side, and his vnworthynes agayn considered on the other side, his fautes also aggravated, or made double through his damnable obstinacy. We being loth that he which is nought should be worse, and so with his contagiousness infect the multitude. By the sage councell and assent of the very discret fathers our honorable brethren, and lordes bisshops, here present, Rychard of London, Henry of Wynchester, and Ben t of Bangor, and of other great lerned and wyse men here, both doctours of diuinitee, and of the lawes canon and ciuyle, seculars and religious, with dyuerse other expert men assisting vs, we sentencyally and dyffinitiuely, by thys present writing, iudge, declare, and condempne the seid Sir Iohan Oldcastell, Knight and Lord Cobham, for a most pernicious and detestable heretike, conuycted vpon the same, and refusing vtterly to obey the churche againe, commyttyng hym here from hensforth as a condempned heretike to the secular iurisdiction, power, and iudgement, to do him therupon to death. Furthermore we excommu-

* Ezec. xviii. & xxxiii. † Barbarous. ‡ Ex magno processu Thome Arundeli.

nicate and denounce accursed not only this heretike, here present, but so many els besydes as shall hereafter in fauer of his errour eyther receive him, or defend him, counsell him, or help him, or any other way maintein him, as very fauters, receiuers, defenders, counceiers, ayders, and maynteyners of condempned heretikes.

And, that these premysses maye be the better knowen to all faythfull chrysten men, we commit yt here vnto your charges, and geve you strayghte commaundement thervpon by thys wryttyng also, that ye cause this condempnacion and diffinityue sentence of excommunycacyon, concerning both thys heretyke, and hys fawters, to be publyshed throughoute all dyoceses, in cytyes, townes, and vyllages, by your curates and parysh priests, such time as they shall haue most recourse of people. And see that it be done after this sort: As the people are thus gathered deuoutlye together, lett the curate euery where go into the pulpet, and there open, declare, and expounde thys processe in the mother tonge, in an audyble and intelligyble voice, that yt maye well be perceiued of all men, and that, upon the fear of this declaracion also, the people maye fall from their yll opinions conceiued now of late by sedicious preachers.

Moreouer we will that after we haue deliuered vnto yche one of you bisshoppes (which are here present) a copye herof, that ye cause the same to be written out again, into dyuers copyes, and so to be sent vnto the other bisshops and prelates of our whole province, that they may also see the contentes thereof solempnely publisshed within theyr dioceses and cures. Finally, we wyll that both you and they signifye again vnto vs seriously and distinctly by your wryttinges, as the mater is without fayned colour in euery point perfourmed, the daye whervpon ye receyued thys processe, the tyme whan it was of you executed, and after what sort it was done in euerye condicion, according to the tenour herof, that we may knowe it to be iustly the same.

A copye of thys writynge sent Thomas Arundell, the Archbisshop of Caunterbury*, afterwarde from Maydeston the tenth daye of October, within the same year of our Lord, M. cccc. and xiij. vnto Rychard Clifford, the Bisshop of London, which thus beginneth, *Thomas permissione diuina, &c.*

The sayde Rychard Clyfforde sent an other copye thereof, inclosed within hys own letters, vnto Robert Mascall, a Carmelyte fryer, which was than Bisshop of Herforde in Walis,† written from Hadham the xxiij. day of Octobre, in the same yere, and the beginning thereof is this: *Reuerende in Christo pater, &c.*

The said Robert Mascall directed another copye therof from London the xxvij. day of Novembre in the same yere, inclosed in his own commission also, vnto his archdeacons and deanes in Herforde and Shrewesbury. And this is therof the beginning, *Venerabilibus & discretis viris*, & cet.

In like maner did the other bisshops within their dioceses.

After that the archbisshop had thus red the byll of his condempnacion, with most extremitee, before the whole multitude: the Lord

* Thomas Walden, in Fasciculo Zizaniorum Wicleuii. † Wales.

Cobham sayd with a moost cherefull countenaunce :* Though ye judge my body which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certein and sure, that ye can do no harme to my soul,† no more than could Sathan vpon the soule of Job.‡ He, that created that, wyll of his infinite mercy and promes, saue it, I have therin no maner of doubt. And, as concerning these artycles before rehersed, I wyll stande to them, euen to the very death, by the grace of my eternall God.

And therwith he turned him vnto the people, casting hys handes abroade, and saying with a very loude voice, Good chrysten people, for God's love, be wel ware of these men ; for they will els begyle you, and leade you blindelynge into hell with themselues. For Chryst sayth plainly‖ vnto you, 'If one blind leadeth another, they are lyke both to fall into the dytche.'

After thys, he fell downe there vpon his knees, and thus, before them all, prayed for his ennemies, holding vp both his handes and his eyes towards heauen, and saying, Lord God eternall, I beseche the, for thy great mercies sake, to forgeue my persuers, if it be thy blessed wyll. And than he was delyuered to Sir Robert Morleye, and so ledde forth agayne to the Tower of London. And thus there was an ende of that dayes worke.

Whyle the Lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he sent out priuily§ vnto his fryendes. And they, at his desyre, wrote this lytle byll here following, causing it to be set vp in diuerse quarters of London, that the people shulde not beleue the slaundres and lyes that his ennemies, the bisshopes seruants, and pryestes, had made on him abroade. And this was the letter :

FORASMUCH as Sir Iohan Oldcastell, knight and Lord Cobham, is vntruly conuicted and imprysoned, falsely reported and slaundred among the comen people by his aduersaryes, that he shuld otherwise both fele and speake of the sacramentes of the church, and specially of the blessed sacrament of the aulter, than was written in the confessyon of his beleue, which was indented and taken to the clergye, and so set vp in diuerse open places in the citee of London. Knowen be it here to all the world, that he neuer sens uaryed in any poynt therfrom ; but this is playnely his beleu, that all the sacramentes of the church be proffytable and expedient also to all them that shall be saued, taking them after the intent that Chryst and his true churche hath ordayned. Furthermore, he beleueth, that, in the blessed sacrament of the aulter, is verely and truly Chrystes body, in fourme of breade.

After thys, the Bisshops and pryestes were in moch obloquie, both of the nobilitee and comens, partely for that they had so cruelly handeled the good Lord Cobham, and partely agayne, bycause hys opinion (as they thought at that tyme) was perfyght concerning the sacrament. As they feared thys to growe to further inconuenience towardes them both wayes, they drew their heades together, and, at the last, consented to vse another practise somwhat contrary to that they had done afore.

* Ex vtroq. Exemplari. † Math. x. ‡ Job i. ‖ Math. xv. § Ex vetusto Exemplari Londinensium

They caused it by and by to be blowne abroade by their feed seruaunts, fryendes, and babeling Sir Iohnes,* that the sayde Lord Cobham was becomen a good man, and had lawlye submitted himselfe in all things vnto holy church, vtterly chaunging his opinion concerning the sacrament. And, therevpon, they contrefayted† an abiuracion, in his name, that the people shuld take no hold of that opinion, by any thing they had hearde of him before, and to stande so in the more awe of them, considering him so great a manne, and by them subdued.

This is the abiuracion (say they) of Sir Iohan Oldcastell, knight, somtime the Lord Cobham.

An Abiuracion counterfayted‡ of the Bisshoppes.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. I, Iohan Oldcastell, denounced, detected, and conuycted of, and vpon, diuerse artycles, sauering both heresy and errour, before the reuerend Father in Chryst, and my good Lord, Thomas, by the permission of God, Lord Archbisshop of Caunterbury, and my lauful and rightful iudge in that behalfe, expressely graunt and confesse: That, as concerning the estate and power of the moost holy Father, the Pope of Rome, of his archbisshops, his bisshops, and his other prelates, the degrees of the church, and the holy sacramentes of the same, specyally of the sacramentes of the aulter, and of penaunce, and other obseruaunces, besides, of our mother holy church, as pilgrymages and pardons; I affyrme (I say) before the said reuerend Father Archbisshop, and els wher, that I, being yll seduced by diuerse sediciouse preachers, haue greuously erred, and heretically persisted, blasphemously answered, and obstinatlye rebelled. And, therfore, I am by the sayd reuerend Father, before the reuerend Fathers in Chryst also, the bisshops of London, Winchestre, and Bangor, lawfullye condemned for an heretyke.

Neuerthelesse yet, I now remembering myselfe, and coueting, by this meane, to auoide that temporall payne, whiche I am worthy to suffer as an heretike, at the assignacion of my most excellent chrysten Prince and liege Lord, Kyng Henry the Fift, nowe, by the grace of God, moost worthye Kyng both of Englande and of Fraunce, minding also to preferre the wholsom determynacyon, sentence, and doctryne of the holy and vniversall church of Rome, before the vnwholsom opinions of myselfe, my teachers, and my followers: I frely, willyngly, deliberately, and throughly confess, graunt, and affyrme the most holye Fathers in Chryst, Sainct Peter the Apostle, and his successours, Bisshoppes of Rome, speciallye nowe at thys time, my moost blessed Lorde Pope Iohan, by the permysson of God, the xxiij. Pope of that name, which nowe holdeth Peter's seate (and yche of them in their succession) in full strength and power to be Chryste's vycar in ærth, and the heade of the church milytaunt. And that, by the strength of hys office (what, though he be a great syner, and afore knowen of God to be damned) he hath full auctoritee snd power to rule and gouern, bind and losè, saue and destroy, accurse and assoyle, all other chrysten men.

* Sir Johns was a general name for the priests in those days. † al. Counterfeited. ‡ Waldea in Fasciculo Zizaniorum Wicleuii.

And, agreably styl vnto thys, I confesse, grannt, and affyrme, all other archbisshoppes, bysshoppes, and prelates, in their provinces, dyoceses, and parrisshes (appointed by the seid Pope of Rome, to assyst him in his doinges or business) by his decrees, canons, or vertue of his offyce, to haue had in tymes past, to haue nowe at this tyme, and that they ought to haue in tyme to come, auctoritee and power to rule and to gouerne, bind and lose, accurse and assoyle the subiectes or peoples of theyr aforseid prouinces, dioceses, and parrishes; and that theyr sayd subiectes or peoples ought of right, in all thynges, to obey them. Furthermore, I confesse, graunt, and affyrme, that the sayde spyrytuall fathers, as our moost holy father the Pope, archbisshops, bisshops, and prelates haue had, haue now, and ought to haue hereafter, auctoritee and power for the estate, ordre, and gouernnaunce of their subiectes or peoples, to make lawes, decrees, statutes, and constitucions, yea, and to publysh, commaunde, and compell theyr said subiectes, and peoples, to the obseruation of them.

Morouer, I confesse, graunt, and affyrme, that all these forsayd lawes, decrees, statutes, and constitucions, made, publyshed, and commaunded, accordynge to the fourme of spirituall lawe, all chrysten people, and euery man in himselfe, is straightly bound to obserue, and mekelye to obeye, accordynge to the diuersitee of the forsayde powers. As the lawes, statutes, canons, and constitucions of our moost holy father the Pope, incorporated in his decrees, decretals, clementynes, codes, chartes, rescryptes, sextyles, and extrauagantes, the world all ouer. And, as the prouinciall statutes of archbisshoppes in their prouinces, the synodall actes of bisshoppes in theyr dioceses, and the commendable rules and customes of prelates in their colleges, and curates in their parrishes, all chrysten people are both bound to obserue, and also moost mekely to obeye. Ouer and besides all this, I, Iohan Oldcastell, utterly forsakinge and renouncynge all the aforesayd errours and heresyes, and all other errours and heresyes lyke unto them, lay my hande here vpon this boke, or holy euangelye of God, and sweare, that I shall neuermore, from hensforth, hold these forsaid heresyes, hor yet any other lyke vnto them wetingly. Neyther shall I geue counsell, ayde, helpe, nor fauer, at any time, to them that shall holde, teache, affyrme, or mainteine the same, as God shall helpe me, and these holy euangelyes.

And, that I shall from hensforth faithfully obeye, and inuiolably obserue all the holy lawes, statutes, canons, and constitucions, of all the Popes of Rome, archbisshops, bisshops, and prelates, as are contayned and determined in theyr holye decrees, decretals, clementynes, codes, chartes, rescryptes, sextyles, summes papall, extrauagantes, statutes prouincyall, actes synodal, and other ordinary rules and customes constituted by them, or that shall chaunce hereafter dyrectly to be determined or made. To these, and all such other, wyll I, myselfe, with all power possible applye. Besydes all this, the penaunce which it shall please my said reuerend father, the Lord Archbisshop of Caunterbury, hereafter, to enioyne me for my synnes, I will mekely obeye, and faithfully fulfyll. Finally, al my seducers, and false teachers, and all other besydes, whom I shall hereafter knowe, suspected of heresye or errours, I shall effectuallye present, or cause to be presented, vnto my sayd

reuerend father, Lord Archbisshop, or to them which hath his auctoritee, so sone as I can conueniently do it, and see that they be corrected, to my vttermoost power. Amen.

The cruell Complaint of the Clergye and tyrannouse Acte therevpon made.

NEUER came this abiuracion to the handes of the Lord Cobham, neyther was it compyled of them for that purpose, but only therwyth to bleare the eyes of the vnlerned multitude. And whan they perceyued that polycye would not helpe, but made more and more agaynst them, than sought they out another false practyse. They went unto the Kyng * with a most greuouse complaint, like as they did afore in his fathers tyme, that, in euery quarter of the realme, by reason of Wicleues opinions, and the said Lord Cobham, were wonderfull contentions, rumours, tumultes, vproars, confederations, dissencions, diuisions, differences, discordes, harmes, slaunders, seismes, sectes, sedicions, perturbacions, parrels, unlaufull assemblyes, variaunces, strifes, fyghtinges, rebelliouse ruffelinges, and dayly insurrections. The Church (they sayd) was hated: the diocesanes were not obeyed: the ordinaries were not regarded: the spirituall offycers, as suffraganes, archdeacons, chauncelers, doctours, commissaries, offycials, deanes, lawyers, scribes, and sommeners were euery where despysed: the lawes and liberties of holy church were troden undre fote: the Chrysten fayth was ruynouslye decayed: Gods seruice was laught to scorne: the spirituall iurisdiction, auctoritee, honour, power, polycye, lawes, rytes, ceremonies, curses, keyes, censures, and canonicall sanctions of the Church, were had in an uttre contempt.

So that all, in a maner, was come to nought.

And the cause of this was, that the Heretikes and Lolars † of Wicleues opinion were suffered to preach abrode, so boldly to gether conuenticles unto them, to kepe scoles in mens houses, to make bokes, compyle treatises, and wryte ballets; to teach privately in angles and corners, as in wodes, feldes, medowes, pastours, groues, and in caues of the ground. This wolde be (they sayd) a destruction to the commenwelth, a subvercion to the land, and an uttre decay of the Kynges estate royall, if remedy were not sought in tyme. And this was their polycye to couple the Kynges auctoritee, wyth that they had done in theyr former councell of craft, and so to make it thereby the stronger. For they perceiued themselues very farre to weake els, to followe against their ennemies, that they had so largely enterprised. Upon this complaint, the Kynge immediately called a parliament at Leichestre. It might not in those daies be holden at Westminstre, for the great fauer that the Lord Cobham had both in London, and about the Citee, yet were they deceiued. That, they doubted moost, lighted there soonest upon them.

A byll was put in there agayne ‡, by the Commons, against their

* Ex Statuto Parliamenti Regis, Hen. V.

† Abettors, defenders, and publishers.

‡ Robertus Fabianus in Chronicis.

continuall wasting of the temporalties, lyke as it had been twise afore by procurement of the seid Lord Cobham * both in the daies of Kyng Rychard the second, Anno 1395, and also of Kyng Henry the IIII. Anno domini 1410, whereupon was growne all this malice afore specified, but this was than workemanly defeated by another proper practyse of theyrs.

They put the Kyng in remembraunce to claim his right in Fraunce, and graunted him thervnto a dime, with other great subsidy of mony. Thus were Chrystes people betrayed euery way, and their liues bought and sold by these most cruell theves. For in the sayd parliament the Kyng made this most blasphemouse and cruell acte, to be as a lawe for euer†: That whatsoever they were, that shuld read the scryptures in the mother tongue (which was then called Wicleues lerning) they shuld forfet land, catel, body, lyfe, and godes from theyr heyrs for ever, and so be condempned for heretykes to God, ennemies to the Crowne, and most errand trayters to the land ‡.

Besides this, it was inacted, that neuer a sanctuary, nor priviledged grounde, within the realme shuld holde them, though they were styll permitted both to theues and murtherers. And if in case they wold not gyue ouer, or were after their pardon relapsed, they shuld suffer death in two maner of kindes; that is, they shuld first be hanged for treason agaynst the Kyng, and than be burned for heresy agaynst God: and yet neither of both committed.

The beginning of that act is this:

Pro eo quod magni rumores, &c. Anon after, was it proclaymed throughout the realme, and than had the Bisshoppes, pryests, monkes, and fryers a worlde somwhat to theyr minds. For than were many taken in diuerse quarters, and suffred moost cruell death §. And many fled out of the lande into Germany, Bohem, Fraunce, Spain, Portingale, and into the weld of Scotland, Wales, and Yreland, working there many maruels agaynst their false kyngdome to long to wryte. In the Christmas followinge was Sir Roger Acton, Knight, Master Iohan Browne, Esquire, Sir Iohan Beuerlay, a lerned preacher, and dyuerse other more attached for quareling with certeine pryests, and so imprisoned ‖. For all men at that tyme could not paciently suffer theyr blasphemouse bragges.

The complaint was made vnto the Kyng of them, that they had made a great assemble in Sainct Gyles-Felde at Londen, purposing the destruction of the land, and the subuercyon of the common-welth. As the kyng was thus informed, he erected a banner (saith Walden ¶) with a crosse thereupon, as the Pope doth commonly by his legates, whan he pretendeth to warre agaynst the Turke, and with great nombre of men entred the same felde, where as he found no such company. Yet was the complaint iudged true, bycause the Bisshoppes had spoken

* Walden in Fasciculo, Fabianus in Chronicis. † Walden ad Martinum Papam lib. ii. cap. 40. & in Synodo Polidorus. ‡ It was nevertheless enacted in this Parliament, that a general pardon should for the present be granted to all Lollards, excepting Sir John Oldcastel, and some others therein mentioned. Claus. 2. Hen. V. m. 24.

§ Walden ad Martinum papam, lib. i. cap. 50. De Sacramentalibus, cap. 53.

‖ Walden, Fabianus, Io. Maior, Polidorus. ¶ Walden ad Martinum & in Prologo de Sacramentis.

it, at the informacion of their pryestes. All this hath Thomas Walden in diuerse of his workes, which was at the same tyme a Whight or Carmelyte fryer, and the kinges confessour; and partely it is touched both by Robert Fabian, and by Polidorus Virgilius, in theyr Inglish Chronycles, but not in all poyntes rightly, as is to be seane in the preface afore. In the meane season, Sir Iohan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, escaped out of the Tower of London in the night*, and so fledde into Wales, where as he continued more than iiii. years after †.

Some wryters haue thought this escape to come by the sayd Sir Roger Acton, and other gentylmen, in displeasure of the pryestes, and that to be the chefe occasion of their deathes, whiche might well be; but Walden doth not so vtter it, whiche reigned the selfe same tyme. In January next following ‡, was the afore-named Sir Roger Acton, master Iohan Browne, Sir Iohan Beuerley, and thirty-six more (of whom the more part were gentylmen of byrthe) conuicted of heresy by the bisshops, and condempned of treason by the temporalitie, and accordyng to the acte were fyrst hanged, and than brent in the sayd Saint Gyles-Felde. In the same yeare ||, also was one Iohan Claydon, a skynner, and one Rycharde Turmin, a baker, both hanged and brent in Smythfelde, by that vertuous act, besydes that was done in al other quarters of England; whiche was no small nombre, if it were nowe throughly knowen.

The latter Imprisoning and Death of the Lord Cobham.

IN the yere of our Lorde a. M. cccc, and xv §, dyed Thomas Arundell, which had bene Archbisshop of Caunterbury more than xxxii. yeres, to the great destruction of Chrysten beleue. Yet dyed not his prodigiouse tyrannye with hym, but succeeded with his office in Henry Chicheley, and in a great sort more of the spyghtfull spiritualtee. For their malyce was not yet satled agaynst the good Lord Cobham. But they confedered with the Lord Powys (whiche was at that tyme a great gouuernour in Wales) feding him with lordely giftes and promises to accomplysh theyr desyre. He at the last, thus monied with Iudas ¶, and outwardly pretending him great amitie and fauer, moost cowardlye and wretchedlye toke him, and in conclusion so sent him up to London; where as he remayned a month or two imprysoned again in the Tower. And after long processe they condempned him agayne of heresy and treason, by force of the afore named acte; he rendering thanks vnto God that he had so appointed him to suffre for his names-sake.

And, vpon the daye appointed, he was brought out of the Tower, with hys armes bound behynd him, hauing a very chereful countenaunce. Than was he layd vpon an hardle, as though he had been a moost haynouse traitoure to the Crowne, and so drawne forth into Sainct

* About 28 October 1413, and on 10 January following a commission was issued out to the Lord Mayor of London, for apprehending him, &c. And, at the same time, he was indicted for Treason, and in Hilary term he was out-lawed for Treason. † Fabianus, Polidorus, in Chronicis. ‡ Iohan Maior, Lib. vi. cap. 9. Historiæ Scotorum. || Robertus Fabianus, in Chronicis. § According to the Canterbury Register, it should be 1413. And according to Walsingham, p. 380, and Goodwin's Hen. V. p. 33, he died 20. Feb. 1414.

¶ Math. xxvi.

Giles-Felde, where as they had set vp a newe paire of galowes. As he was comen to the place of execution, and was taken from the hardle, he fell down deuoughtly vpon his knees, desyringe Almightye God to forgeue hys ennemies. Than stode he vp, and beheld the multitude, exhorting them, in moost godly maner, to followe the lawes of God, written in the scryptures, and in any wyse to beware of such teachers, as they see contrary to Chryst in their conuersacion and lyuing, wyth many other speciall councels. Than was he hanged vp there by the middle in chaynes of yron, and so consumed alyue in the fyre, praysing the name of God so long as his lyfe lasted. In the ende, he commended his sowle into the handes of God, and so departed hens most chrystenly, his body resolued into ashes.

And this was done in the yere of our Lord a. M. cccc. and xviij. which was the sixt yere of the reygne of Kyng Henry the Fift, the people there present shewyng great dolour. How the pryestes that tyme fared, blasphemed, and cursed, requiring the people not to praye for hym, but to iudge hym dampned in hell, for that he departed not in the obedience of their pope, it were to long to wryte. This terrible kinde of death, with galowes, chaynes, and fyre, appeareth not very preciouse in the eyes of men, that be carnall, no more than did the death of Chryst, whan he was hanged vp among theues*. 'The rightuouse semeth to dye' sayth the wise man † 'in the syght of them whiche are vnwise, and their ende is taken for very destruction. Vngodly foles thinketh theyr lyues very madnes, and theyr passage hens without al honour. But thogh they suffre pain before men' sayth he ‡ 'yet is theyr expectacion full of immortalitee, They are accounted for the Chyldren of God, and haue theyr iust portion among the sainctes. As golde in the furnace doth God trye his electe, and as a most pleasaunte brent offering receiueth he them to rest‖.

The more harde the passage be, the more gloryouse shall they appeare in the latter resurreccion. Not that the affliccions of this lyfe are worthye of such a glory, but that it is Gods heauenly pleasure so to reward them §. Neuer are the iudgementes and wayes of men lyke vnto the iudgementes and wayes of God, but contrary euermore, vnles they be taught of him ¶. In the later tyme,' sayth the Lorde vnto Daniell, 'shall many be chosen, proued, and purified by fyre; yet shall the vngodly lyue, wickedly styll, and haue no vnderstanding, that is, of faith.' By an angell from heauen was Iohan ** ernestly commaunded to wryte, that 'blessed are the dead, which hens departeth in the Lord. Right dere,' sayth Dauid ††, 'in the syght of God is the death of his true seruauntes.' Thus resteth this valeaunt Chrysten knight, Sir Iohan Oldcastell, vnder the aulter of God, which is Iesus Chryst, among that godly company, which, in the kyngedome of pacience, suffred great tribulacion, with the death of their bodies, for his faithfull worde and testimony; abiding there with them the fullfylling of theyr whole nombre, and the

* Iohan xix. † Wisd. iii. ‡ Chap. v. ‖ Chap. iii.
§ Heb. xi. Rom. viij. ¶ Esayas lv. Hier. xxxij. Dan. xij. ** Apoc. xiiij.
†† Psalm cxv.

full restauracion of his electes'*. The whiche he graunt in effect, at this tyme appointed, whiche is one God eternall. Amen.

The Conclusion.

BESYDES the causes rehersed afore in the preface, concerning the dreadful death of thys moost Chrysten knight, Sir Iohan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, this is also rekened for one: In the ende of the fyrst boke, which he put vp into the Parliament-house, agaynst the abusions of the clergye, in the yere of our Lord, a. M. ccc. xcv. which was also the xviij. yere of King Richard the Second, were these vi. verses written, as a brefe conclusion sommary of the vniuersall contents therof.

Plangunt Anglorum Gentes Crimen Sodomorum.
Paulus fert, horum sunt Idola causa malorum.
Surgunt ingrati, Giezite Symone nati,
Nomine Prelati, hoc defensare parati.
Qui Reges estis, populis quicunque preestis,
Qualiter his Gestis Gladios prohibere potestis?

Though the verses be grosse and vnperfight, according to the time than, wherin all fresh lyterature was clerelye extinguished, yet is the sentence of them lyvely, and of a fresh faithfull spyrite, euen in the zeale of Helias and Phinees, for rebuke of synne: and thus are they in the Inglishe:

Bewayle maye Inglande the synne of Sodomites:
For Idolles and they are grounde of all theyr wo.
Of Symon Magus a secte of ypocrites,
Surnamed Prelates, are vp wyth them to go:
And, to vpholde them in all that they may do.
You that be rulers, peculyarly selected,
How can ye suffre such mischeues to go vncorrected?

Whan this boke wolde not helpe towardes any reformacion, but was laught to scorne of the Bisshoppes, than were these verses copyed out by dyuerse menne, and set upon their wyndows, gates, and dores, which were than knowen for obstinate ypocrites and fleshly lyuers; which made the Prelates madde. And thys is the great insurrectyon, that Walden complaineth of vnto pope Marten the Fyft; and after him, Polydorus, the Popes Collectour, with other papistes more, wherin neuer a one manne was hurt. I wolde maruell moche more of the doublenes of Thomas Walden, beyng than the Kynges confessour, if I did not know the vnshamefast nature of that lyeng generation. In his fyrst epistel† unto Pope Martine, and in the fyrst preface of hys fourth boke *contra Wicleuistas*, he sayth, that Sir Iohan Olcastell, with

* Apoc. vi. i. vij. xx.

† Ad Martinum Papam. Et in prefatione iv. Lib. contra Wicleuistas.

a greate nombre of heretikes, conspyred against Kyng Henry the Fyft, in the fyrst yeare of his reigne; and that he offered him, for euery monke, chanon, fryer, and popish pryestes head, within his realme, a gold noble. And, cleane contrary vnto thys, he testifieth, in his boke, called, *Fasciculus Zizaniorum Wicleuij*, that he was, the selfe same tyme, yeare, moneth, weke, and daye, a prisoner within the Tower of London. How well these two writtinges agre, I report me.

But thus comenly are innocent men lyed vpon among these blasphemouse bellygods. But he, that is essentially true of himself, hath promised *, at one tyme or other, to clere his true seruaunt, not by lyes and fables, but by his own pure worde: "No secret," saith he †, "is so close, but ones shall be opened: neyther is any thyng so hidde, that shall not at the last be knowne clerely." Thus hath Sir Iohan Oldcastell a triumphaunt victory ouer his enemies by the veritee, which he defended, all contrary to the blinde worldes expectacion; and they haue a fowle ouerthrowe, being proued manyfest murtherers, blind beastes, ypocrites, and lyers, by the same. Such a swete Lord is God alwayes to those that be his true seruauntes, blessed be his holy name therfore. Conferre the causes of this godlye mans deathe with the poyntes that Thomas Becket dyed for, and other popish martirs besides, and ye shall fynd them farre different and vnlyke. Thomas Becket was slayne ‡ at Caunterbury, in his prelates aparell, in the heade churche, before the hygh aulter, amonge religiouse monkes and pryestes and in the holy tyme of Chrystmas, by his owne seking; and all this is glorious vnto worldly iudgmentes. Sir Iohan Oldcastell was brent in chaynes ‖, at London, in Saint Giles-Felde, vnder the galowes, amonge the laye people, and upon the prophane workyng daye, at the Bysshoppes procurement. And all this is vnglorious, yea and very despiseable vnto those worldelye eyes. What though Iesus Chryst his master, afore hym, were handeled after a lyke sorte? For he § was crucified at Hierusalem, without the citee, and without the holy synagoge, accursed out of churche, amonge the prophane multitude, in the middest of theues, in the place where as theues and murtherers were commonly hanged, and not upon the feastful day, but afore it, by the Bisshoppes procurement also. Now let vs consider the causes of both theyr deathes, and try them both by the manifest scryptures of the Gospel, whiche of them shuld seme moost to the glory of God, and whiche moost to the glory of men. Thomas Becket dyed vpon his own seking onely ¶, for mainteyning the wanton lybertyes and superfluouse possessyons of the Romysh Churche here wythin Ingland, which are both forbidden of Chryst, and also condemned by the same scryptures. "He, that forsaketh not all that he hath," sayth he, "can not be my disciple **."

And, whan a contencion befelle amonge the apostles for the superyoritee, he sayde †† also vnto them, 'The kynges of the worlde haue the worldes dominion wyth all pompe and riches belonging to the same; but you shall not be so.'

* Iohan viij.. † Matth. x. Luke xij. ‡ Stephanus Langton in Vita Thome lib. cap. 20. ‖ Walden, Io. Maior, Fabianus. § Heb. xiij. Iohan ix. Matth. xxvij. Iohan xix. Actes iij. ¶ Heribertus Hoscam in Vita Thome. ** Luke xiv. †† Chap. xxii. & Peter v.

Sir Iohan Oldcastell dyed at the importune sute of the clergy, for calling upon a Chrysten reformacion in that Romishe church of theyrs, and for manfully standing by the faithfull testimonies of Iesus, as all the aforesayd processe declareth. And this is both allowed in the gospell, and also required of euery Chrysten beleuer. 'He that confesseth me, and my worde before men,' sayth Chryst* 'him will I confesse for myne before my eternall Father. And he that shall denie me and my veritee before men, him will I also deny for mine before my euerlasting Father whiche is in heauen.'

Thomas Becket, in the tyme of his death, commended himselfe† to the patrones of his church, whiche were two gilded ymages of Sainct Sauer and Saint Mary, and the cause of his church unto Saint Denis, and had no more but his pryestes crown cut of (which is the Popes leuery mark) euen by the very shauing, as his story mencyoneth.

Syr Iohan Oldcastell, in the tyme of his death, commended his sowle, with Dauid, Chryst, and Steuen, into the handes of God the eternall Father, and hys cause to the rightful iudgement of his sonne Iesus Chryst, with desyre of mercifull forgeuenes concerning his ennemies, as became a faithfull Chrystian, and had his whole body consumed in the fyre. Now, pluck from youre eyes the corrupted spectacles of carnall or Popysh iudgementes, and do vpon them the cleare light ye haue by the Spyrite of Chryst: And that faithfully done, tell me whiche of these two semeth rather to be the martir of Chryst, and whiche the Popes martir? 'The wayes of God' sayth Esay‡ 'are not the wayes of men. But so farre as the heauens are aboue the vile earth, so farre do hys judgments excede theyrs.' 'That whiche semeth high and gloriouse vnto men' sayth Chryst‖ 'is verye abhominacion afore God.' By this may ye see that the precyouse spowse, or immaculate churche of Chryst, is not a gorgiously painted, gentyll woman, nor gloryous glittering mayden, but al hidden and unknowne to the worldly infidels, whiche disdaineth to seek her in the scryptures.

Nothing is precious unto them that shyneth not unto the eye. A moost fyt membre for Chrystes mistycall body, is he that suffereth with the heade therof. As this good Sir Iohan Oldcastell did, when he was, with Chryst, examined of the proude bisshops, scorned of the priestes, disdayned of the worlde, yll reported, mocked, hated, reuiled, accursed, and so commytted vnto the laye judgement, to be condemned by them vnto moost shamful and cruell death. Yea, so extremely malicious was the spyghtfull spiritualtee agaynst him, that they wolde not suffre his body to be buried in their great cytee or holy church (which is spiritually called *Sodoma* and *Ægyptus*) to make the prophecy of Sainct Iohans Apocalps§ truly to be veryfied vpon him, and to proue him Chrystes membre alltogether. They both resolued his body into asshes, and also made the ryuer to carye them away, lyke as they did also with the bones of Iohan Wicleue¶, least any thing therof shuld remayne, because they wold also shewe themselues lyke in tyranny to Iulianus Apostata, that so vsed the body of holy Iohan Baptist afore them. I shuld make a comparyson betwixt thys blessed martir of Chryst, Sir Iohan Oldcas-

* Math. x. Mark viii. Luke ix. ib. xii. † Benedic. de Burgo Petri, Ioannes Capgraue, Stefanus Langton, lib. iii. cap. 18. ‡ Esay lv. ‖ Luke xvi. § Apoc. xi.
¶ De Sacramentalibus, cap. lxxxvi. § 13. Fasciculus Zizaniorum.

tell, and Peter of Myllane, with other of the Popes martirs, which dyed for the Popes power, pardons, pilgrymages, ear-confession, and other Popish maters more establysshed in the generall counsell of Lateran, but it wolde axe too moch tyme.

And as concerning the kinde of his contemptuous death or martirdome: More vyle was not his hanging vnder the galowes in an yron chayne, than was the hanging of his Lord Iesus Chryst vpon the crosse in the tyme of his death. Nor than was the hanging of Peter, Andrew, and Philip, his holy apostles: Bisshop Simeon, Doroteus, Gorgonius, Alexander, Epipodius, Claudius, Asterius, Menon, Nemesius, Nestor, Agricola, Iulia, Zoe, the wife of Nicostratus, with many other holy martirs more. More odyouse was not his burning in the fyre, than was the cruell burning of Barnabas the Apostell, Polycarpus, the good Bisshop of Smirna, Amancius, Agaton, Tiburcius, Petulius, Simphronius, Sosthenes, Uictor, Dioscorus, Eulogius, Fructuosus, Castus, Aemilius, Fidencius, Hero, Hyreneus, Aphra, Hylaria, Apolonia, Anastasia, and many hondreths more. Whan this strong witnesse of the Lord was among the fat bulles of Basan *, and moost cruelly assaulted of them, he was thoroughly assertained in his conscience for that conflyct of fayth, to taste his eternal goodness in the lasting lande of the lyuing.

Yea, soche tyme as he was reproued of his ennemies, and forsaken of his fryendes, in maner of a broken vessel †, he toke a strong stomacke vnto him, as dyd the mightee Machabees ‡, and thought thus in his minde, That, though those ungratiouse tyrauntes shuld put him vnto death, yet wolde the æternall Kyng (which is both 'resurrection and lyfe ||) raise him up agayn in the resurrection of life euerlasting,' among them that hath dyed for his pure lawes. Already hath he raysed his fame, which lay long dead, by the lyuing Spyrite of his gospell, for that he was a minister therof. Which is a moost euident token that he will hereafter, with his other mysticall membres, rayse him vp in perfight glory. Whan the gospell laye dead, gloryous Thomas Becket was a sainct, and Iohan Oldcastell a forgotten heretike. But, nowe that the lyght therof shyneth, we are lyke to see it farre otherwise. For proud Becket hath already hidden his face §, and poor Oldcastell beginneth nowe to appeare very notable. Not all vnrightly did Saint Augustin speak it, and other olde doctours besides, that many were worshipped here in earth for sainctes, whose wretched soules are greuously cruciate in hell.

Such tyme as our moost worthy soueurain, Kynge Henry the viii. now lyuing, after the moost goodly example of Kynge Iosyas ¶, visited the temples of his realme, he perseyued the sinneful shryne of this Becket, to be vnto his people a moost perniciouse euell, and therfore, in the worde of the Lord, he vtterly, among other, destroyed it. If he had vpon that, and such other abhominable shrynes, brent those idolatrouse pryestes, which were, and are yet, theyr chefe mainteiners, he had fulfilled the godly history throughout. But that which was not than perfourmed, in hope of their amendment, may, by chaunce, lyght upon them hereafter, whan no gentell warning will seme to be regarded.

* Psal. xxii. Amos iv. † Psal. xxx. ‡ 2 Mach. vii. || Iohan xi. ib. Apo. xx.
§ The pilgrimage to his shrine being forbidden, and his bones, by the king's order, burnt.
¶ 2 Kings xxiii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.

I dout not at all, but his most noble discretion perceyueth much more in that wycked generacyon of the Popes norryshynge up, which alwayes hath maynteyned, and yet do, soche manyfest errours, than he euer in his lyfe yet uttered. The eternall Father rewarde his Grace for that clere lyght of helthe, which we poore creaturs have receyued at his onlye hande undre God, though yt be not all without the grevouse punyshment of our bodyes. By the processe whiche we have afore here uttered of Sir Iohan Oldcastell, ye maye evydentlye see, that great is the treasure which the Lorde hath layed up for the behove of them that hath trusted in him*, wherewith now he maketh dumme the lyeing lyppes of them that dysdaynouslye reported the ryghtuouse, to the honour and prayse of his most gloryouse name. *Amen.*

Thus endeth the brefe chronycle concernynge the examynacyon and death of the blessed martir of Chryst, Sir Iohan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham, not canonysed of the Pope, but in the precyouse bloude of his Lorde Iesus Chryst. Collected by Iohan Bale, and imprinted, *Anno Dom.* 1544. and vi. *Die Augusti.*

THE

LAMENTATION, OR COMPLAINT

OF

A SINNER*,

MADE BY THE MOST VERTUOUS AND RIGHT GRATIOUS LADIE,

QUEEN CATHERINE,

Bewailing the Ignorance of her blind Life, led in Superstition;

Verie profitable to the Amendment of our Liues.

Quarto, containing Forty-seven Pages.

William Cicill having taken much profit, by the reading of this treatise following, wisheth vnto euerie Christian, by the reading thereof, like profit, with increase from God.

MOST gentle and Christian reader, if matters should be rather confirmed by their reporters, than the reports warranted by the matters, I might iustlie bewaile our time, wherein euill deeds be well worded, and good deeds euill cleaped. But sincere truth is, that things be not good for their praises, but be praised for their goodnesse. I doo not mooue

* Psa. xxx. Eccl. 1. Wisd. v.

† This is the 140th number in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

thee to like this christian treatise, bicause I haue mind to praise it; but I exhort thee to mind it, and, for the goodnesse, thou shalt allow it, for whose liking I labour not to obteine, onelie, mooued by mine example, their iudgement I regard, chieflie confirmed by the matter. Truelie, our time is so disposed to grant good names, to euill fruits, and excellent terme sto meane works, that neither can good deeds enioie their due names, being defrauded by the euill; neither excellent works can possesse their woorthie termes, being forestalled by the meane; insomuch that men seeke, rather, how much they can, than how much they ought to saie; inclining more to their pleasure, than to their iudgement, and to shew themselves rather eloquent, than the matter good; so that neither the goodnesse of the cause can mooue them to saie more, neither the euilnesse lesse. For, if the excellencie of this Christian contemplation, either for the goodnesse herein to maruell appearing, either for the profit, hereupon, to the reader ensuing, should be, with due commendation, followed: I, of necessitie, should either trauell, to find out new words, the old being anticipated by euill matters, or wish, that the common speech of praising were spared, vntill conuenient matters were found to spend it; such is the plentie of praising, and scarseness of deseruing.

Wherefore, lacking the maner in words, and not the matter in deed of high commendation, I am compelled to keepe in my iudgement with silence, trusting whom my report could not haue mooued to like this present treatise, the worthinesse of the matter shall compell to giue it honour.

Anie earthlie man would soon be stirred, to see some misterie of magike, or practise of alchumie, or, perchance, some inchantment of elements; but thou, which art christened, hast here a wonderfull mysterie of the mercie of God, a heauenlie practise of regeneration, a spiritual inchantment of the grace of God. If ioie and triumph be shewed, when a kings child is born into the world, what ioie is sufficient, when God's child is regenerated from heaven? The one is flesh, which is borne of flesh; the other is spirit, which is borne of spirit. The one, also, shall wither like the grasse of the earth, in short time; the other shall liue in heauen, beyond all time. If the finding of one lost sheepe be more ioifull, than the hauing of ninetie and nine; What ioie is it, to consider the returne of a straie child of Almightie God, whose returne teacheth the ninetie and nine to come to their fold? Euen such cause of ioie is this, that the angels, in heauen, take comfort herein. Be thou, therefore, ioifull, when a noble child is newlie borne; shew thy selfe glad, when the lost sheepe hath wonne the whole flock; be thou not sad, where angells reioise.

Here maist thou see one, if the kind may mooue thee, a woman; if degree may prouoke thee, a woman of high estate; by birth made noble, by marriage most noble, by wisedome godlie, by a mightie king, an excellent queene; by a famous Henrie, a renowned Catherine, a wife to him that was a king to realmes; refusing the world, wherein she was lost, to obtaine heauen, wherein she may be saued; abhorring sinne, which made hir bound to receiue grace, wherby she may be free; despising flesh, the cause of corruption, to put on the spirit, the cause of

sanctification: forsaking ignorance, wherein she was blind, to come to knowledge, whereby she may see; remoouing superstition, wherewith she was smothered, to imbrace true religion, wherewith she may reuiue.

The fruit of this treatise, good reader, is thine amendment; this onlie had, the writer is satisfied. This good ladie thought no shame to detest hir sinne, to obteine remission; no vilenes, to become nothing, to be a member of him, which is all things in all; no follie to forget the wisedome of the world, to learne the simplicitie of the gospell at the last; no displeasantnesse, to submit hir selfe to the schoole of the cross, the learning of the crucifix, the booke of our redemption, the verie absolute librarie of God's mercie and wisedome. This waie, thought she, hir honour increased, and hir state pirmanent, to make hir earthlie honour heauenlie, and neglect the transitorie for the euerlasting.

Of this I would thee warned, that the profit may ensue. These great mysteries and graces be not well perceiued, except they be surelie studied; neither be they perfectlie studied, except they be diligentlie practised; neither profitablie practised, without amendment. See and learne, hereby, what she hath doone, then maist thou practise, and amend that thou canst do; so shalt thou practise with ease, hauing a guide, and amend with profit, hauing a zeale. It is easier to see these, than to learne: begin at the easiest, to come to the harder; see thou hir confession, that thou maiest learne hir repentance; practise hir perseuerance, that thou maiest haue like amendment; despise thy selfe, in eschewing vice, that thou maiest please God, in asking grace; let not shame hinder the confession, which hindered not the offense. Be thou sure, 'if we knowledge our sins, God is faithfull to forgiue vs, and to clense vs from all vnrighteousnes.' Obeie the prophets saieng: 'Declare thy waies to the Lord.'

Thus far thou maist learne to knowe thy selfe: next this, be thou as diligent to releeue thy selfe in God's mercie, as thou hast beene to reueale thy selfe in thine owne repentance. For God hath concluded all thinges vnder sinne, bicause he would haue mercie upon all; who hath also borne our sinnes in his bodie vpon the tree, that we should be deliuered from sinne, and should liue vnto righteousnes, by whose stripes we be healed. Here is our anchor; here is our shepheard; here we be made whole; here is our life, our redemption, our saluation, and our blisse; let vs, therefore, now feed, by this gratious queenes example, and be not ashamed to become in confession publicanes, since this noble ladie will be no pharisie.

And, to all ladies of estate, I wish as earnest mind, to followe our queene in vertue, as in honour, that they might once appeare to prefer God before the world, and be honourable in religion, which now be honourable in vanities; so shall they, as in some vertuous ladies, of right high estate, it is, with great comfort seen, taste of this freedome of remission of the euerlasting blisse, which exceedeth all thoughts and vnderstandings, and is prepared for the holie in spirit. For the which, let vs, with our intercession in holines and purenes of life, offer our selues, to the heauenlie father, an vndefiled host: To whom be eternall praise and glorie, throughout the earth, without end. Amen.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

Of an humble Confession of Sinnes, to the Glorie of God.

WHEN I consider, in the bethinking of mine evil and wretched former life, mine obstinate, stonie, and vntractable heart, to haue so much exceeded in euilnesse, that it hath not onelie neglected, yea contemned, and despised Gods holie precepts and commandements; but, also, imbraced, receiued, and esteemed, vaine, foolish, and feined trifles, I am partlie, by the hate I owe to sinne, who hath reigned in me, and partlie, by the loue I owe to all Christians, whom I am content to edifie; euen, with the example of mine owne shame, forced, and constrained, with my hart and words, to confesse and declare to the world, how ingrate, negligent, vnkind, and stubborne, I have been to God my Creator, and how beneficiall, mercifull, and gentle, he hath been alwaies to me his creature, being such a miserable and wretched sinner.

Trulie, I haue taken no little small thing vpon me. First, to set foorth my whole stubbornesse, and contempt in words; the which is incomprehensible in thought, as it is in the twelfth Psalm, 'Who vnderstandeth his faults?' Next this, to declare the excellent beneficence, mercie, and goodnesse of God, which is infinite, and vnmeasurable. Neither can all the words of angels and men make relation thereof, as apperteineth to his most high goodnesse. Who is he, that is not forced to confesse the same, if he consider what he hath receiued of God, and doth dailie receiue? Yea, if men would not acknowledge and confesse the same, the stones would crie it out. Trulie, I am constrained and forced to speake, and write thereof, to mine own confusion and shame, but to the glory and praise of God. For he, as a louing father, of most abundant and high goodnesse, hath heaped vpon me innumerable benefits; and I, contrarie, haue heaped manifold sinnes, despising that which was good, holie, pleasant, and acceptable in his sight, and choosing that which was delicious, pleasant, and acceptable, in my sight.

And no maruell it was, that I so did, for I would not learne to knowe the Lord, and his waies, but loued darknesse better than light, yea, darknesse seemed to me light. I embraced ignorance, as perfect knowledge, and knowledge seemed to me superfluous and vaine. I regarded little Gods word, but gaue my selfe to vanities, and shadowes of the world. I forsooke him, in whom is all truth, and followed the vaine, foolish imaginations of my hart. I would haue couered my sinnes with the pretence of holinesse; I called superstition godlie meaning, and true holinesse errour. The Lord did speake manie pleasant and sweet words vnto me, and I would not heare; he called me diuerslie, but through frowardnesse, I would not answere.

Mine euils and miseries be so manie, and so great, that they can accuse me euen to my face. Oh, how miserable and wretchedlie am I confounded, when, for the multitude and greatnesse of my sinnes, I am compelled to accuse my selfe! Was it not a maruellous unkindnesse, when God did speake to me, and also call to me, that I would not answere him? What man, so called, would not haue heard? Or what man,

hearing, would not haue answered? If an earthlie Prince had spoken, either called, I suppose there be none, but would willinglie haue done both. Now, therefore, what a wretch and caitife am I, that, when the prince of princes, the king of kings, did speake manie pleasant and gentle words vnto me, and also called me so manie and sundrie times, that they can not be numbred; and yet, notwithstandiug these great signes and tokens of loue, I would not come vnto him, but hid my selfe out of his sight, seeking manie crooked and biwaies, wherein I walked so long, that I had clean lost his sight: And no maruell, or wonder, for I had a blind guide, called Ignorance, who dimmed so mine eies, that I could neuer perfectlie get anie sight of the faire, goodlie, streight, and right waies of his doctrine; but continuallie trauelled, vncomfortablie, in foule, wicked, crooked, and perverse waies; yea, and bicause they were so much haunted of manie, I could not thinke, but that I walked in the perfect and right waie, hauing more regard to the number of the walkers, than to the order of the walking; beleeuing also, most assuredly, with companie, to haue walked to heauen, whereas, I am most sure, they would haue brought me down to hell.

I forsooke the spirituall honouring of the true liuing God, and worshipped visible idols, and images made of mens hands, beleeuing, by them, to haue gotten heauen; yea, to saie the truth, I made a great idole of my selfe, for I loued my selfe better than God. And, certainlie, looke how manie things are loued, or preferred, in our harts, before God, so manie are taken and esteemed for idols, and false Gods. Alas! how haue I violated this holie, pure, and most high precept and commandment of the loue of God? Which precept bindeth me to loue him with my whole hart, mind, force, strength, and vnderstanding: And I, like vnto an euill, wicked, and disobedient child, haue giuen my will, power, and senses, to the contrarie, making, almost, of euerie earthlie and carnall thing, a God.

Furthermore, the bloud of Christ was not reputed, by me, sufficient for to wash me from the filth of my sinnes; neither such waies, as he had appointed by his word; but I sought for such riffraffe, as the Bishop of Rome hath planted, in his tyrannie and kingdome, trusting, with great confidence, by the vertue and holinesse of them, to receiue full remission of my sinnes. And so I did, as much as was in me, obfuscate and darken the great benefit of Christes passion, than the which, no thought can conceiue anie thing of more value. There can not be done so great an iniurie and displeasure to Almightie God, our father, as to tread vnder foot Christ, his onlie begotten and welbeloued sonne. All other sinnes in the world, gathered together in one, be not so heinous, and detestable, in the sight of God. And no wonder, for, in Christ crucified, God doth shewe himselfe most noble and glorious, euen an Almightie God, and most louing father, in his onlie deare and chosen blessed sonne.

And, therefore, I count my selfe one of the most wicked and miserable sinners in the world, bicause I haue beene so much contrarie to Christ my sauiour. Saint Paule desired to knowe nothing, but Christ crucified; after he had beene rapt into the third heauen, where he heard such secrets, as were not conuenient and meete to vtter to men,

but counted all his works and doings as nothing, to win Christ. And I, most presumptuouslie thinking nothing of Christ crucified, went about to set foorth mine owne righteousnesse, saieng, with the proud Pharisie: 'Good Lord, I thanke thee, I am not like other men: I am none adulterer, nor fornicator, and so forth;' with such like words of vaine glorie, extolling my selfe, and despising others, working as an hired seruant for wages, or else for reward, and not, as a louing child, onlie for verie loue, without respect of wages or reward, as I ought to haue done. Neither did I consider, how beneficiall a father I had, who did shew me his charitie and mercie of his owne meere grace and goodnesse, that, when I was most his enemie, he sent his onlie begotten and welbeloued sonne, into this world of wretchednesse and miserie, to suffer most cruell and sharpe death for my redemption. But my hart was so stonie and hard, that this great benefit was neuer trulie and liuelie printed in my hart, although, with my words, it was oft rehearsed, thinking my selfe to be sufficientlie instructed in the same, and being, in deede, in blinde ignorance; and yet I stoode so well in mine owne iudgement and opinion, that I thought it vaine to seeke the increase of my knowledge therein.

Paule calleth Christ the Wisdome of God; and, euen the same Christ, was, to me foolishnesse. My pride and blindnesse deceiued me, and the hardnesse of my hart withstoode the groning of truth within it. Such were the fruits of my carnall and humane reasons, to haue rotten ignorance in price for ripe and seasonable knowledge; such, also, is the malice and wickednesse that possesseth the harts of men; such is the wisdome and pleasing of the flesh. I professed Christ in my baptisme, when I began to liue, but I swarued from him after baptisme, in continuance of my liuing, euen as the heathen, which neuer had begun.

Christ was innocent, and void of all sinne, and I wallowed in filthie sinne, and was free from no sinne. Christ was obedient vnto his Father, euen to the death of the crosse; and I disobedient, and most stubborn, euen to the confusion of truth. Christ was meeke and humble in hart, and I most proud and vaine-glorious. Christ despised the world, with all the vanities thereof, and I make it my god, bicause of the vanities. Christ came to serue his brethren, and I coueted to rule ouer them. Christ despised worldlie honour, and I much delighted to attaine the same. Christ loued the base and simple things of the world, and I esteemed the most faire and pleasant things. Christ loued pouerty, and I wealth. Christ was gentle and mercifull to the poore, and I hard-harted and vngentle. Christ praied for his enemies, and I hated mine. Christ reioiced in the conuersion of sinners, and I was not greeued to see their reuersion to sinne. By this declaration, all creatures may perceiue how far I was from Christ, and without Christ; yea, how contrarie to Christ, although I bare the name of a Christian: Insomuch that, if anie man had said, I had beene without Christ, I would haue stiffelie denied and withstoode the same; and yet, in deede, I neither knew Christ, nor wherefore he came.

As concerning the effect and purpose of his coming, I had a certaine, vaine, and blind knowledge, both cold and dead, which may be had

with all sinne; as doth plainlie appeare by this my confession and open declaration.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

A Lamentation of a Sinner, with hartie Repentance in Faith, to obtaine Absolution and Remission, through the Merits of Christ.

WHAT cause now haue I to lament, sigh, and weepe, for my life and time so euill spent? With how much humilitie, and lowlinesse, ought I to come, and knowledge my sinnes to God, giuing him thanks, that it hath pleased him, of his abundant goodnesse, to giue me time of repentance. For I knowe my sinnes, in the consideration of them, to be so greeuous, and, in the number, so exceeding, that I haue deserued, uerie often, eternall damnation. And for the deferring of God's wrath, so manifoldlie due, I must vncessantlie giue thanks to the mercie of God; beseeching also, that the same delaie of punishment cause not his plague to be the sorer, since mine owne conscience condemneth my former doings. But his mercie exceedeth all iniquitie. And if I should not thus hope, alas, what should I seeke for refuge and comfort? No mortall man is of power to help me; and, for the multitude of my sinnes, I dare not lift vp mine eies to heauen, where the seate of iudgement is, I haue so much offended my God. What, shall I fall in desperation? Naie, I will call vpon Christ, the light of the world, the fountaine of life, the reliefe of all carefull consciences, the peacemaker betweene God and man, and the onlie health and comfort of all true repentant sinners.

He can, by his almightie power, saue me, and deliuer me out of this miserable state, and hath will, by his mercie, to saue euen the whole sin of the world. I haue no hope nor confidence in anie creature, neither in heauen nor earth, but in Christ, my whole and onlie Sauiour. He came into the world to saue sinners, and to heale them that are sicke; for he said, 'The whole haue no neede of the physician.' Behold, Lord, how I come to thee, a sinner sicke, and grieuouslie wounded; I aske not bread, but the crums that fall from the childrens table. Cast me not out of thy sight, although I haue deserued to be cast into hell fire.

If I should looke vpon my sinne, and not upon thy mercie, I should despaire; for, in my selfe, I find nothing to saue me, but a dunghill of wickednesse to condemne me. If I should hope, by mine owne strength and power, to come out of this maze of iniquitie and wickednesse, wherein I haue walked so long, I should be deceiued. For I am so ignorant, blind, weake, and feeble, that I can not bring my selfe out of this intangled and wayward maze; but, the more I seeke meanes and waies, to winde my selfe ouf, the more I am wrapped and tangled therein.

So that I perceiue my striuing therein to be hinderance, my trauell, to be labour spent, in going backe. It is the hand of the Lord that

can, and will, bring me out of the endlesse maze of death. For, without I be preuented, by the grace of the Lord, I can not aske forgiuenesse, nor be repentant, or sorie for them. There is no man can auow, that Christ is the onlie Sauiour of the world, but by the Holie Ghost; yea, as St. Paule saith, no man can saie, The Lord Jesus, but by the Holie Ghost. The Spirit helpeth our infirmitie, and maketh continuall intercession for vs, with such sorrowfull gronings as can not be expressed.

Therefore, I will first require, and praie the Lord, to giue me his Holie Spirit, to teach me to auow, that Christ is the Sauiour of the World, and to vtter these words, The Lord Jesus; and, finallie, to helpe mine infirmities, and to intercede, or intreate for me. For I am most certaine and sure, that no creature, in heauen nor earth, is of power, or can, by anie meane, helpe me; but God, who is omnipotent, almightie, beneficiall, and mercifull, welwilling, and louing, to all those that call, and put their whole confidence and trust in him. And, therefore, I will seeke none other meanes, nor aduocate, but Christes Holie Spririt, who is, onlie, the aduocate, and mediatour, betweene God and man, to helpe and releeue mee.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

What true Faith worketh in the Soule of a Sinner.

BUT now, What maketh me so bold and hardie, to presume to come to the Lord with such audacitie and boldnesse, being so great a sinner? Trulie nothing, but his owne word. For he saith, 'Come to me, all ye that labour, and are burdened, and I shall refresh you.' What gentle, mercifull, and comfortable words are these to all sinners? Were he not a frantike, madde, beastlie, and foolish man, that would runne for aide, helpe, or refuge, to anie other creature? What a most gratious, comfortable, and gentle saieng was this, with such pleasant and sweete words, to allure his verie enimies to come vnto him? Is there anie worldlie prince, or magistrate, that would shew such clemencie, and mercie, to their disobedient and rebellious subiects, hauing offended them? I suppose they would not, with such words, allure them, except it were to call them, whom they cannot take, and punish them, being taken. But euen as Christ is Prince of Princes, and Lord of Lords, so his charitie and mercie exceedeth and surmounteth all others. Christ saith, 'If carnall fathers do giue good gifts to their children, when they aske them, how much more shall your heauenlie Father, being, in substance, all holie, and, most highlie, good, giue good gifts to all them that aske him?'

It is no small nor little gift that I now require, neither thinke I my selfe worthie to receiue such a noble gift, being so ingrate, vnkind, and wicked a child. But, when I behold the benignitie, liberalitie, mercie, and goodnesse of the Lord, I am encouraged, boldened, and stirred, to aske such a noble gift. The Lord is so bountifull and liberall, that he

will not haue vs satisfied and contented with one gift, neither to aske simple and small gifts; and, therefore, he promiseth, and bindeth himselfe by his word, to giue good and beneficiall gifts, to all them that aske him with true faith, without which, nothing can be done acceptable, or pleasing, to God; for faith is the foundation and ground of all other gifts, vertues, and graces; and, therefore, I will praie and saie, 'Lord, increase my faith.'

For this is the life euerlasting, Lord, that I must beleeue thee to be the true God, and whom that thou didst send Jesus Christ. By this faith I am assured, and, by this assurance, I feele the remission of my sins. This is it that maketh me bold; this is it that comforteth me; this is it that quencheth all despaire.

I knowe, O my Lord, thine eies looke vpon my faith. St. Paule saith, 'We be iustified by faith in Christ, and not by the deeds of the lawe; for, if righteousnes come by the lawe, then Christ died in vaine.' St. Paule meaneth not here, a dead, humane, and historicall faith, gotten by humane industrie; but a supernaturall and liuelie faith, which worketh by charitie, as he himself plainlie expresseth. This dignitie of faith is no derogation to good works; for, out of this faith spring all good works, yet we may not impute to the worthinesse of faith or works our iustification before God, but ascribe, and giue the worthinesse of it, wholie to the merits of Christs passion, and refer and attribute the knowledge and perceiuing thereof, onlie to faith; whose verie, true, and onlie propertie it is, to take, apprehend, and hold fast the promises of Gods mercie, the which maketh vs righteous; and to cause me continuallie to hope for the same mercie, and, in loue, to work all maner of waies allowed in the scripture, that I may be thankfull for the same.

Thus I feele my selfe to come, as it were, in a new garment before God; and now, by his mercie, to be taken iust and righteous, which, of late, without his mercie, was sinfull and wicked; and, by faith, to obteine his mercie, the which the vnfaithfull can not enioie. And, although St. John extolleth charitie, in his epistle, saieng, 'That God is charitie, and he that dwelleth in charitie, dwelleth in God.' Truelie, charitie maketh men liue like angels, and, of the most furious, vnbrideled, and carnall men, maketh meeke lambes.

Yea, with how feruent a spirit ought I to call, crie, and praie to the Lord, to make his great charitie to burne and flame my hart, being stonie, and cuill affected, that it neuer would conceiue, nor regard, the great inestimable charitie and loue of God, in sending his onlie begotten, and deere beloued sonne, into this vale of miserie, to suffer the most cruell and sharpe death of the cross, for my redemption: Yea, I neuer had this vnspeakable and most high charitie, and abundant loue of God, printed, and fixed in my hart duelie, till it pleased God, of his meere grace, mercie, and pittie, to open mine eies, making me to see, and behold, with the eie of liuelie faith, Christ crucified, to be mine onlie Sauiour and Redeemer. For then I began (and not before) to perceiue and see mine owne ignorance and blindnesse; the cause thereof was, that I would not learne to knowe Christ my Sauiour and Redeemer.

But when God, of his meere goodnesse, had thus opened mine eies, and made me see and behold Christ, the wisedome of God, the light of

the world, with a supernaturall sight of faith, all pleasures, vanities, honor, riches, wealth, and aids of the world, began to waxe bitter vnto me: Then I knew it was no illusion of the diuell, nor false, ne humane doctrine I had receiued. When such successe came thereof, that I had in detestation and horrour that, which I erst so much loued and esteemed; being, of God, forbidden, that we should loue the world, or the vaine pleasures and shadowes in the same: Then began I to perceiue, that Christ was my onlie Sauiour and Redeemer; and the same doctrine to be all diuine, holie, heauenlie, and infused, by grace, into the harts of the faithfull, which neuer can be attained by humane doctrine, wit, nor reason, although they should trauell and labour for the same to the end of the world. Then began I to dwell in God by charitie, knowing, by the louing charitie of God, in the remission of my sinnes, that God is charitie, as St. John saith. So that of my faith (whereby I came to knowe God, and, whereby, it pleased God, euen bicause I trusted in him, to iustifie me) sprang this excellent charitie in my hart.

I thinke no lesse, but manie will wonder, and maruell at this my saieng, that I neuer knewe Christ for my Sauiour and Redeemer vntill this time. For many haue this opinion, saieng: 'Who knoweth not there is a Christ? 'Who, being a Christian, doth not confesse him his Sauiour?' And thus, beleeuing their dead, humane, historicall faith and knowledge (which they haue learned in their scholasticall bookes) to be the true infused faith and knowledge of Christ, which may be had, as I said before, with all sinne: They vse to saie, by their owne experience of themselues, that their faith doth not iustifie them. And, true it is, except they haue this faith, the which I haue declared here before, they shall neuer be iustified.

And yet it is not false, that, by faith onlie, I am sure to be iustified. Euen this is the cause, that so manie impugne this office and dutie of true faith, bicause so manie lacke the true faith. And, euen as the faithfull are forced to allow this true faith, so the vnfaithfull can, in no wise probablie, intreate thereof; the one feeling in himselfe that he saith, the other hauing not in him for to saie.

I haue, certeinlie, no curious learning to defend this matter withall, but a simple zeale, and earnest loue, to the truth inspired of God, who promiseth, to powre his Spirit upon all flesh; which I haue, by the grace of God (whom I most humblie honour) felt in my selfe to be true.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

Of the great Loue of God towards Mankind, and of the inward Beholding of Christ crucified.

LET vs, therefore, now, I praie you, by faith, behold and consider the great charitie and goodnesse of God, in sending his sonne, to suffer death for our redemption, when we were his mortall enemies; and, after what sort and maner he sent him,

First, It is to be considered, yea to be vndoubtedlie, and, with a perfect faith, beleeued, that God sent him to vs freelie; for he did giue him, and sold him not; a more noble and rich gift he could not haue giuen. He sent not a seruant, or a friend, but his onlie sonne; so deerelie beloued; not in delights, riches, and honours, but in crosses, pouerties, and slanders; not as a Lord, but as a seruant, yea, and in most uille and painefull passions, to wash us; not with water, but with his owne pretious bloud; not from mire, but from the puddle and filth of our iniquities. He hath giuen him, not to make vs poore, but to enrich vs with his diuine vertues, merits, and graces; yea, and in him, he hath giuen vs all good things, and, finallie, himselfe, and with such great charitie, as can not be expressed.

Was it not a most high and abundant charitie of God, to send Christ to shed his bloud, to loose honour, life, and all, for his enemies? Euen, in the time, when he had done him most iniurie, he first shewed his charitie to vs, with such flames of loue, that greater could not be shewed. God, in Christ, hath opened unto vs (although we be weake and blind of our selues) that we may behold, in this miserable estate, the great wisedome, goodnesse, and truth, with all the other godlie perfections, which be in Christ. Therefore, inwardlie to behold Christ crucified vpon the Crosse, is the best and goodliest meditation that can be.

We may see also, in Christ crucified, the beautie of the soule, better than in all the bookes of the world: for who, that with a liuelie faith, seeth and feeleth, in spirit, that Christ, the Sonne of God, is dead, for the satisfieng and purifieng of the soule, shall see, that his soule is appointed for the uerie tabernacle and mansion of the inestimable and incomprehensible maiestie and honour of God. We see also, in Christ crucified, how vaine and foolish the world is, and how that Christ, being most wise, despised the same. We see, also, how blind it is, because the same knoweth not Christ, but persecuteth him. We see also, how vnkind the world is, by the killing of Christ, in the time he did shew it most fauour. How hard and obstinate was it, that would not be mollified with so manie tears, such sweate, and so much bloudshead of the Sonne of God, suffering with so great and high charitie?

Therefore, he is now verie blind, that seeth not how vaine, foolish, false, ingrate, cruell, hard, wicked, and euill the world is. We may also, in Christ crucified, weigh our sinnes, as in a diuine ballance, how greeuous, and how weightie they be, seeing they haue crucified Christ; for they would neuer haue beene counterpaised, but with the great and pretious weight of the bloud of the Sonne of God. And, therefore, God, of his high goodnesse, determined, that his blessed Sonne should rather suffer bloudshead, than our sinnes should haue condemned vs. We shall neuer knowe our owne miserie and wretchednesse, but with the light of Christ crucified; then we shall see our owne crueltie, when we feele his mercie; our owne vnrighteousnesse and iniquitie, when we see his righteousnesse and holinesse. Therefore, to learne to knowe trulie our owne sinnes is to studie in the booke of the crucifixe, by continuall conuersation in faith; and to haue perfect

and plentifull charitie is to learne, first by faith, the charitie that is in God towards vs.

We may see also, in Christ upon the Crosse, how great the paines of hell, and howe blessed the ioies of heauen be; and what a sharpe and painefull thing it shall be to them, that, of that sweet, happie, and glorious ioie, Christ, shall be depriued. Then this crucifixe is the booke, wherein God hath included all things, and hath most compendiousle written, therein, all truth, profitable and necessarie for our saluation. Therefore, let vs endeuour, our selues, to studie this booke, that we, being lightened with the spirit of God, may giue him thanks for so great a benefit.

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

Of the glorious Victories of Christ ouer all Enemies.

IF we looke further in this booke, we shall see Christs great victorie vpon the crosse, which was so noble and mightie, that there neuer was so noble a mightie, that there neur was, neither shall be such. If the victorie and glorie of worldlie princes were great, because they did ouercome great hostes of men, how much was Christes greater, which vanquished, not onelie the prince of this world, but all the enemies of God; triumphing ouer persecution, iniuries, villanies, slanders, yea death, the world, sinne, and the diuell, and brought to confusion all carnall prudence?

The princes of the world neuer did fight, without the strength of the world: Christ contrarilie went to warre, euen against all the strength of the world. He fought, as Dauid did with Golias, vnarmed of all humane wisdome and policie, and without all worldlie power and strength. Neuerthelesse, he was fullie replenished, and armed with the whole armour of the spirit; and, in this one battell, he ouercame, for euer, all his enemies. There was neuer so glorious a spoile, neither a more rich and noble, than Christ was upon the crosse, which deliuered all his elect from such a sharpe and miserable captiuitie. He had, in his battell, manie stripes, yea, and lost his life, but his victorie was so much the greater. Therefore, when I looke vpon the Sonne of God, with a supernaturall faith and light, so vnarmed, naked, giuen vp, and alone, with humilitie, patience, liberalitie, modestie, gentlenesse, and with all other his diuine vertues, beating downe to the ground all Gods enemies, and making the soule of man so faire and beautifull: I am forced to saie, that his victorie and triumph was maruellous; and, therefore, Christ well deserued to have this noble title, Iesus of Nazareth, King of the Iewes.

But, if we will particularlie vnfold and see his great victories, let vs first behold, how he ouercame sinne with his innocencie, and confounded pride with his humilitie; quenched all worldlie loue with his

charitie, appeased the wrath of his father with his meekenesse, and turned hatred into loue, with his so manie benefits and godlie zeale.

Christ hath not onlie ouercome sinne, but, rather, he hath killed the same; in asmuch as he hath satisfied for it himselfe, with the most holie sacrifice and oblation of his pretious bodie, in suffering most bitter and cruell death. Also, after another sort, that is, he giueth all those that loue him, so much spirit, grace, vertue, and strength, that they may resist, impugne, and ouercome sinne, and not consent, neither suffer it to reigne in them. He hath also vanquished sinne, because he hath taken awaie the force of the same; that is, he hath cancelled the lawe, which was, in euill men, the occasion of sinne. Therefore, sinne hath no power against them, that are, with the Holie Ghost, vnited to Christ; in them there is nothinge worthie of damnation. And although the dregs of Adam do remaine, that is, our concupiscences, which, in deede, be sinnes; neuerthelesse, they be not imputed for sinnes, if we be trulie planted in Christ. It is true, that Christ might haue taken awaie all our immoderate affections, but he hath left them for the great glorie of his Father, and for his owne greater triumph. As for example: When a prince fighteth with his enemies, which, sometime, had the souereigntie ouer his people, and, subduing them, may kill them if he will, yet he preserueth and saueth them; and, whereas they were lords ouer his people, he maketh them after to serue, whome they before had ruled. Now, in such a case, the prince doth shewe himself a greater conquerour, in that he hath made them, which were rulers, to obeie; and the subiects to be Lords ouer them, to whome they serued, than if he had vtterlie destroied them vpon the conquest. For now he leaueth continuall victorie to them, whome he redeemed, whereas, otherwise, the occasion of victorie was taken awaie, where none were left to be the subiects. Euen so, in like case, Christ hath left in vs these concupiscences, to the intent they should serue vs, to the exercise of our vertues, where first they did reigne ouer vs, to the exercise of our sinne. And it may be plainlie seene, that whereas, first, they were such impediments to vs, that we could not mooue our selues towards God; now, by Christ, we haue so much strength, that, notwithstanding the force of them, we may assuredlie walke to heauen. And although the children of God, sometime, do fall, by frailtie, into some sinne; yea, that falling maketh them to humble themselves, and to reknowledge the goodnesse of God, and to come to him for refuge and helpe.

Likewise Christ, by his death, hath ouercome the prince of diuells, with all his hoast, and hath destroied them all. For, as Paule saith, it is verified, that Christ should breake the serpents head, prophefied by God. And although the diuell tempt vs, yet if, by faith, we be planted in Christ, we shall not perish, but rather, by his temptation, take great force and might. So it is euident, that the triumph, victorie, and glorie of Christ is the greater, hauing, in such sort, subdued the diuell; that, whereas he was prince and lord of the world, holding all creatures in captiuitie, now Christ vseth him as an instrument to punish the wicked, and to exercise and make strong the elect of God in Christian warfare.

Christ, likewise, hath overcome death in a more glorious manner, if it be possible, because he hath not taken it awaie, but leauing vniuersallie all subiect to the same. He hath giuen so much vertue and spirit, that, whereas afore we passed thereto with great feare, now we be bold through the spirit, for the sure hope of the resurrection, that we receiue it with ioie. It is now no more bitter, but sweete; no more feared, but desired; it is no death, but life.

And, also, it hath pleased God, that the infirmities and aduersities do remain to the sight of the world; but the children of God are, by Christ, made so strong, righteous, whole, and sound, that the troubles of the world be comforts of the spirit, the passions of the flesh are medicines of the soul; for all maner of things worke to their commoditie and profite; for they, in spirit, feele, that God, their Father, doth gouerne them, and disposeth all things for their benefit; therefore they feele themselues sure. In persecution, they are quiet and peacefull; in trouble, they are without weerinesse, feares, anxieties, suspicions, miseries; and, finallie, all the good and euill of the world worketh to their commoditie.

Moreouer, they see that the triumph of Christ hath beene so great, that not onelie he hath subdued and vanquished all our enemies, and the power of them, but he hath ouerthrowne and vanquished them, after such a sort, that all things serue to our helth. He might and could haue taken them all awaie, but where then should haue beene our victorie, palme, and crowne? For we dailie haue fights in the flesh, and, by the succour of grace, haue continuall victories ouer sinne; whereby we haue cause to glorifie God, that, by his Sonne, hath weakened our enemie, the diuell, and, by his spirit, giueth vs strength to vanquish his ofspring.

So doo we knowledge, dailie, the great triumph of our Sauiour, and reioice in our own fights; the which we can no wise impute to anie wisdome of this world, seeing sinne to increase by it; and, where worldlie wisedome most gouerneth, there most sinne ruleth; for, as the world is enemie to God, so also the wisdome thereof is aduerse to God, and, therefore, Christ hath declared, and discouered the same for foolishness. And, although he could haue taken awaie all worldlie wisdome, yet he hath left it for his greater glorie, and triumph of his chosen vessels. For before, whereas it was our ruler against God, now, by Christ, we are serued of it for God, as of a slaue in worldlie things; albeit, in supernaturall things, the same is not to be vnderstood. And further, if, at anie time, men would impugne, and gainsaie vs, with the wisdome of the world, yet we haue, by Christ, so much supernaturall light of the truth, that we make a mock of all those that repugne the truth.

Christ also, vpon the crosse, hath triumphed ouer the world. First, bicause he hath discouered the same to be naught; that whereas it was couered with the vaile of hypocrisie, and the vesture of morall vertues: Christ hath shewed, that, in Gods sight, the righteousnesse of the world is wickednesse, and he hath yeelded witnes, that the works of men, not regenerated by him in faith, are euill; and so Christ hath iudged and condemned the world for naught. Furthermore, he hath giuen to all

his so much light and spirit, that they knowe it, and dispraise the same; yea and tread it vnder their feet, with all vaine honours, dignities, and pleasures; not taking the faire promises, neither the offers which it doth present; naie, they rather make a scorne of them. And, as for the threatnings and force of the world, they nothing feare.

Now, therefore, we may see how great the victorie and triumph of Christ is, who hath deliuered all those, the father gaue him, from the power of the diuell, concelling, vpon the Crosse, the writing of our debts. For he hath deliuered vs from the condemnation of sinne, from the bondage of the lawe, from the feare of death, from the danger of the world, and from all euills in this life, and in the other to come. And he hath inriched vs, made vs noble, and most highlie happie, after such a glorious and triumphant waie, as can not with tongue be expressed; and, therefore, we are forced to saie, his triumph is maruellous.

It is also seene and knowne, that Christ is the true Messias; for he hath deliuered man from all euills, and, by him, man hath all goodnesse, so that he is the true Messias. Therefore, all other helpers be but vaine, and counterfeited sauiours; seeing that, by this, our Messias, Christ, wholie and onlie we be deliuered from all euils, and, by him, we haue all goodnesse. And that this is true, it is euident and cleare, bicause the verie true Christian is a Christian by Christ. And the true Christian feeleth inwardlie, by Christ, so much goodnesse of God, that euen troublous life and death be sweet vnto him, and miseries happie. The true Christian, by Christ, is disburdened from the seruitude of the lawe, hauing the lawe of grace, grauen by the spirit, inhabiting his hart, and from sinne that reigned in him, from the power of the infernall spirits, from damnation, and from euerie euill; and is made a Sonne of God, a Brother of Christ, heire of heauen, and Lord of the world; so that, in Christ and by Christ, he possesseth all good things.

But let vs knowe, that Christ yet fighteth in spirit, in his elect vessels, and shall fight euen to the daie of iudgment; at whiche daie shall that great enemie, death, be wholie destroied, and shall be no more. Then shall the Children of God reioice on him, saieng, O death, where is thy victorie and sting? there shall be then no more trouble nor sinne; naie, rather, none euill, but heauen for the good, and hell for the wicked. Then shall, wholie, be discouered, the victorie and triumph of Christ, who, after Paule, shall present vnto his Father the Kingdome, together with his chosen saued by him.

It was no little fauour towards his children, that Christ was chosen of God to saue vs, his elect, so highlie, by the waie of the crosse. Paule calleth it a grace, and a most singular grace. We may well thinke, that he, hauing beene, to the world, so valiant a captaine of God, was full of light, grace, vertue, and spirit; therefore, he might iustlie saie, *Consummatum est*. Wee seeing then, that the triumph and victorie of our captaine, Christ, is so maruellous, glorious, and noble, to the which war we be appointed; let vs force our selues to folowe him, with bearing our crosse, that we may haue felowship with him in his kingdome.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

That we ought to submit our selues to the Schoole of the Crosse, and still looke and learne in the booke of the Crucifix.

TRULIE, it may be most iustlie verified, that to behold Christ crucified, in spirit, is the best meditation that can be. I certeinlie neuer knew mine owne miseries, and wretchednes, so well by booke, admonition, or learning, as I haue done, by looking into the spirituall booke of the crucifix. I lament much, I haue passed so manie yeeres, not regarding that diuine booke; but I iudged, and thought my selfe to be well instructed in the same; whereas now I am of this opinion, that if God would suffer me to liue here a thousand yeeres, and I should studie continuallie in the same diuine booke, I should not be filled with the contemplation thereof. Neither hold I my selfe contented, but alwaies haue a great desire, to learne and studie more therein. I neuer knewe mine owne wickednes, neither lamented for my sinnes trulie, vntil the time God inspired me with his grace, that I looked in this booke; then I began to see perfectlie, that mine owne power and strength could not help me, and that I was in the Lords hand, euen as the claie is in the potters hand; then I began to crie, and saie:

'Alas! Lord, that euer I haue so wickedlie offended thee, being to me, from the beginning, so gratious, and so good a father, and, most speciallie, now hast declared and shewed thy goodness vnto me, when, in the time, I haue done thee most iniurie, to call me, and also to make me knowe, and take thee for my Sauior and Redeemer.'

Such be the wonderfull works of God, to call sinners to repentance, and to make them to take Christ, his welbeloued Sonne, for their Sauiour; this is the gift of God, and of all Christians to be required and desired. For, except this great benefit of Christ crucified be felt and fixed surelie in mans hart, there can be no good worke done, acceptable before God; for, in Christ, is all fulnesse of the godhead, and, in him, are hid all the treasures of wisdome and knowledge: euen he is the water of life, whereof whosoeuer shall drink, he shall neuer more thirst, but it shall be in him a well of water, springing vp into euerlasting life. St. Paule saith, there is no damnation to them that are in Christ, which walke not after the flesh, but after the spirit. Moreouer he saith, If, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God, by the death of his Son, much more, seeing we are reconciled, we shall be preserued by his death. It is no little or small benefit we haue receiued by Christ, if we consider what he hath done for vs, as I haue perfectlie declared heretofore. Wherefore I praie the Lord, that this great benefit of Christ crucified may be stedfastlie fixed and printed in all Christians harts, that they may be true louers of God, and worke as children for Loue, and not as seruants, compelled with threatenings, or prouoked with hire.

The sincere and pure louers of God doo embrace Christ, with such feruencie of spirit, that they reioice in hope, be bold in danger, suffer in aduersitie, continue in praier, blesse their persecutors. Further, they be not wise in their owne opinion, neither high-minded in their prosperitie, neither abashed in their aduersitie, but humble and gentle alwaies to all men: For they knowe, by their faith, they are members all of one bodie, and that they haue possessed all one God, one faith, one baptisme, one ioie, and one saluation. If these pure and sincere louers of God were thicke sowne, there should not be so much contention and strife growing on the fields of our religion, as there is. Well, I shall praie to the Lord, to take all contention and strife awaie, and that the sowers of sedition may haue mind to cease their labour, or to sowe it among the stones, and to haue grace to sowe gratious vertues, where they may both take roote, and bring foorth fruit, with sending also a godlie vnitie and concord amongst all Christians, that we may serue the Lord in true holinesse of life.

THE SEUENT CHAPTER.

A Christian bewailing of the miserable ignorance and blindnesse of men.

THE example of good liuing is required of all Christians, but speciallie in the ecclesiasticall pastors and shepheards. For they be called, in scripture, workmen with God, disbursers of Gods secrets, the light of the world, the salt of the earth; at whose hands all other should take comfort in working, knowledge of Gods will, and sight to become children of light, and taste of seasonable wisdome. They haue, or should haue, the holie spirit, abundantlie to pronounce and set foorth the word of God, in veritie and truth. If ignorance and blindnesse reigne amongst vs, they should, with the truth of God's word, instruct and set vs in the truth, and direct vs in the waie of the Lord.

But thanks be giuen vnto the Lord, that hath now set vs such a godlie and learned King, in these latter daies, to reigne ouer vs; that, with the vertue and force of Gods word, hath taken awaie the vailes and mists of errours, and brought vs to the knowledge of the truth, by the light of Gods word; which was so long hid, and kept vnder, that the people were nigh famished, and hungred, for lacke of spirituall food. Such was the charitie of the spirituall curats and shepheards. But our Moses, and most godlie wise gouernour and king, hath deliuered vs out of the captiuitie and bondage of Pharao. I meane by this Moses, King Henrie the Eight, my most souereigne fauourable lord and husband; one, if Moses had figured anie more than Christ, through the excellent grace of God, meete to be an other expressed veritie of Moses conquest ouer Pharao. And I meane by this Pharao, the Bishop of Rome, who hath beene, and is a greater persecutor of all true Christians, than euer was Pharao of the children of Israel; for he is a persecutor of the gospell and grace, a setter foorth of all superstition and counterfeit holinesse, bringing manie soules to hell with his alchimie and counterfeit

monie, deceiuing the poore soules, vnder the pretence of holinesse; but so mvch the greater shall be his damnation, bicause he deceiueth and robbeth vnder Christs mantell. The Lord keep and defend all men from his iuglings and sleits, but speciallie the poore, simple, and vnlearned soules. And this lesson I would all men had of him, that, when they begin to mislike his dooing, then onlie begin they to like God, and certeinlie not before.

As for the spirituall pastors and shepherds, I thinke they will cleaue and sticke to the word of God, euen to the death; to vanquish all Gods enemies, if neede shall require; all respects of honour, dignitie, riches, welth, and their priuate commodities, laid apart; following also the examples of Christ, and his chosen apostles, in preaching and teaching sincere and holesome doctrine, and such things as make for peace, with godly lessons, wherewith they may edifie others; that euerie man may walke after his vocation, in holinesse of life, in vnite and concord, which vnitie is to be desired of all true Christians.

It is much to be lamented, the schismes, varieties, contentions, and disputations, that haue beene, and are in the world, about Christian religion, and no agreement nor concord of the same among the learned men. Truelie, the diuell hath beene the sower of the seede of sedition, and shall be the mainteiner of it, euen till Gods will be fulfilled. There is no war so cruell and euill as this; for the war, with sword, killeth but the bodies, and this slaieth manie soules; for the poore vnlearned persons remaine confused, and almost euerie one beleeueth and worketh after his owne waie; and yet there is but one truth of Gods word, by the which we shall be saued. Happie be they that receiue it, and most vnhappie are they which neglect and persecute the same: For it shall be more easie for Sodom and Gomor, at the daie of iudgement, than for them. And not without iust cause, if we consider the beneuolence, goodnesse, and mercie of God, who hath declared his charitie towards vs, greater, and more inestimable, than euer he did to the Hebrues. For they liued vnder shadowes and figures, and were bound to the lawe. And Christ, we being his greatest enemies, hath deliuered vs from the bondage of the lawe, and hath fulfilled all that was figured in their lawe, and also in their prophesies; sheading his owne pretious bloud, to make vs the children of his father, and his brethren, and hath made vs free, setting vs in a godlie libertie: I meane not licence to sinne, as manie be glad to interpret the same, when as Christian libertie is godlie intreated of.

Trulie, it is no good spirit that moueth men to find fault at euerie thing, and, when things may be well taken, to peruert them into an euill sense and meaning. There be, in the world, manie speakers of holines and good works, but verie rare and seldome is declared, which be the good and holie works. The works of the spirit be neuer almost spoken of, and, therefore, verie few knowe what they be. I am able to iustifie the ignorance of the people to be great, not in this matter alone, but in manie other, the which were most necessarie for Christians to knowe. Because I haue had iust proofe of the same, it maketh me thus much to saie, with no little sorowe and greefe in my hart, for such a miserable ignorance and blindnesse amongest the people.

I doubt not, but we can saie all, Lord, Lord; but I feare, God may saie vnto vs, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their harts be far from me. God desireth nothing but the hart, and saith, He will be worshipped in spirit and truth. Christ condemned all hypocrisie and feigned holines, and taught sincere, pure, and true godlinesse; but we, worse than frantike, or blinde, will not followe Christs doctrine, but trust to mens doctrines, iudgements, and saiengs, which dimmeth our eies, and so the blind leadeth the blind, and both fall into the dich. Trulie, in my simple and vnlearned iudgement, no mans doctrine is to be esteemed, or preferred, like vnto Christs and the apostles; nor to be taught, as a perfect and true doctrine, but euen as it doth accord and agree with the doctrine of the gospell.

But yet, those that be called spirituall pastours, although they be most carnall, as it doth verie euidentlie and plainelie appeare by their fruites, are so blinded with the loue of themselues, and the world, that they extoll mens inuentions and doctrines, before the doctrine of the gospell. And when they be not able to mainteine their own inuentions and doctrines, with anie iot of the scripture, then they most cruellie persecute them that be contrarie to the same. Be such the louers of Christ? Naie, naie, they be the louers of the wicked Mammon, neither regarding God, nor his honour. For filthie lucre hath made them almost mad, but frantike they be doubtlesse. Is not this miserable state of spirituall men in the world much to be lamented of all good Christians? But yet I cannot allowe, neither praise all kind of lamentation, but such as may stand with Christian charitie.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

Of the Fruites and Rules of true Christianitie for Men to followe.

CHARITIE suffereth long, and is gentle, enuieth not, vpbraideth no man, casteth, frowardlie, no faults in mens teeth, but referreth all things to God; being angrie without sinne, reforming others without slanders, carrieng euer a store-house of mild words to pearce the stonie-harted men. I would all Christians, that, like as they haue professed Christ, would so endeuour themselues to followe him in godlie liuing. For we haue not put on Christ, to liue anie more to our selues, in the vanities, delightes, and pleasures of the world, and the flesh; suffering the concupiscence and carnalitie of the flesh to haue his full swinge, for we must walke after the spirit, and not after the flesh; for the spirit is spirituall, and coueteth spirituall things, and the flesh carnall, and desireth carnall things. The men, regenerate by Christ, despise the world, and all the vanities and pleasures thereof; they be no louers of themselues, for they feele how euill and infirme they be, not being able to do anie good thing without the helpe of God, from whom they knowledge all goodnesse to proceede.

They flatter not themselues, with thinking euerie thing, which shineth to the world, to be good and holie; for they knowe all externe and out-

ward works, be they neuer so glorious and faire to the world, may be done of the euill as well as of the good: And, therefore, they haue, in verie little estimation, the outward shew of holinesse, because they be all spirituall, casting vp their eies vpon heauenlie things; neither looking, nor regarding the earthlie things, for they be to them vile and abiect. They haue also the simplicitie of the doue, and the policie of the serpent; for, by simplicitie, they haue a desire to do good to all men, and to hurt no man, no, though they haue occasion giuen; and, by policie, they giue not, nor minister anie iust cause to anie man, whereby their doctrine might be reproued. They be not, also, as a reede shaken with euerie winde; but, when they be blasted with the tempests and stormes of the world, then remaine they most firme, stable, and quiet, feeling in spirit, that God, as their best father, doth send, and suffer all things for their benefit and commoditie. Christ is to them a rule, a line, an example of Christian life; they be neuer offended at anie thing, although occasion be ministred vnto them: For, like as Christ, when Peter would haue withdrawne him from death, answered, and said, 'Go backe from me, Sathan, for thou offendest me;' that is, As much as lieth in thee, thou giuest me occasion, with thy words, to make me withdrawe my selfe from death, although I yeelded not thereto; for this, thy procurement, can not extinguish the burning desire I haue to shed my bloud for my chosen. Euen so the perfect men are neuer offended at anie thing; for, although the world were full of sinne, they would not withdrawe themselues from doing of good, nor waxe cold in the loue of the Lord. And much lesse they would be moued to do euill, yea rather, they be so much the more moued to do good.

The regenerated by Christ are neuer offended at the works of God, because they knowe, by faith, that God doth all things well; and that he can not erre, neither for want of power, nor by ignorance, nor malice; for they knowe him to be almightie, and that he seeth all things, and is most abundantlie good. They see, and feele in spirit, that, of that will most highlie perfect, can not but proceede most perfecte works. Likewise, they be not offended at the works of men; for, if they be good, they are moued, by them, to take occasion to folowe them, and to reknowledge the goodnes of God, with giuing of thanks, and praising his name dailie the more. But if they be indifferent, and such as may be done with good and euill intents, they iudge the best part, thinking they may be done to a good purpose, and so they be edified. But, if they be so euill, that they can not be taken in good part, by anie meanes, yet they be not offended, although occasion be giuen; naie, rather, they be edified, in asmuch as they take occasion to be better, though the contrarie be ministred to them.

Then begin they to thinke, and saie thus: 'If God had not preserued me with his grace, I should have committed this sinne, and worsse. O how much am I bound to confesse and knowledge the goodnesse of God!' They go also thinking and saieng further: 'He that hath sinned, may be one of Gods elect; peraduenture the Lord hath suffered him to fall, to the intent he may the better knowe himselfe. I knowe he is one of them that Christ hath shed his bloud for, and one of my Christian brethren; trulie, I will admonish and rebuke him, and, in case I find him

desperate, I will comfort him, and shewe him the great goodnesse and mercie of God in Christ; and, with godlie consolations, I will see if I can lift him vp.' And thus ye may see how the men, regenerated by Christ, of euerie thing, win and receiue fruit.

THE NINT CHAPTER.

Of the Fruits of Infidelitie, and Offence of Weakelings.

AND contrariwise, the yonglings, and vnperfect, are offended at small trifles, taking euerie thing in euill part, grudging and murmuring against their neighbour; and so much the more, as they shew themselues feruent in their so doing, they are iudged of the blind world, and of themselues, great zeale-bearers to God. If this were the greatest euill of these yonglings, it were not the most euill; but I feare they be so blind and ignorant, that they are offended, also, at good things, and iudge nothing good, but such as they embrace and esteeme to be good, with murmuring against all such as folowe not their waies. If there be anie of this sort, the Lord giue them the light of his truth, that they may increase and growe in godlie strength. I suppose, if such yonglings and vnperfect had seen Christ, and his disciples, eate meate with vnwashen hands, or not to haue fasted with the pharisies, they would haue beene offended, seeing him a breaker of mens traditions. Their affections dispose their eies to see through other men, and they see nothing in themselues; where charitie, although it be most full of eies, to see the faults of others, whome it coueteth to amend, thinketh none euill, but discreetlie, and rightlie, interpreteth all things, by the which more iustlie and trulie eueri thing is taken.

Now, these superstitious weaklings, if they had been conuersant with Christ, and seene him leade his life sometime with women, sometime with Samaritans, with publicanes, sinners, and with the pharisies, they would haue murmured at him. Also, if they had seene Marie powre vpon Christ the pretious ointment, they would haue said, with Iudas, 'This ointment might haue beene sold, and giuen to the poore.' If they also had seene Christ, with whips, driue out of the temple those that bought and sold, they would, foorthwith, haue iudged Christ to haue beene troubled and moued with anger, and not by zeale of charitie. How would they haue beene offended, if they had seene him go to the Iewes feast, heale a sicke man vpon the sabbath daie, practise with the woman of Samaria, yea, and shew vnto hir of his most diuine doctrine and lif? They would haue taken occasion to haue hated and persecuted him, as the scribes and pharisies did; and euen so should Christ, the Sauiour of the World, haue beene to them an offence and ruine.

There be an other kind of little ones vnperfecte, which are offended after this sort and maner. As when they see one that is reputed and esteemed holie, to commit sinne, foorthwith they learne to do that, and woorse, and waxe cold in dooing of good, and confirme themselues in euill; and then they excuse their wicked life, publishing the same with

the slander of their neighbour. If anie man reprooue them, they saie: Such a man did this, and woorse. So it is euident, that such persons would denie Christ, if they sawe other men doo the same. If they went to Rome, and sawe the enormities of the prelates, which is said to reigne there amongst them, I doubt not, if they sawe one of them sinne, which wer reputed and taken for holie, their faith should be lost, but not the faith of Christ, which they neuer possessed; but they should loose that humane opinion which they had of the goodnesse of the prelates: For, if they had the faith of Christ, the Holie Ghost should be a witnes vnto them; the which should be mightie in them, that, in case all the world would denie Christ, yet they would remaine firme and stable in the true faith.

The pharisies also tooke occasion of the euill of others, to waxe hautie and proud, taking themselues to be men of greater perfection than anie other, bicause of their vertue; euen as the pharisie did when he sawe the publicans submission. And so they be offended with euerie little thing, iudging euill, murmuring against their neighbour; and, for the same, they are, of manie, reputed, and taken for the more holie and good, whereas, in deed, they be the more wicked The most wicked persons are offended, euen at themselues; for, at their little stabilitie in goodnesse, and of their delectable and euill life, they take occasion to despaire, where they ought the more to commit themselues to God, asking mercie for their offences; and, foorthwith, to giue thanks, that it hath pleased him, of his goodnesse, to suffer them so long a time.

But what needeth it anie more to saie, the euill men are offended euen at the workss of God? They see God suffer sinners, therefore, thinke they, sinne displeaseth him not. And, bicause they see not the good rewarded with riches, oftentimes they imagine that God loueth them not: It seemeth to them God is parciall, bicause he hath elected some, and some reprooued. And, therefore, they saie, that the elected be sure of saluation; taking, by that, occasion to do euill inough, saieng, Whatsoeuer God hath determined, shall be performed. If also they see the good men oppressed, and the euill men exalted, they iudge God vniust, taking occasion to liue euille, saieng, Inasmuch as God fauoureth the naughtie men, let vs doo euill inough, to the intent he doo vs good. If then the wicked be offended, euen at God, it is no woonder if they be offended at those that followe and walke in his paths and waies.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

Of carnall Gospellers, by whose euill Liuing, Gods Truth is shamefullie slandered.

I WILL now speake with great dolor and heauinesse in my hart, of a sort of people which be in the world, that be called professors of the gospell, and, by their words, doo declare and shew they be much affected to the same: But, I am afraid, some of them doo build vpon the sand, as Simon Magus did, making a weake foundation; I meane, they make

not Christ their chiefest foundation, professing his doctrine, of a sincere, pure, and zealous mind; but either, for bicause they would be called gospellers, to procure some credit and good opinion of the true and verie fauourers of Christs doctrine, either to find out some carnall libertie, either to be contentious disputers, finders, or rebukers of other mens faults, or else, finallie, to please and flatter the world. Such gospellers are an offence, and a slander to the word of God, and make the wicked to reioice and laugh at them, saieng, 'Behold, I praie you, their faire fruits. What charitie, what discretion, what godlinesse, holinesse, or puritie of life, is among them? Be not they great auengers, foule gluttons, slanderers, backbiters, adulterers, fornicators, swearers, and blasphemers, yea, and wallowe and tumble in all sinnes? These be the fruits of their doctrine.'

And thus it may be seene, how the word of God is euill spoken of, through licentious and euill liuing; and yet the word of God is all holie, pure, sincere, and godlie, being the doctrine and occasion of all holie and pure liuing. It is the wicked that peruert all good things into euill, for an euill tree can not bring foorth good fruit; and, when good seede is sowne in a barren and euill ground, it yeeldeth no good corne; and so it fareth by the word of God: For when it is heard, and knowne of wicked men, it bringeth no good fruit; but when it is sowne in good ground, I meane the harts of good people, it bringeth foorth good fruit abundantlie; so that the want and fault is in men, and not in the word of God. I praie God, all men and women may haue grace to become meete tillage for the fruits of the gospell, and to leaue onlie the iangling of it. For onlie speaking of the gospell maketh not men good Christians, but good talkers, except their facts and works agree with the same; so then their speech is good, bicause their harts be good. And euen as much talke of the word of God, without practising the same in our liuing, is euill and detestable in the sight of God; so it is a lamentable thing to heare, how there be manie, in the world, that do not well digest the reading of scripture, and do commend and praise ignorance, and saie, That much knowledge of Gods word is the originall of all dissention, scismes, and contention; and maketh men hautie, proud, and presumptuous, by reading of the same.

This maner of saieng is no lesse than a plaine blasphemie against the Holie Ghost; for the spirit of God is the author of his word, and so the Holie Ghost is made the author of euill, which is a most great blasphemie, and, as the scripture saith, a sinne that shall not be forgiuen in this world, neither in the other to come. It were all our parts and duties, to procure and seeke all the waies and meanes possible, to haue more knowledge of Gods word set foorth abroade in the world, and not allow ignorance, and discommend knowledge of Gods word, stopping the mouthes of the vnlearned, with subtile and craftie persuasions of philosophie and sophistrie, whereof commeth no fruite, but a great perturbation of the mind, to the simple and ignorant, not knowing which waie to turn them. For how, is it not extreame wickednesse, to charge the holie sanctified word of God with the offences of man? To alledge the scriptures to be perillous learning, because certaine readers thereof fall into heresies?

These men might be inforced, by this kind of argument, to forsake the vse of fire, bicause fire burneth their neighbours house; or to absteine from meate and drinke, bicause they see manie surfet. O blind hate! They slander God for mans offence, and excuse the man whome they see offend, and blame the scripture, which they can not improue; yea, I haue heard of some, that haue very well vnderstood the Latin tongue, that when they haue heard learned men persuade to the credite and beleefe of certaine vnwritten veraties, as they call them, which be not in scripture expressed, and yet taught as doctrine apostolike, and necessarie to be beleeued: they haue beene of this opinion, that the learned men haue mo epistles written by the apostles of Christ, than we haue abroad in the canon of the Old and New Testament, or knowne of anie, but onlie to them of the clergie. Which beleefe I did not a little lament in my hart to heare, that anie creature should haue such a blind ignorant opinion.

Some kind of simplicitie is to be praised; but this simplicitie, without the veritie, I can neither praise nor allow. And thus it may be seene, how we, that be vnlettered, remaine confused, without God, of his grace, lighten our harts and minds with a heauenlie light and knowledge of his will; for we be giuen, of our selues, to beleeue men better than God. I praie God, send all learned men the spirit of God abundantlie, that their doctrine may bring forth the fruits thereof. I suppose there was neuer more neede of good doctrine to be set foorth in the world, than now in this age; for the carnall children of Adam be so wise in their generation, that, if it were possible, they would deceiue the children of light. The world loueth his owne, and, therefore, their facts and doings be highlie esteemed of the world: but the children of God are hated, bicause they be not of the world: for their habitation is in heauen, and they do despise the world as a most vile slaue.

The fleshlie children of Adam be so politike, subtile, craftie, and wise in their kind, that the elect should be illuded, if it were possible; for they are cloathed with Christs garment, in vtter appearance, with a faire shewe of all godlines and holines in their words; but they haue so shorne, nopped, and turned Christs garment, and haue so disguised themselues, that the children of light, beholding them with a spirituall eie, do accompt and take them for men which haue sold their maisters garment, and haue stolen a peece of euerie mans garment; yet, by their subtile art, and craftie wits, they haue so set those patches and peeces togither, that they do make the blind world and carnall men to beleeue it is Christs verie mantell.

THE ELEUENTH CHAPTER.

Of the vertuous properties of God's children, of whome euerie one attendeth his vocation.

BUT the children of light knowe the contrarie; for they are led, by the spirit of God, to the knowledge of the truth, and, therefore, they discerne and iudge all things right, and knowe from whence they come,

euen from the Bishop of Rome and his members, the headspring of all pride, vaineglorie, ambition, hypocrisie, and feigned holines.

The children of God be not abashed, although the world hate them; they beleeue they are in the grace and fauour of God, and that he, as a best father, doth gouerne them in all things, putting awaie from them all vaine confidence and trust in their owne doings; for they know they can do nothing but sin of themselues. They be not so foolish and childish, not to giue God thanks for their election, which was before the beginning of the world: for they beleeue most surelie, they be of the chosen; for the Holie Ghost doth witnes to their spirit, that they be the children of God, and, therefore, they beleeue God better than man. They saie, with St. Paule, 'Who shall separate vs from the loue of God? Shall tribulation, anguish, persecution, hunger, nakednesse, perill, or sword? As it is written, For thy sake are we killed all daie long, and are accounted as sheepe appointed to be slaine; neuerthelesse, in all these things we ouercome, through him that loueth vs. For I am sure, that neither death, nor life, neither angels, nor rule, neither power, neither things present, neither things to come, neither quantitie or qualitie, neither anie creature, shall be able to depart vs from the loue of God, which is in Christ Iesu our Lord.'

They are not, by this godlie faith, presumptuouslie inflamed; nor, by the same, become they loose, idle, or slowe in dooing of godlie works, as carnall men dreme of them; so much the more feruent they be in dooing most holie and pure works, which God hath commanded them to walke in. They wander not in mens traditions and inuentions, leauing the most holie and pure precepts of God vndone, which they knowe they be bound to obserue and keepe. Also, they worke not like hirelings, for neede, wages, or reward; but, as louing children, without respect of lucre, gaine, or hire; they be in such libertie of spirit, and ioie so much in God, that their inward consolation can not be expressed with tongue. All feare of damnation is gone from them, for they haue put their whole hope of saluation in his hands, which will and can performe it; neither haue they anie post or piller to leane to, but God, and his smooth vnwrinkled church; for he is to them all in all things, and to him they leane, as a most sure square piller, in prosperitie and aduersitie; nothing doubting of his promises and couenants, for they beleeue most surelie they shall be fulfilled.

Also, the children of God be not curious in searching the high mysteries of God, which be not meet for them to knowe; neither do go about, with humane and carnall reasons, to interpret scripture, persuading men, by their subtile wits, and carnall doctrine, that much knowledge of scripture maketh men heretikes, without they temper it with humane doctrine, sophistrie, philosophie, and logicke, wherewith to be seduced, according to the traditions of men, after the ordinances of the world, and not after Christ. St. Paule doth most diligentlie admonish vs, which arts are not conuenient and meet to be made checkmate with scripture; for the scriptures be so pure and holie, that no perfection can be added vnto them; for, euen as fine gold doth excell all other mettals, so doth the word of God all mens doctrines. I beseech the Lord to send the learned and vnlearned such

abundance of his holie spirit, that they may obeie and obserue the most sincere and holie word of God, and shew the fruits thereof, which consisteth, chieflie, in charitie and godlie vnitie: that, as we haue professed one God, one faith, and one baptisme, so we may be all of one mind, and one accord, putting awaie all biting and gnawing; for, in backbiting, slandering, and mis-reporting our Christian brethren, we shew not our selues the disciples of Christ, whom we professe. In him was most high charitie, humilitie, and patience, suffering, most patientlie, all ignomine, rebukes, and slanders, praieng to his eternall father for his enemies with most perfect charitie; and, in all things, did remit his will to his fathers, as the scripture doth witnesse, when he praied in the mount. A godlie example and lesson for vs to followe at all times and seasons, as well in prosperitie, as in aduersitie; to haue no will but Gods will, committing, and leauing to him, all our cares and greefes, and to abandon all our policies and inuentions; for they be most vaine and foolish, and, indeed, uerie shadowes and dreames.

But we be yet so carnall and fleshlie, that we run headlong, like vnbrideled colts without snaffle or bridle. If we had the loue of God printed in our harts, it would keepe us backe from running astraie. And, vntill such time as it please God to send vs this bit to hold vs in, we shall neuer run the right waie, although we speake and talke neuer so much of God and his word. The true followers of Christes doctrine haue alwaies a respect and an eie to their vocation. If they be called to the ministerie of Gods word, they preach and teach it sincerelie, to the edifieng of others, and shew themselues, in their liuing, followers of the same. If they be married men, hauing children and familie, they nourish and bring them vp, without all bitternesse and fiercenesse, in the doctrine of the Lord, in all godlinesse and vertue; committing the instruction of others, which apperteine not to their charge, to the reformation of God, and his ministers, which chieflie be kings and princes, bearing the sword euen for that purpose, to punish euill doers. If they be children, they honour their father and mother, knowing it to be Gods commandment, and that he hath, thereto, annexed a promise of long life. If they be seruants, they obeie and serue their maisters with all feare and reuerence, euen for the Lords sake, neither with murmuring nor grudging, but with a free hart and mind.

If they be husbands, they loue their wiues as their owne bodies, after the example as Christ loued the congregation, and gaue himselfe for it, to make it to him a spouse without spot or wrinkle. If they be women maried, they learne of St. Paule to be obedient to their husbands, and to keepe silence in the congregation, and to learne of their husbands at home: Also, they weare such apparell, as becommeth holinesse, and comlie vsage, with sobernesse; not being accusers, or detractors; not giuen to much eating of delicate meats, and drinking of wine; but they teach honest things, to make the yong women soberminded, to loue their husbands, to loue their children; to be discreet, chaste, housewifelie, good, and obedient vnto their husbands, that the word of God be not euill spoken of. Verelie, if all sorts of people would looke to their owne vocation, and ordeine the same, according to

Christs doctrine, we should not haue so many eies and eares to other mens faults, as we haue; for we be so busie and glad, to find and espie out other mens dooings, that we forget, and can haue no time, to weigh and ponder our owne; which, after the word of God, we ought first to reforme, and then we shall the better helpe an other with the straw out of his eies.

But, alas! we be so much giuen to loue and to flatter our selues, and so blinded with carnall affections, that we can see and perceiue no fault in our selues; and, therefore, it is a thing verie requisite and necessarie for vs, to praie all with one hart and mind to God, to giue vs an heauenlie light and knowledge of our owne miseries and calamities; that we may see them, and acknowledge them trulie before him.

THE TWELFE CHAPTER.

The Conclusion, with a Christian Exhortation to the Amendement of Life.

IF anie man shall be offended at this my lamenting the faults of men, which be in the world, fantasing with themselues, that I do it either of hatred or of malice to anie sort or kind of people, verilie, in so dooing, they shall do me great wrong; for, I thanke God, by his grace, I hate no creature; yea, I would saie more, to giue witnesse of my conscience, that neither life, honour, riches, neither whatsoeuer I possesse here, which appertaineth to mine owne priuate commoditie, be it neuer so deerlie beloued of me, but most willinglie, and gladlie, I would leaue it, to win anie man to Christ, of what degree, or sort, soeuer he were. And yet is this nothing, in comparison to the charitie that God hath shewed me, in sending Christ to die for me. No, if I had all the charitie of angels, and apostles, it should be but like a sparke of fire, compared to a greate heape of burning coales.

God knoweth, of what intent and mind I haue lamented mine owne sinnes and faults to the world. I trust no bodie will iudge, that I haue done it for praise or thanke of anie creature; since, rather, I might be ashamed, than reioice in rehearsall thereof. For, if they knewe how little I esteeme and weigh the praise of the world, that opinion were soone remooued and taken awaie; for, I thanke God, by his grace, I knowe the world to be a blind iudge, and the praises thereof vaine, and of little moment; and, therefore, I seeke not the praises of the same, neither to satisfie it, none otherwise than I am taught by Christ to do, according to Christian charitie. I would to God we would all, when occasion doth serue, confesse our faults to the world, all respects of our owne commoditie laid apart. But, alas! Selfe-loue doth so much reigne among vs, that, as I haue said before, we can not espie our owne faults. And although, somtime, we find our owne guilt, either we be fauourable to interpret it no sin, or else we be ashamed to confesse ourselues thereof; yea, and

we be sore offended, and greeued, to heare our faults charitablie and godlie told vs of other, putting no difference betweene charitable warning, and malicious accusing.

Trulie, if we sought Gods glorie, as we should do in all things, we should not be ashamed to confesse our selues to digresse from Gods precepts and ordinances, when it is manifest we haue done, and dailie do. I praie God, our owne faults and deeds condemne vs not at the last daie, when euerie man shall be rewarded according to his dooings. Trulie, if we do not redresse and amend our liuing, according to the doctrine of the gospell, we shall receiue a terrible sentence of Christ the Sonne of God, when he shall come to iudge and condemne all transgressours, and breakers of his precepts and commandements, and to reward all his obedient and louing children. We shall haue no man of lawe to make our plea for vs, neither can we haue the daie deferred; neither will the iudge be corrupted with affection, bribes, or reward; neither will he heare anie excuse or delaie; neither shall this saint, or that martyr, helpe vs, be they neuer so holie; neither shall our ignorance saue vs from damnation; but yet wilfull blindnesse, and obstinate ignorance, shall receiue greater punishment, and not without iust cause. Then shall it be knowne who hath walked in the darke; for all things shall appeere manifest before him; no mans deeds shall be hidden, no, neither wordes nor thoughts. The poore and simple obseruers of Gods commandements shall be rewarded with euerlasting life, as obedient children to the heauenlie Father; and the transgressors, adders, and diminishers of the lawe of God, shall receiue eternall damnation, for their iust reward. I beseech God we may escape this fearefull sentence, and be found such faithfull seruants, and louing children, that we may heare the happie, comfortable, and most ioifull sentence, ordeined for the Children of God, which is:

'Come hither, ye blessed of my Father, and receiue the Kingdome of Heauen, prepared for you before the beginning of the World.'

Vnto the Father, the Sonne, and the Holie Ghost, be all honour and glorie, World without End. *Amen.*

THE

LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER'S LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS

Of His Majesty's Ecclesiastical Court.

Containing one Folio Page.

MY LORDS,

I MOST humbly intreat your lordships favourable interpretation of what I now write; that since your lordships are resolved to proceed against those who have not complied with the King's command in reading

his declaration, it is absolutely impossible for me to serve his Majesty any longer in this commission. I beg leave to tell your lordships, that though I myself did submit in that particular, yet I will never be any ways instrumental in punishing those my brethren that did not: For as I call God to witness, that what I did was merely on a principle of conscience, so I am fully satisfied, that their forbearance was upon the same principle. I have no reason to think otherwise of the whole body of the clergy, who upon all occasions have signalized their loyalty to the crown, and their zealous affection to his present majesty's person, in the worst of times. Now, my lords, the safety of the Church of England seeming to be exceedingly concerned in this prosecution, I must declare I cannot, with a safe conscience, sit as judge in this cause, upon so many pious and excellent men, with whom (if it be God's will) it rather becomes me to suffer, than to be in the least accessary to their sufferings. I therefore earnestly request your lordships to intercede with his Majesty, that I may be graciously dismissed any further attendance at the board; and to assure him, that I am still ready to sacrifice whatever I have to his service, but my conscience and religion.

My Lords,
Your Lordships most faithful
and humble servant,
R———.

THE INSTRUMENT

BY WHICH

QUEEN JANE

WAS

PROCLAIMED QUEEN OF ENGLAND, &c.

Setting forth the reasons of her Claim, and her Right to the Crown.

[From the first Edition, in three Folio Sheets.]

WHOEVER reads the latter part of the life of Henry the Eighth, will soon be convinced, that he left the succession of the crown so disputable, that it could only be owing to the hand of Providence, that the nation had not, for ever after, been distracted with contrary claims.

His divorces from Catharine of Arragon and Ann Bullen; the acts of parliament confirming those divorces; other subsequent acts, which seemed to repeal what the first had ordained; the power given to the King to appoint his successors, and to place them in what order he pleased; and his last will itself so embroiled the affair of the succession, that it was left full of obscurity and contradiction. For, as the makers of these new laws were not swayed with justice and equity, and calculated, merely to gratify the ambition and schemes of a prince, who would have taken vengeance on those that should act in opposition to his directions, it was not possible to act in such emergencies according to the ancient laws and customs of the realm.

He, after cohabiting with Catharine of Arragon eighteen years, and having several children by her, obliged the Archbishop of Canterbury to pronounce him divorced from her, and his marriage with her to be null and void; but not before he had contracted a second marriage with Ann Bullen, of which he also grew weary; and, accusing his second queen of adultery, he ordered her to be beheaded, after he had been also publickly divorced from her.

His next step was to obtain an act of parliament (1536) to confirm both these divorces, and to declare Mary and Elisabeth, the children of these two marriages, illegitimate, and incapable of succeding to the Crown, without his special will and appointment. But in an act, made in 1544, Mary and Elisabeth were declared successively to inherit the Crown after Edward, still allowing the King to impose conditions on these two princesses, without which they could have no right to succeed. And Henry made his last will and testament in the same manner; by which, preferring Edward to be his immediate successor, he left it as his opinion that his daughters were illegitimate.

Thus far the succession was much disturbed; but what still conduced to embroil it more, was the not mentioning, in his will, the issue of Margaret Queen of Scotland, Henry's eldest sister, and placing the Children of his younger sister, Mary, Queen Dowager of France, and Duchess of Suffolk, next to his daughter Elisabeth. And,

To compleat this confusion of claims to the Crown, Edward the Sixth confirmed the act, which declared Mary and Elisabeth illegitimate; abrogated, by his own authority, the act which gave his Father power to settle the succession, and by his own will, excluded Mary, Elisabeth, and the Queen of Scotland from the throne, and conveighed the Crown to Jane Grey, by the importunity and ambition of the Duke of Northumberland, who was known to hold Edward's council in subjection; and therefore whatever methods were taken before, or after the young King's death, to secure and settle Jane on the Throne, and the drawing up and publishing the following proclamation must be looked upon as the act and deed of the said duke, and not to be ascribed to the council.

This was the state of affairs, when Edward the Sixth was removed by death; and, by this short recapitulation, it may easily be perceived, what a door of divisions and civil wars was opened by Henry the

Eighth and his successor. For, according to their acts and wills, and letters patents, Mary, Elisabeth, the Queen of Scotland, and Jane Grey, four princesses, could claim the Crown after Edward's death, and each of these princesses could find in these very acts, &c. arguments to oppose the claim of her competitors. Yet only Jane, who, though by far the youngest, was not less endowed with the gifts of nature, and preferable to all her adversaries in the endowments of her mind, and least tainted with the ambitious desire of a crown, was forced by the importunity of her relations to accept of it, and thereby fell a sacrifice to their ambition; as it is excellently well related by Dr. Heylin, in these words, in his history of the Reformation:

'She was eldest daughter of Henry Lord Grey, Duke of Suffolk. Her mother was the Lady Frances, daughter, and, in fine, one of the coheirs of Charles Brandon, the late Duke of Suffolk, by Mary his wife, Queen Dowager to Lewis the Twelfth of France, and youngest daughter of King Henry the Seventh. She seemed to have been born with those attractions, which seat a sovereignty in the face of most beautiful persons; yet was her mind endued with more excellent charms, than the attractions of her face; modest and mild of disposition, courteous of carriage, and of such affable deportment, as might intitle her to the name of Queen of Hearts, before she was designed for queen over any subjects.

'These her native and obliging graces, were accompanied with some more profitable ones, of her own acquiring; which set an higher value on them, and much increased the same, both in worth and lustre. Having attained unto that age, in which other young ladies used to apply themselves to the sports and exercises of their sex, she wholly gave her mind to good arts and sciences; much furthered in that pursuit by the loving care of Mr. Elmer, under whose charge she came to such a large proficiency, that she spake the Latin and Greek tongues with as sweet a fluency, as if they had been natural and native to her; exactly skilled in the liberal sciences, and perfectly well studied in both kinds of philosophy.'

Take here a story out of Mr. Ascham's Schoolm. Page 11. in his own words: 'One example, whether love or fear doth work more in a child, for vertue or learning, I will gladly report; which may be heard with some pleasure, and followed with more profit. Before I went into Germany, I came to Broadgate in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble lady, Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholding. Her parents, the Duke and the Duchess, with all the houshold, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the Park; I found her in her chamber, reading *Phædon Platonis* in Greek, and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in *Boccace*. After salutation, and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her, why she would lose such pastime in the Park? Smiling, she answered me, I know, all their sport in the Park is but a shadow to that I find in Plato: Alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant. And how came you, madam, quoth I, to this deep knowledge, and what did

chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not many women, but very few men have attained thereunto? I will tell you, saith she, and tell you a truth, which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me, is, that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For, when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go; eat, drink, be merry, or sad; be sowing, playing, dancing, or doing any thing else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly, as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently sometimes, with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways (which I will not name, for the honour I bear them) so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till the time come, that I must go to Mr. Elmer: who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing, whilst I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall to weeping, because whatsoever I do else, but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that, in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me. I remember this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because also it was the last talk that ever I had, and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy lady.' Thus far Mr. Ascham.

By this eminent proficiency in all parts of learning, and an agreeableness in disposition, she became very dear to the young King Edward; to whom Fox not only makes her equal, but doth acknowledge her also to be his superior, in those noble studies. And for an ornament superadded to her other perfections, she was most zealously affected to the true Protestant religion, then by law established; which she embraced, not out of any outward compliance with the present current of the times, but because her own most excellent judgment had been fully satisfied in the truth and purity thereof. All which did so endear her to the king, that he took great delight in her conversation.

Thus lived she in these sweet contentments, till she came unto the years of marriage; when she, that never found in herself the least spark of ambition, was made the most unhappy instrument of another man's. The proud and aspiring Duke of Northumberland treats with the Duke of Suffolk, about a marriage between the Lord Guilford Dudley, his fourth son, and the Lady Jane. The marriage is concluded, and, by Northumberland's policy, the crown is transferred from King Edward to his cousin the Lady Jane, his two sisters, the Lady Mary and Lady Elisabeth, being passed by. Memorable is the speech she made to the two dukes, when they owned her for queen, to this effect: 'That the laws of the kingdom, and natural right, standing for the king's sisters *, she would beware of burthening her weak conscience with a yoke, which did belong to them: That she understood the

* Mary and Elisabeth.

infamy of those, who had permitted the violation of right, to gain a scepter: That it was to mock God, and deride justice, to scruple at the stealing of a shilling, and not at the usurpation of a crown. Besides (said she) I am not so young, nor so little read in the guiles of fortune, to suffer myself to be taken by them. If she inrich any, it is but to make them the subject of her spoil: If she raise others, it is but to pleasure herself with their ruins. What she adored but yesterday, is to-day her pastime. And, if I now permit her to adorn and crown me, I must to-morrow suffer her to crush and tear me in pieces, &c.' But the ambition of the two dukes was too strong and violent to be kept down by any such prudent considerations; so that, being wearied at last with their importunities, and overcome by the intreaties of her husband, whom she dearly loved, she submitted unto that necessity which she could not vanquish, yielding her head with more unwillingness to the ravishing glories of a crown, than afterwards she did to the stroke of the ax.

Accordingly the Duke of Northumberland declared, in his report to the council, that this good Lady Jane was so far from aspiring to the crown, as to be rather made to accept of it, by enticement and force. And,

The Duke had no sooner obtained Lady Jane's consent, but it was resolved that the council should move with her into the Tower of London, and that she should be proclaimed in the manner following: A proclamation, which, for its substance, antiquity, curiosity, and scarceness, well deserves the attention of the reader, and to be preserved, in this miscellany, from the injuries of time.

JANE, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, under Christ, in Earth the supreme Head. To all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, and to every of them greeting. Whereas our most dear cousin, Edward the Sixth, late King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in Earth the supreme Head, under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland, by his letters patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with his great seal of England, bearing date the twenty-first day of June, in the seventh year of his reign, in the presence of the most part of his nobles, his counsellors, judges, and divers other grave and sage personages, for the profit and surety of the whole realm thereto assenting, and subscribing their names to the same, hath by the same his letters patents recited, that forasmuch as the imperial crown of this realm, by an act made in the thirty-fifth year of the late king of worthy memory, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, was, for lack of issue of his body lawfully begotten, and for lack of issue of the body of our said late cousin, King Edward the Sixth, by the same act limited, and appointed to remain to the Lady Mary, by the name of the Lady Mary, his eldest daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, and, for default of such issue, the remainder thereof to the Lady Elisabeth, by the name of the Lady Elisabeth, his second daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, with such conditions as should be limited and appointed

by the late King of worthy memory, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, by his letters patents, under his great seal, or by his last will in writing, signed with his hand. And forasmuch as the said limitation of the imperial crown of this realm, being limited (as is aforesaid) to the Lady Mary and Lady Elisabeth, being illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that the marriage had between the said late King, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, and the Lady Catharine, mother to the said Lady Mary, and also the marriage had between the said late king, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, and the Lady Anne, mother to the said Lady Elisabeth, were clearly and lawfully undone, by sentences of divorces, according to the word of God, and the ecclesiastical laws: And which said several divorcements have been severally ratified, and confirmed by authority of parliament, and especially in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, our said progenitor and great uncle, remaining in force, strength, and effect, whereby as well the said Lady Mary, as also the said Lady Elisabeth, to all intents and purposes, are, and have been clearly disabled, to ask, claim, or challenge, the said imperial crown, or any other of the honours, castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, as heir, or heirs to our said late cousin, King Edward the Sixth, or as heir or heirs to any other person, or persons whatsoever, as well for the cause before rehearsed, as also, for that the said Lady Mary and Lady Elisabeth were unto our said late cousin but of the half blood, and therefore, by the ancient laws, statutes, and customs of this realm, be not inheritable unto our said late cousin, although they had been born in lawful matrimony, as indeed they were not, as by the said sentences of divorce, and the said statute of the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, our said progenitor and great uncle, plainly appeareth.

And forasmuch also as it is to be thought, or, at the least, much to be doubted, that if the said Lady Mary, or Lady Elisabeth, should hereafter have, and enjoy the said imperial crown of this realm and should then happen to marry a stranger, born out of this realm, that then the same stranger, having the government and the imperial crown in his hands, would adhere and practise, not only to bring this noble free realm into the tyranny and servitude of the Bishop of Rome, but also to have the laws and customs of his or their own native country or countries to be practised, and put in use within this realm, rather than the laws, statutes, and customs here of long time used; whereupon the title of inheritance of all and singular the subjects of this realm do depend, to the peril of conscience, and the utter subversion of the commonweal of this realm. Whereupon our said late dear cousin weighing and considering with himself, what ways and means were most convenient to be had for the stay of the said succession in the said imperial crown, if it should please God to call our said late cousin out of this transitory life, having no issue of his body, and calling to his remembrance, that we and the lady Catharine, and the lady Mary, our sisters, being the daughters of the lady Frances, our natural mother, and then and yet wife to our natural and most loving Father, Henry, Duke of Suffolk, and the Lady Margaret, daughter of

the Lady Eleanor, then deceased sister to the said Lady Frances, and the late wife of our cousin, Henry, Earl of Cumberland, were very nigh of his grace's blood, of the part of his father's side, our said progenitor and great uncle, and being naturally born here within the realm, and for the very good opinion our said late cousin had of our, and our said sisters and cousin Margaret's good education, did therefore, upon good deliberation and advice herein had and taken, by his said letters patents declare, order, assign, limit, and appoint, that if it should fortune himself our said late cousin, King Edward the Sixth, to decease, having no issue of his body lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown of England and Ireland, and the confines of the same, and his title to the crown of the realm of France, and all and singular honours, castles, prerogatives, privileges, pre-eminences, authorities, jurisdictions, dominions, possessions, and hereditaments, to our said late cousin, King Edward the Sixth, or to the said imperial crown belonging, or in any wise appertaining, should, for lack of such issue of his body, remain, come, and be unto the eldest son of the body of the said Lady Frances, lawfully begotten, being born into the world in his life-time, and to the heirs male of the body of the same eldest son lawfully begotten, and so from son to son, as he should be of antienty in birth, of the body of the said Lady Frances, lawfully begotten, being born into the world in our said late cousin's lifetime, and to the heirs male of the body of every such son, lawfully begotten; and, for default of such son born into the world, in his life-time, of the body of the said lady Frances lawfully begotten, and, for lack of heirs male of every such son lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown, and all and singular other the premises, should remain, come, and be to us, by the name of the Lady Jane, eldest daughter of the said Lady Frances, and to the heirs male of our body lawfully begotten, and for lack of such heir male of our body lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown, and all other the premises, should remain, come, and be to the said Lady Catharine, our said second sister, and to the heirs male of the body of the said Lady Catharine lawfully begotten, with divers other remainders, as by the same letters patents more plainly and at large it may and doth appear. Sithens the making of which letters patents, that is to say, on Thursday, which was the sixth day of this instant month of July, it hath pleased God to call to his infinite mercy our said most dear and intirely beloved cousin, Edward the Sixth, whose soul God pardon, and forasmuch as he is now deceased, having no heirs of his body begotten, and that also there remain, at this present time, no heirs lawfully begotten of the body of our said progenitor and great uncle, King Henry the Eighth, and forasmuch also as the said Lady Frances, our said mother, had no issue male begotten of her body, and born into the world, in the life-time of our said cousin, King Edward the Sixth, so as the said Imperial Crown, and other the premises to the same belonging, or in any wise appertaining, now be, and remain to us in our actual and royal possession, by authority of the said letters patents: We do, therefore, by these presents, signify unto all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, that like as we, for our part, shall, by God's

Grace, shew ourselves a most gracious and benign sovereign Queen and lady to all our good subjects in all their just and lawful suits and causes, and to the uttermost of our power shall preserve and maintain God's most holy word, Christian policy, and the good laws, customs, and liberties of these our realms and dominions; so we mistrust not, but they, and every of them, will again, for their parts, at all times, and in all cases, shew themselves unto us, their natural liege Queen and lady, most faithful, loving, and obedient subjects, according to their bounden duties and allegiances, whereby they shall please God, and do the thing that shall tend to their own preservations and sureties; willing and commanding all men of all estates, degrees, and conditions, to see our peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our laws, as they tender our favour, and will answer for the contrary, at their extreme perils. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourself at the Tower of London, the tenth day of July, in the first year of our reign.

God save the Queen.

Anno Domini M.D.LIII. *Londini in ædibus Richardi Graftoni Reginæ a typographia excusum. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*

THE COPIE OF A PISTEL OR LETTER

SENT TO

GILBARD POTTER,

In the tyme when he was in prison, for speakinge on our most true Queenes part, the Lady Mary, before he had his eares cut of,

THE XIII. OF JULYE.

Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?

Anno M.D.Liij. the Firste of August. Duodecimo, containing sixteen Pages.

POORE PRATTE, VNTO HIS FREND GILBARD POTTER,

The most faythful and trew louer of Quene Mary, doth him salute with many salutations. S.P.D.

WHEREAS thou haste of late showed thy selfe, most faithful Gilbard, to be a true subiecte to Mary, Quene of England, not only by wordes but by deedes, and for the farther triall of thy true heart towardes her, did offer thy bodye to be slayne in her quarell, and offered vp thy selfe into the handes of the ragged beare most rancke, with whom is nether mercy, pitie, nor compassion, but his indignation

present death. Thy promis, Gilbard, is faythfull, thy heart is true, thy loue is feruente towardes her Grace; and, wheras you did promis me faythfullye, when I last visited thee in prison, to be torne with wild horses, thou wouldest not denye Marye oure Quene, and to that whiche thou tofore dyd saye, No denial shalbe found in thee, so styll do thou continue in the same mynde, haue a respect of thy conscience. Feare not to saye the truth; if thou dye, thou shalt dye in the ryght; *Pugna pro patria*, Fighte for thy countrey, sayeth the philosopher. For, as it shalbe to thi great honour and prayse in this world, and in heauen, to dye in her Graces quarell, and in the defence of thy countrey; so wold it be to the vtter destruction, both of thy body and soule, to do the contrarye. But, O thou true Gilbard, stand stiflye in her cause, and do thou according to thy last promis made me, (as I do not doubt but thou wilt) then wil God kepe thee and preserue thee. If thou shuld dye, thou shalt dye innocent; so shal you be assured to possesse the euerlastyng kyngdom of heauen. If you fortune to lyue, then shal it be also accompted praise to thee; and fully perswade with thy selfe, that her Grace wil consider thy faythful and true heart, as she hath iuste occasion. For, who could haue bene more faythfuller, then thou haste bene? What man coulde haue showed him selfe bolder in her Graces cause, than thou hast showed? Or who dyd so valiantlye in the proclamation tyme, when Iane was published Quene, vnworthy as she was, and more to blame, I may say to thee, are some of the consenters therunto. Ther were thousands more then thy selfe, yet durst they not (suche is the fragility and weakenes of the flesh) once moue their lippes to speake that whiche thou did speake. Thou offeredst thy selfe amongst the multitude of people to fight agaynste them all in her quarell, and for her honour dyd not feare to runne vpon the poynt of the swordes. O faythful subiect, O true heart to Mary our Quene, I can not but wryte of the condign prayse that thou deseruest for thys thy boldnes. I may compare the to Sidrack, Misack, and Abdenago, whych, rather then they wold forsake their mayster, were contented to suffer the tormentes in the hoate burnyng ouen. And as young Daniel, when he was broughte before such a ruler, as that false Duke of Northumberland, rather then to denye his Lord, would suffer the paynes of imprysonment, and to be cast in the denne of lions: Even so, faythful Gilbard, rather than thou wouldest consente to their false and trayterouse proclamation for Iane, when thou dyd hear it, hauyng a clear conscience, wold not consent to the same most trayterous fact. And so little regarded thy life, boldly stode in thy mistres cause, and offered thy bodye to be imprisoned, and to suffer death, then to denye our vertuouse Mary to be Quene. And therfore, trust to it, my faythfull Gilbard, as the God of Sidrack, Misack, and Abdenago saued them from al hurt in the hoat burnyng ouen, that not so muche as one heare of their heade was perished: So shall the same God saue thee out of the handes of the cruell beare, and give hym no power of thy lyfe. Agayne as God preserued Daniel when he was cast in the denne amongest the lions, at the commaundement of the King Nabuchodonosor. And, when he was in the middeste of them, the lions playd with him, which was admirable. So do thou trust to, albeit thou art now in the denne

amongest devourers (I meane vnder the power of the beare and ragged staf) yet the God of Daniel shall safely delyuer thee out of all their handes; and thee rather, if thou dost stil continue stedfast, and hold on Mary our Quene, and forsake thy mayster, no more then Daniel and the brethren did their God andm ayster. Dispayre not, but lyue in hope to se a good day, and the soner will it come, if we continue in praier. For my part, faithful Gilbard, I wyl neuer sease day nor nyght from praying for our good Mary, that her Grace might once obteyne the crowne, and that it wold please him of his omnipotent power to strengthen and helpe her Grace, Mary, thy Quene and mine, so say I to the death, and to conquere that beare. So here I shall desire thee also to offer vp to the Almighty Lord godly contemplations, that she maye ouercome hir enemies.

For, as the inhabitants of the great city of Niniue continued in praier, and clothed them selues in sackecloth, caste duste vpon their heades, repented, and bewailed their manifold sinnes and offences, at what tyme as the prophete Ionas had preached to them the destruction of their citye; knew that it was time to do al the same, els destruction wold folow: So shulde we now not sease praying to God to send vs quietnes, and that the Lady Mary might enioye the kingdom.

For we haue had manye prophetes and true preachers, whiche did declare vnto vs, that oure Kinge shal be taken awaye from vs, and a tyrant shal reygne; the gospel shall be plucked awaye, the right heyre shalbe dispossessed, and al for our vnthanckfulnes; And thinkest thou not, Gilbard, the world is now come? Yea, truely. And what shal folow, yf we repent not in tymes. The same God wil take from vs the vertuouse Lady Mary, oure lawfull Quene, and send such a cruel Pharao, as the ragged beare, to rule vs, which shal pul and pol vs, spoyle vs, and vtterly destroy vs, and bring vs in great calamities and miseries. And this God will send vs, and al for our iniquities. For, yf vnto oure Quene Mary any euell shuld happen, let vs fully perswade with our selues, that it is not for her small sinnes only, but for our euel liuinges. And this litle troubles, whiche be greuous to hir Grace, doth chaunse to her for thy sinnes and myne, let vs so thinke. For truely, faythful Gilbard, God is displeased with vs many wayes. And here, I dar be bold to say, that her Grace is more sorowful for the death of King Edwarde her brother, then she is glad that she is Quene. For her part, good vertuouse lady, she would haue bene as glad of her brothers life, as the ragged beare is of his death. Agamemnon, the Heathen King, was neuer more vnquieted with his highe estate, when he lamented for that he was King ouer so manye people, as her Grace is nowe troubled to rule and gouerne so many euell persons. Plato was neuer gladder, when he was exiled from the kinges courte, because his mind was more addict therby, and geuen to the study of philosophie, as she wold be, if she might once be exiled from the company of such traitours, wherby she might be more quieter, and possesse this hir kingdome peasablye. Euen so I dare aduouche, that her Grace was farre quicter, and better contented with her olde estate, then now she is Quene, yf it had pleased God. But now, praised be Almighti God, because he hath so prouided vs a right and lawful ayre, and so vertuous

a princesse, to possess this imperial crown of England, and so are we all bounde highlye to thanke him therfore. Trustyng that the same God wil shortlye exalt her Grace, and set her in her perfect dignitie, and plucke downe that Iane, I can not nominate hir Quene, for that I know no other Quenes, but the good Lady Mary, hir Grace, whome God prosper. I heare say, faythfull Gilbard, that the true subject, Sir Edmond Peckhame, is gone, with al his power and treasure, to assist her Grace, *Ex fructu scimus quid sit arbor*, by the frute, we may knowe what the tree is: So by his frutes, that is by all his doinges we may knowe, what he is, howe true and faythful hath he shewed him selfe to be at al times to Henry theight, of famous memory. What man deserued more commendation then he? He neuer robbed his Grace, when he had al the rule of his treasure: he vsed not to bye siluer for fowre shillinges an once, and make the Kinge paye fiue shillinges fowre pence, as other false traitours did, but loke, what he payd, the Kinge payde no more. He was euer true and faythfull by reporte, aswell of al other, as of hys owne seruauntes. And now for the ful triall of his true hearte, howe hath he showed him selfe to her Grace? Left house, lands, and al, and gone to help her. Truly, we haue to few such faythfull men. I heare also, that ther is come more to helpe her Grace, the Erle of Darbey, the Erle of Oxford, the Erle of Bath, and diuerse other nobles, whiche I can not rehearse nominarly. The God of Hostes, the God of Abraham, prosper them, kepe them, and geue them power to withstand al their enemies, and the moost mighty Lord take part with them (as I do not mistrust for the right sake. I hear no other newes but that here is continually great preparation, and many cartes appoynted to cary harnes and artilery. God send them euell to spede. The good Erle of Arundel and the Erle of Shrosburye be here still; but, as I am informed, the Erle of Arundel will not consent to none of their doynges. O God, I most hertelye desire thee, heare my praier, kepe and preserue the good Erle of Arundel from the tiranny of that deuouryng beare. For, as thou hast from the beginning endued him with al truth, so doth he stil continue stedfaste in the same, like a worthy noble; preserve hym, I beseche thee, O my God, and geue hym grace still to stande stedfaste. The Erle of Shrosburye beareth hym selfe equal, God kepe hym, and send alth ose, that wold the Ladye Mary to be Quene, long life and pleasure; and they which wold not, I wyshe them the paynes of Satan in hell. I have, faythful Gilbard, scattered abroad thre of the bokes more, aud two also haue I sent into the ragged beares campe; kepe that close which thou hast: The world is daungerons: The great deuell Dudley ruleth, Duke, I shuld haue sayde: wel, let that passe, seing it is oute, but I truste he shall not longe. I have proued, if I could get a M. of them imprinted in some straunge letter, and so a nomber of them to be disparsed abroade. Forasmuch, Gilbard, as I perceaue that thou art straytly kept, and not suffred to haue liberty, I shal brieuely visite the with my letters from time to time. And here, Gilbard, I exhort the to continue in praier, and to take in good parte this yoke, layd vpon thy shoulders, and beare this crosse patiently. For aduersity is a good thinge, and shall make thee to know God the better. For I trust in the Lord, to liue to se the

day her Grace to mary such one, as knoweth what aduersity meaneth, so shal we haue both a merciful Quene and King to their subiects. And wold to God that I might liue, if it so pleased her Grace, to haue an other vertuouse Edward: And God make her Grace fruteful, and send hir frute to inherite the kingdom after her. I promised you to salute your freud Robert in your name; accordingly I haue done, desired hym to pray with you for our Quene Mary, that it wold please the Lord to giue hir the crowne, which she oughte to haue of right. And thus, to breuiate my long processe, I end, desiryng the, my constant Gilbard, not to beholde the gorgiousnes of my letters, which be void of al, but to weygh in an equal payre of ballans the good wil of the writer, who beareth thee no worse wil, then to his owne soule, prayinge God to strengthen thee, and giue thee Grace, to abide faythfull towardes oure most excellent true and only Quene Mary; so shalt thou be assured to haue God thy faythfull frend againe, and, at the last, thou shalt inherit his kingdom: To the which kingdome, bringe both you and me, and vs all. Amen.

Fayre you well.

FINIS. QUOD POORE PRATTE.

Imprynted at London, in Temstrete, ouer agaynste the Stiliardes, at the Signe of the Dobbel Hood, by Hewghe Singelton.*

THE

COMMVNICATION

BETWENE

MY LORD CHAUNCELOR AND IUDGE HALES,

BEING

Among other Iudges to take his Oth in Westminster Hall, Anno 1553, *the 6th of October.*

Printed in Octavo, containing five Pages.

Queen Mary no sooner found herself secure on the throne, but she presently forgot both her promises to maintain the established religion, and the good services done her in that critical juncture by the Protestants, of which this small piece before us is a flagrant proof.

* At the time when Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen of England, who continued in that Royal State only nine days, in the beginning of July, 1553.

Judge Hales was the only one of that bench who refused to sign that instrument, which transferred the crown to Jane Grey, at the risque, not only of his estate, but of his life also. Yet he was immediately called in question, as you read in the following paper; and, as history further acquaints us, first cast into the Marshalsea, thence removed to the Compter, then to the Fleet, for charging the justices of Kent to conform to the laws of king Edward VI. concerning religion, not yet repealed, or properly for being a sincere protestant.

The Judge, tho', as it appears in this Communication between him and the Chancellor, he preferred a good conscience to his office, the queen's favour, his fortune, and even to his life, was so bitterly persecuted, and, when the warden informed him of the cruelties preparing for those who would not change their religion, his brains turned so, that he endeavoured to kill himself with a penknife; and, tho', in this condition, he was set at liberty, he never recovered his senses, and at last drowned himself. See Burnet, tom. II. p. 248.

Chauncelor.

MASTER HALES, ye shall vnderstand, that like as the Quenes Highnes hath hertofore receiuid good opinion of you, especiallie, for that ye stoode both faithfullie and laufulli in hir cause of iust succession, refusing to set your hande to the booke amonge others that were against hir Grace in that behalfe; so nowe through your owne late desertes, against certain hir Highnes dooinges, ye stande not well in hir Graces fauour. And, therfore, before ye take anie othe, it shall be necessarie for you to make your purgation.

Hales. I praie you, my Lorde, what is the cause?

Chauncelor. Information is geuen, that ye haue indicted certain pristes in Kent, for saiing of masse.

Hales. Mi Lorde, it is not so; I indicted none, but indede certaine indictamentes of like matter wer brought before me at the laste assises there holden, and I gaue order therin as the lawe required. For I haue professed the lawe, against which, in cases of iustice, wil I neuer (God willinge) procede, nor in ani wise dissemble, but with the same shewe forth mi conscience, and, if it were to do againe, I wolde doe no lesse then I did.

Chauncelor. Yea, Master Hales, your conscience is knowne wel inough, I knowe ye lacke no conscience.

Hales. Mi Lord, ye mai do wel to serch your owne conscience, for mine is better knowne to mie selfe, then to you; and to be plaine, I did as well vse iustice in your saide masse case bi my conscience, as bi the lawe, wherin I am fulli bent to stand in trial to the vttermost that can be obiected. And, if I haue therin done ani iniuri or wrong, let me be iudged bi the lawe, for I wil seeke no better defence, considering cheiflie that it is mi profession.

Chauncelor. Whi, Master Hales, althoughe ye had the rigour of the lawe on your side, yet ye might haue hadde regard to the Quenes Highnes present doinges in that case. And further, although ye seme to be more then precise in the lawe; yet I thinke ye wolde be veri loth

to yelde to the extremitie of suche aduantage, as mighte be gathered againste your procedinges in the lawe, as ye haue some time taken vppon you in place of iustice. And, if it were well tried, I beleue ye shuld not be wel able to stand honestli therto.

Hales. Mi Lord, I am not so perfect, but I may err for lacke of knowledge; but both in conscience, and such knowledge of the lawe, as God hath geuen me, I wil do nothing but I wil maintain and abide in it. And if my goodes, and all that I haue, be not able to counterpoise the case, mi bodie shal be redi to serue the turne, for thei be all at the Quenes Highnesse pleasure.

Chauncelor. Ah, Sir, ye be veri quicke and stoute in your answers; but as it shoulde seme that which ye did was more of a wil, fauouring the opinion of your religion against the seruice nowe vsed, then for ani occasion or zeale of iustice, seinge the Quenes Highnes dooth set it furthe, as yet wishinge all hir faithful subjectes to imbrace it accordinglie; and, where ye offer both bodie and goodes in your triall, there is no suche matter required at youre handes, and yet ye shall not haue your owne wil neither.

Hales. Mi Lord, I seke not wilful wil, but to shew myself, as I am bound in loue to God, and obedience to the Quenes Maiestie, in whose cause willingly for iustice sake (al other respectes set apart) I did of late, as your Lordship knoweth, aduenture as much as I had. And as for my religion, I trust it to be suche as pleaseth God; wherin I am ready to aduenture as well mi life, as mi substance, if I be called therunto. And so, in lacke of mine owne power and wil, the Lordes wil be fulfilled.

Chauncelor. Seing ye be at this point, Master Hales, I wil presently make an end with you. The Quenes Highnes shall be enfourmed of youre opinion and declaration. And, as hir Grace shal therupon determine, ye shal haue knowledge, vnto which tyme ye may depart, as ye came, without your oth, for, as it appeareth, ye are scarse worthi the place appointed.

Hales. I thancke your Lordship, and as for my vocation, being both a burthen and a charge, more then euer I desired to take vpon me, whensoeuer it shall please the Quenes Hyghnes to ease me therof, I shall moost humbli with due contentation obei the same.

And so departed from the barre.*

* See the Introduction.

THE

VOCACYON OF IOHAN BALE

TO

THE BISHOPRICK OF OSSORIE IN IRELANDE,

PERSECUCIONS IN THE SAME,

AND FINALL DELYUERAUNCE.

God hath deliuered me from the Snare of the Hunter, and from the noysome Pestilence. Psal. xcj.

If I must nedes reioyce, I will reioyce of myne Infirmytees. ij Cor. xj.

Imprinted in Rome, before the Castell of S. Angell, at the Signe of S. Peter, in Decembre, Anno D. 1553. In Twelves, black Letter, containing ninety-eight Pages.

THE PREFACE.

Johan Bale to the Followers of Christes Gospell.

FOR thre consyderacyons chefely (dere bretherne) have I put of urth thys Treatyse of my vocacyon te the churche of Ossorye in Irelande, of my harde chaunces therein, and of my fynall deliueraunce by the great goodnesse of God. The first of them is, for that men shulde wele knowe, that the office of a Christen Byshop is not to loyter in blasphemouse papistrie, but purely to preache the Gospell of God, to his christened flocke. The seconde is, that they shulde also vnderstande, that contynuall persecucyons, and no bodyly welthe, doeth folowe the same most godly office, in them which truly executeth it. The third is, that they myght beholde how gracyously our most mercyful God wyth hys power wayteth upon them, and fynally delyuereth them in most depe daungers.

These 3. thynges notable, concerninge the electe membres of Gods congregacyon in thys life, comprehendeth muche matter in the scriptures of both testamentes, with abundaunce of examples from Abel the First to Johan the Euangylist, which was the last lyver in the same.

The examples also therof are both lyuely and innumerable, in the first propagacion and longe contynuance of the Christen Churche from hys tyme to thys our tyme, as the chronycles and hystoryes most abundauntly specifieth.

First, as concernynge the examples of holye scripture. Iesus, the eternall Sonne of the euerlastynge Father, in the godhede preached to Adam in Paradyse Terrestre, and constytute hym so wele an instructour as a father ouer hys posteryte. He proued him also after he had sinned, by dyuerse afflyctyons, and fynally promysed, both to hym and to hys, deliueraunce in the sede of the woman, which at the lattre in hys owne persone he louingly perfourmed. Christe the seyde Sonne of God contynually still taught, by the mouthes of the fathers and prophetes, tyll suche tyme as he hymselfe came in the fleshe.

Than was he aboue all others, of hys heauenly father appoynted a uniuersall doctor ouer all the worlde, and commaunded to be hearde, Math. iij. He followed hys vocacyon in most ample wyse, very cruelly was he of the clergie than persecuted, and gloriously delyuered in hys resurrectyon from deathe. The members of hys true churche, the prophetes and apostles, were in case like as he their head was, first called, than afflicted, and gracyously alwayes in the ende delyuered. He that shall marke the laboriouse procedinges of Abraham, Ioseph, and Moyses, of Dauid, Helyas, and Daniel, with the other olde fathers and prophetes, shall fynde it no lesse. He lykewyse that shall dyscretely searche the doynges of Peter, Iames, and Iohan, with the other of the apostles and dysciples, shall wele perceyue the same.

Hieremye for the olde lawe, Paule for the newe lawe, and Iohan Baptyst betwixt them both, were called from their mothers wombe to that heauenly offyce of preachynge. Hier. j. Luce. j. Gala. j. yea, they suffered extreme persecucyons vndre tyrauntes, and fynally were deliuered, in this lyfe from parelouse daungers, and in deathe from synne, helle, and dampnacyon. To rehearce the examples of the primatyue churche, and of the ages followynge, concernynge these matters, it wolde requyre much tyme, they are so manye, and therfor at thys present I omit them. Thus am I not alone in these 3. matters of vocacion, persecucion, and deliueraunce, but haue on my syde an infinyte nombre of examples. Which maketh me the more a great dele to reioyce, like as I wishe them to do, which haue in these troublouse dayes the lyke. Neyther am I ashamed to tell my bretherne, what God hath most graciously done for me, no mor than S. Paule was for hymselfe in hys owne Epistles, and Luke in the Actes for St. Peter, though I be farre vnlyke them. For I fare lyke the byrde which is deliuered from the snare of the catcher. He flyeth to a bough, and reioyceth in his delyueraunce, and euen so do I. In the which reioyce, I make not only my selfe merye, but also all my louinge frinds. And as for my cruel enemyes the papistes, if I make them sorye in the rehearsal of my delyueraunce, I am not yll apayde therof. For it is better (they saye in Northfolke) that younge lyddernes wepe, than olde men. I call them yonge and not olde, for God is oldar than Sathan, if age may be attributed to his eternyte, as Daniel sayeth it maye, and Christe oldar than the Deuyls vycar at Rome, their vngracyouse father.

As we are in most thinges contrarie to these papistes, so haue we rejoyces contrary to theirs. They reioyce in helthe, prosperite, riches and worldly pleasures for their bellies sake. We in our infir-

mytees, afflictions, losses, and sorowfull crostes, for Christes veritees sake. And thus maye we wele do, and boast of it also without offence, for so ded the forenamed S. Paule. 2. Cor. 11. and earnestly willed vs to be his folowers. Phil. 3. First he boasted of his vocacyon, and sayde, God sorted me out and appointed me from my mothers wombe, and also he called me by his grace, to preach his liuely gospell amonge the heathen. Gal. 1. What if I shoulde in like case boaste, that he by his grace had also called me in this age, to preache the same gospell to the Irishe heathens, which neuer hearde of it afore, to knowledge? I shulde not do otherwise than the truthe is. For I was put to it agaynste my wille, by a most Christen kynge, and of his owne mere mocion only, without sute of fryndes, mede, labour, expensis, or any other sinistre meane els. By his regall power and authoritie, which both were of God, Ro. 13. was I both allowed and confirmed, and not all vnioyfully receiued of the people, which causeth me in conscience to iudge my vocacyon iust. Yet was not my reioyce so muche in the dignite therof, as in doinge, for the time, the office therunto belonginge. But now is it most of all in the leauinge of that bishopricke, the gospell being so vnthankefully of the prestes receiued, I so terribly of them persecuted, and my seruauntes so cruelly slayne.

Moreouer Saint Paule boasted muche of his persecucions, and described them at large, concludinge thus in the ende, Very gladly (saith he) will I reioyce of my weaknesse, that the strength of Christe maye dwell in me. Therefor haue I dilectacion in infirmitees, in rebukes, in nedes, in persecucion, and anguyshes, for Christes sake. 2. Cor. 12. If I have lykewyse felte a great manye of the same afflictions, as I haue done in dede, maye not I also with him reioyce in them? Maye I not be glad, that I am, in sorowes for the gospell, lyke fashioned to him, and not pranked up in pompe and pleasures, lyke the wanton babes of this worlde? As at this daye is lecherouse Weston, which is more practised in the arte of breche burninge, than all the whores of the stues, to the great infamye of his virginall ordre. The truthe of it is, that, sens I toke that wayghtie office in hande, I haue bene syke to the very deathe, I haue been greued with the vntowardnesse of ministers. I haue been in iournayes and labours, in iniuryes and losses, in peines and in penuries. I haue bene in strifes and contencions, in rebukynges and slaunderynges, and in great daunger of poyseninges and killinges. I haue bene in parell of the heathen, in parell of wicked prestes, in parell of false iustyces, in parell of trayterouse tenauntes, in parell of cursed tyrauntes, in parell of cruell kearnes and galloglasses.

I haue been in parell of the sea, in parell of shypwrack, in parell of throwynge ouer the boorde, in parell of false bretherne, in parell of curiouse searchers, in parell of pirates, robbers, and murtherers, and a great sort more.

Sanct Paule also reioyced, that God had so miraculously delyuered him from so manye daungerouse ieopardyes, and spareth not so to report them. 2 Cor. 11. and 12. Whie shulde I than shrinke or be ashamed to do the lyke, hauinge at Gods hande the lyke miraculouse

deliuerance? Are they not left to vs for example, that we shulde do the lyke whan we fele the lyke? Whatsoeuer thinges are written aforetyme (sayth he) they are written for our learninge, that we through pacyence and confort of the scriptures might haue hope, Rom. xv. He, in the cytie of Damascon, beinge layde waite for, by the liefe tenaunt of Kinge Aretha, was lete downe at a windowe in a basket, and so escaped his handes. Acts ix. I, in the cytie of Dubline, being assaulted of Papistes, was conuayed awaye in the nyght in mariners apparell, and so escaped that daunger by Gods helpe. Whan Paules death was sought by certayne Iews at Ierusalem, the vpper captaine there commaunded ij. vnder captaines, in the nyght to convey him to Cesarea with 200. souldyers, 70. horsmen, and 200. spearemen, and so to delyuer him. Actes 23. In lycke case, whan the prestes with Barnabe Bolgar and other had sought my death at Holmes Court, and had slayne v. of my howsholde seruauntes by their hyred kearnes, the good suffren of Kylkennie with an hundred horsemen, and 300. fotemen, brought me thyder in the night, and so deliuered me that tyme.

As Paule, against his wylle, was put into a shippe of Adramitium, coupled with other prisoners of Iewrie, conuaied fourth into Italie, and there safely deliuered. Act. 27. and 28. So was I and my companyon Thomas against our willes taken into a shippe of Zelande, coupled with Frenche prisoners, conuayed fourth into Flanders, and so, at the lattre, safely there deliuered. As their shippe was caught betwixt Candia and Melita, and coulde not resyste the wyndes, so was ours betwixt Mylforde Hauen and Waterforde. As they had an excedynge tempeste vpon the sea, so had we lykewyse. As they were withoute hope of sauegarde, so were we also

As they feared syrtes or daungerouse sandy places and rocks, so ded we. As they were almost famyshed and drowned, so were we. As God comforted them, so did he vs. As they were in conclusion cast into an ylande, so were we into S. Iues in Cornewale. As the people shewed them kyndness at Melita, so ded they vs at the seyd S. Iues. As Paule gaue thankes and brake breade amongst them, so ded we also. As the Captayne Iulius courteously intreated hym and gaue hym lyberte to go vnto hys fryndes at Sydon, and to refreshe hym, so ded our Captayne Cornelis vse vs very gentilly with all fauour and lyberte, what though he had so currishely and cruelly intreated vs afore. As Paule was stonge of a bytyng vyper and not hurte, so was I of that viperous Walter, being most vniustly accused of treason afore the iustices ther, and yet through Gods deliueraunce not hurte. As he appealed to Cesar, so ded I to the throne of God.

As great dyspycyons were among the Iewes at Rome concerning Paule, so were there afterwarde amonge the shyppers in our returne to their shippe concerning vs. As the souldyers gaye counsell to kylle the prisoners, so were there some of our men that gaue counsell to haue drowned vs for our moneye, and of some to haue delyvered vs vp to the counsayll of Englande, in hope of great rewardes. As Publius gentilly receiued Paule, and by hym was healed of all hys dyseases, so ded myne host Lambert receyue me also gentilly, and by me was delyuered from hys vayne beleue of purgatorye, and of other Popysh peltryes. As the

people reported Paule to be a murtherer, and after changed their myndes, and sayde he was a God, so our wycked maryners reported me to be a most haynous traytour, and yet afterwarde in my delyueraunce called me the seruaunt of God. As he was for the hope of Israel ledde into captiuite, and at the last deliuered, so was I also for the same captiued, and in fyne deliuered into Germanie. As the bretherne met Paule with reioyce at Appij Forum, so ded they me in diuerse partes of Duchelande, and lawded God for my so miraculouse deliueraunce. As he sayde that he had committed nothyng against the lawe of his fathers, so saye I also that I haue in this acte committed nothyng against the apostles and prophetes doctryne, I thanke my Lord God therof. Thus had I in my troublous iournaye from Irelande into Germanye all those chaunces in a manner that S. Paul had in his iournaie of no lesse trouble, from Ierusalem to Rome, sauing that we lost not our shippe by the waye.

If Helias, that wetherdryuen runnegate, remayne now in a foren lande in penurie with the Sareptysh wydowe, whyls Baals chatteringe chaplaynes and sorcerouse sacrifiers do dwell styl at home flourishing in prosperouse welth, lecherouse ydelnesse, and lordely dignite, maruele not of it, for so hath he done afore. I speake not thys for myne owne part only, nether vtterly exclude I my selfe, but I vttre it also for my exyled bretherne, of whom a great nombre is at thys tyme in Germanie, Denmarcke, and Geneua. The true churche of God had neuer sumptuouse hospitalles any longe tyme together but very simple cottages and caues, if ye marke the sacred hystoryes and ancyent cronicles. The pleasaunt possessions, and gorgious dwelling places, haue euermor remained to the glorious epicures, the very enemyes alwayes of Christes gospell. We are not now to lerne how to take these our present afflictions in good part, for we knowe them afore hande, and haue had them long tyme, as it were in an exercise. Nether are we all barayne of friendly receptacles, for the heauenly doctrynes sake, though our aduersaries in Englande with violence throwe stones at vs, and seke vtterly to destroye vs. They are truly much deceiued which thinketh the Christen churche to be a politicall commen welthe, as of Rome and Constantinople, mayntayned by humayne polycyes, and not by the only wurde of God. Suche are they which now haue the doynges in these present controuersyes, and oppresse the most manifeste verite. God amende it.

I write not this rude treatise, for that I woulde receyue praise therof, but that I wolde God to haue all the prayse, which hath bene a moste wonderfull wurker therin. For I am but a clodde of corruption, felinge in my self, as of my self, nothing els but sinne and wickednesse. I haue done it also, to declare my most earnest reioice in the same God, which by grace hath called me, by persecucion hath tried me, and of fauour, beniuolence, and mercye, hath most wonderfully deliuered me. Lete hym that reioyceth (saith S. Paule) reioyce in the Lorde. For he that prayseth himselfe, is not allowed, but he whome the Lorde prayseth, 2 Corint. 10. Moreouer I haue done it, for that my persecuted bretherne might in lyke maner haue their reioyce in that heauenly Lorde, whiche mightelye hath wrought in them their saluacion, by his graci-

ouse callinge of them from wicked Papisme to true Christianyte, and now tryeth their paciences by contynuall afflictions, and finally will delyuer them, either from tyrannouse molestacions, as he hath done me, eyther els into martirdome for his truthes sake. For God will be knowne by none other doctryne, than he hath sent hyther by hys Sonne, whom he so earnestly commaunded to be heard. He will also be worshipped by those rules only, which he hath to hys church proponed by hys prophetes and apostles. I besiche that euerlastyng God for hys dere Sonnes sake, in the Holy Ghost, to rule vs, and alwayes to augment and preserue hys true churche confessing his only name. Amen.

I called vppon the Lorde in my trouble, and the Lorde hearde me at large. The Lorde is my helper, I will not feare what man doeth vnto me. Psalm 118.

Veritas Domini manet in æternum. Psalm 116.

Novit Dominus viam iustorum, & iter impiorum peribit. Psalm 1.

O Lorde thu God of truthe, I haue hated them that hold of supersticiouse vanitees, and my trust hath bene in the.

I will be glad and reioyce in thy mercye, for thu hast considered my trouble, and hast knowne my sowle in aduersitees.

Thu hast not shut me vp into the hande of the enemie, but hast set my feet in a large rowme. Psalm xxxi.

Stande by (O Lorde God of Hostes) thu God of Israel, to vyset the all heathen, and be not mercyfull to them that offende of malycyouse wickednesse. Psalm lix.

God is my helper.

IN the Olde and Newe Testament it is not expressed, that any iust or faythfull man euer yet toke vpon hym the adminystracyon of the heauenly doctryne, in teachynge the true worshippynges of God, and in persuadynge men to repentaunce, or amendement of their former lyfe, without the vocacyon and speciall election of God. No truly; Balaam, the notable sothsayer, coulde neyther curse, nor yet blesse, without Gods permission, as he apertly confessed, Num. 22. And to beginne with the formest examples: Adam, our first progenitour, whiche had receyued most helthsome instructions of Gods eternall Sonne in Paradyse, and the fathers, him succeding in the righteous lyne befor the generall floude, neuer had taken that high office vpon them, had not he therunto both called them, and alowed them. Noe, Gods true seruaunt, at his most graciouse appointement also, by the space of an C. yeares and xx. earnestly preached to the people of that age, exhorting them to cease from the abhominacions than vsed, as thei wold auoide the vniuersall destruccion whiche folowed. After the seyd floude, by vertue of the selfe same precepte and autoryte of God, Noe taught the people, than growne to an increase againe by longe continuaunce; so ded Melchisedech in Salem, Iob in Arabia, Abraham in Chaldie, Iacob in Mesopotamy, and Ioseph in Ægypte; Helias, with the other prophetes, in Israel; Ionas in Ninyue, Daniel in Babylon, Zorobabel in Persie, and Iohan Baptist in Iewrye: Marke the open places of the scripture concernyng vocacyon and election.

And, as towchyng Christe in our manhode, he was called of God his eternall Father, as was Aaron, to be our euerlasting preste, accordinge to the ordre of Melchisedech, Hebre. 7. He was also, by his owne godlie mouthe, to the worlde declared that wele beloued Sonne of his, in whom he was most highly both pleased and pacifyed. Finally, he was, by hys most heauenly ordinaunce, constituted oure vniuersall doctour, and of him commaunded, as a most perfight maistre, of all men to be most diligently hearde and obeyed. From the shippe, from the custome-howse, and from other homely ministerys called he not the stought, sturdye, and heady sort of men, but the lowly harted, simple, and beggarly ydiotes; them he elected most gracyously, and they not him, to be the ministers of his holy Gospell, Iohan 15. Them chose he out from the world, 'to gyue knowlege of saluacion to hys people, for the remission of their synnes,' Mat. 10. Luce 2. Those, sayth S. Paule, 'whom the Lorde appointed before, those hath he also called; and those whom he hath called, those hath he lykewise iustified' or made mete for that heauenly offyce, Rom. 8. For, 'How shuld they haue preached, sayth he, vnlesse they had ben sent,' Rom. 10. Peter was to him an elect apostle, affirminge hys doctrine to be the wurdes of eternall lyfe, Iohan 6. Iohan was his derely beloued disciple, and became a most mightie thunderer out of the same, Act. 4. Paul was a peculiar chosen vessel vnto him, to manifest hys name before the gentyles, kynges, and chyldren of Israel, Act. 9.

The idolatour, the tyraunt, and the whoremongar are no mete mynisters for hym, though they be neuer so gorgyously mytered, coped, and typpeted, or neuer so fynely forced, pylyoned, and scarletted. 'The deceytfull prophetes, sayth the Lorde, made spedy haste, but I appoynted them not; they ranne a great pace, but I sent them not; they prophecyed fast, but not out of my Spret,' Hier. 23. 'To the wicked doar the Lorde hath spoken it, sayth Dauid, Whie doest thu so vniustly presume to talke of my righteousnesses? And, with thy polluted mouthe, of my eternall testament whie makest thu relacion?' Psalm 50. After the apostles, immediatly succeded in the primative churche Tymotheus, Ignatius, Policarpus, Irenæus, Paphnutius, Athanasius, Lactantius, and other true ministers of the gospell: These loytered not in the vineyearde of the Lorde, as our ydell masmongers doe, but faithfully they laboured in sekinge Gods glorie and the sowles helthe of the people; but, whan great Constantine the Emperour had gyuen peace to the Christen churche, that all persecucion ceased, than came in ceremonie vpon ceremonie, and none ende was of them; euery yeare entered one poyson or other, as mannes fyckle nature, in this frayle lyfe, is neuer without vice.

So that S. Augustine, in his tyme, very muche lamented, that so many supersticions were than crepte in, confessinge the seruitude of the Christen churche to be more greuouse in those daies, than it was to the people vndre Moyses. And so muche the more he lamented the case, that, beinge but one man, he coulde not reforme it; neither was he able in euerye pointe to resist that euill, beinge with heretykes so sore tossed on euery syde. But what wolde he haue sayde, if he had seane the abhominable ydolatries of our time, without nombre? Specially the

worshippinge of breade and of wyne, which are only the seruauntes of our bellies, and corrupt in the same, yea, whan they are at the best and holiest; for, whan they haue done their office, beinge sacramentes of Christes bodie and bloude, that is to saye, preached the Lordes deathe till he come, and declared vs, of manie members, to be one misticall bodie in Christe, they ascende not into heauen, but, beinge eaten and disgested, they are immediatly resolued into corruption; yea, Christ sayth, that they 'descende downe into the bellie, and are cast out into the draught,' Math. 15. which declareth them vnmete to be worshipped.

This write I, not in vnreuerencinge the sacrament, but in detestacion of the abhominable ydolatries therin most bestially committed.

And, breuely to saye sumwhat of the Christen churche of our realme, in those dayes called Britaine, and now named Englande; what originall it had, and from whens; what continuaunce, what darkeninges, what decayes, what falle, and what rayse againe.

To fatche this thinge from the first foundacion, for that lande lyke as for other landes. By the eternall Sonne of God in Paradyse receyued Adam the first promise of saluacion, in the womans sede: This acknowledged Abel, in his first offeringe vp of the firstlinges of his flocke, and fatt of the same, beinge so instructed by that religiouse father of his, Gene. 4. 'By faithe' in his plentuouse sacrifice, sayth S. Paule, 'obteined Abel witnesse, that he was righteouse,' Heb. 11. This, with the right inuocacion of the name of God, taught by Seth and Enos, was continued by the chosen of that line, to remayne styll in remembraunce to their posteritees, and was renued after the floude by righteouse Noe, Gene. 8. To S. Paule also in reuelacion was this misterie shewed, 'That the Gentiles likewyse were partakers of the promyse,' Ephe. 3. Wherunto S. Iohan sayth, that the lambe was slayne from the worldes beginninge, Apo. 13. that is to saye, in promyse, in faithe, and in misterie of their sacrifices. Applied is it also to those Gentiles, in the seyd Reuelacion of S. Iohan (who now, amonge other, includeth our lande) that they, from that tyme, haue cryed with a lowde voyce, seinge, 'Helthe be to him that sitteth vpon the seate of our God, and vnto the Lambe,' Apo. 7. and therupon *Gildas, in Excidio Britanniæ*, concludeth, that the inhabitours of our realme haue alwayes had knowledge of God, almost sens the worldes beginninge.

This rule of sacrifice and inuocacion helde Japheth after the floude also, the father of Europa, containinge our lande amonge others, accordinge to the prayer of his righteouse Father Noe, that he might dwell in the tentes of Sem. Gen. 9. or in faithe of the promised sede, which is Christe, Gala. 3. So perfyght was Melchisedech, or the forenamed Sem, a father than of the Gentiles, for that his kindrede, sayth Paule, is not reckened amonge the tribes, that he toke tithes of Abraham, and blessed him that had the promyses, Hebre. 7, and Gene. 14. For so muche as God, sayth Luther vpon Genesis, established the kingedomes of the ilandes, whan they were diuided, by the chosen fathers, it semeth wele that they helde his true worshippinges, receiued a fore of them. To these holy fathers in the Gentilite for that realme, by course succeeded, as Berosus, Plinius, Strabo, Cæsar, and other authors writeth, the Samothees, Sarronites, Druydes, Bardes,

Sybylles, Eubages, or Vates, Flamines, and suche other, till the comminge of Iesus, Gods sonne in the fleshe. Which all acknowledged but one God, what though it were by the diversite of rytes and doctrines. This haue I written here, to declare what church was in our lande afore Christes cominge. I speake nothyng of them which folowed straunge worshippynges, or manifeste ydolatryes of the heathen, as the Papistes do in thys age. If it be reasoned, how they coulde heare? S. Paule answereth it out of Dauid, that the heauens preached to them, all the worlde hearyng it, if none had done it els, Rom. 10, and Psal. 19, besyde the lawe of nature, which was also their leader.

In the 63. yeare after Christes incarnacion, to resort to my purpose, was Ioseph, an Hebrue, and disparsed disciple, thydre sent with hys companyons, by Philipp the apostle, than preachynge in Fraunce, as Freculphus, in the seconde part of hys chronycle, and Isidorus also, *devita & obitu sanctorum patrum*, rehearseth. He published there amonge them that gospell of saluacion which Christe first of all, and afterwardes hys apostles, had taught at Ierusalem; vntruly, therfore, are we reported of the Italyane writers, and of the subtylle deuysers of sanctes legendes, that we shulde haue our first faythe from Rome, and our Christen doctryne from their unchristen byshoppes. From the schole of Christe hymselfe, haue we receyved the documentes of our faythe. From Ierusalem, and not from Rome, whom both Peter, and also Christe, hath called Babylon, for that she so aptely therynto agreeth in ministryng confusion to the world. And this wele accordeth with the wurdes of the prophete, that the lawe of the gospell shulde come from Sion, and the wurde of God from Hierusalem, Esa. 2. S. Paule also, which had been christenly familiar at Rome, with Claudia Rufina, a Britayne borne, and with Aulus Pudens, her husbande, of whome he maketh mencion, 2 Timoth. 4. shulde seeme, in his owne persone, to haue preached in that nacion of ours, by this sainge of his in the same epistle and chaptre: 'The Lorde assisted me, and strengthened me, at my first answeringe, that by me the preachinge shulde be fulfilled to the uttermost, and that all the Gentiles shulde heare.' That clause, all the Gentiles, includeth somewhat concerninge the Britaines, if they were than Gentiles, and in the west part of the worlde, as we can saye none other of them.

Bartholomeus Tridentinus, and Petrus Calo, reporteth, in their bookes of the Liues of Sanctes, that Timothe, S. Paules disciple, by his preachinge in Britaine, converted Kinge Lucius, and him baptised, in confirmacion of that is said afore. Nurrished, brought vp, and continued, was this British churche in the doctrine of faithe, without mennes tradicions, by the wurthie doctours of that age, Eluanus, Meduinus, Melanius, Amphibalus, and suche other like, till the time of Diocleciane, the tirannouse Emperour; which, by his wicked ministers, made hauock of the Christen flocke there, as testifieth Gildas. Though the Kings of Britaine in that age, Aruiragus, Marius, Coillus, Lucius, and Seuerus, with others, were not all christened, yet were they no cruell persecuters of Christes congregacion, that we reade of.

In the generall quyetnesse prouided to the churche by the fore-

named Constantine, Arrius, Pelagius, Leporius, and one Tymothe, partly by subtile allegories, and partly by open heresies greatly obscured the glory therof.

Anon after there folowed a certen kind of monkery, with an heap of ceremonies, but yet without blasphemouse supersticions, till Antichrist had fashioned them to his execrable vse.

In that age were Fastidius, Ninianus, Patritius, Bachiarius, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigernus, Iltutus, Dauid, Daniel, Sampson, Eluodugus, Asaphus, Gildas, Beulanus, Elbodus, Dionotus, Samuel, Nennius, and a great sort more, by Christen doctrine, the vpholders of the Brittish churche, the cyuyle gouernours for the time, beinge dissolute and carelesse, as the forseyd Gildas, very sharply, doth laie it to their charge.

Consequently, whan the barbarouse nacions had subdued the Christen regions of Europa, specially here in this realme, the heathenish Saxons, the Christen Britaines, for not obeyenge and folowinge Gods wurde that time faithfully preached: Than entered in an other swarme of monkes, much warse than the other. For they had their beginninge of those solitary bretherne, which had fled to the wildernesse in the tyme of persecucion. These, lyke laysye locustes, sprange fourth of the pytt bottomlesse. They serued God in lyberte, and were fedde of their owne true labours. These serued Antichrist in bondage, and deuoured vp the labours of other. They were sumwhat ceremoniouse, but these altogyther supersticiouse. Of this lattre swarme, after the first enteraunce of Augustine the Romish monke, was Egbert, Egwine, Boniface, Wilfride, Dunstane, Oswolde, Lanfranck, Anselme, and suche other, without nombre, by whom the sincere faithe of the English churche decayed. These were bytter stingars in Antichristes cause, yea, terrible accusers, and suppressers of Kinges, and of other Christen magistrates. These caused the sunne, which is the clere verite of the Lord, to apere as sackeclothe made of heare, Apo. 6. placinge, in the rowme therof, their own fantastical doctrines, vaine tradicions, and supersticiouse ordinaunces. So that they made God's heauenly wurde to seme to the people darke, rough, harde, and vnpleasaunt, for their ydle bellyes sake.

Yet denye I it not, but some godly men were amonge them in those dayes; as Beda, Iohan of Beuerle, Alcuinus, Neotus, Hucarius, Serlo, Achardus, Ealredus, Alexander Neckam, Nigellus, Scuallus, and suche other.

Which though they than erred in many thinges, yet was not their errour of obstinacie and malice. Than folowed the schole doctours with the iiij. ordres of friers, very wicked kindes of men; and they, with their sophisticall sorceryes, poysened vp altogyther, clerely ouerthrowinge the Christen churche, and settinge vp in her place the most filthye sinagoge of Sathan.

In that malignaunt assemblye were false wurshippinges commaunded for Gods holy seruice, and monstruouse buggery, for a professed virginite, in our consecrate clergye admitted.

Thus were the people nusled vp from their yowth, in callinge vpon dead men, and ymages, the preastes and religiouse, in the meane time,

occupied in all beastly wurkes of the flesh. I haue the registre of the visitacions of the cloysters of Englande, and therfor I know it to their confusion. The monkes, afore their time, ded no more but mixe the Christen religion with the Paganes supersticions, but these fowle lecherouse locustes haue banished the Christen religion altogyther. They haue taken vpon them a power by vertu of transubstanciacion, farre aboue Gods power, as of corruptible creatures to make Goddes to be worshipped, bearing them a broade with Persical pompes, as it were, in their gaddinge and gagglinge processions, fit for wanton gossippes, to shewe their selues in their holy daye apparelinges.

Yet were there alwayes some in that miste of palpable darknesse, that smelled out their mischefes, and in part maintened the syncere doctrine; as Mathew Parys, Oclyf, Wickleff, Thorpe, White, Purueye, Pateshulle, Paine, Gower, Chaucer, Gascoigne, Iue, and now in our time, William Tindale, Iohan Frith, Bilneye, Barnes, Lambert, and a great sort more. Now, truly in this lattre age and ende of the worlde, God, shewinge great mercy to his elected heritage, hath gathered them togyther from the parels of perdicion, by the voyce of his holy gospell: Yea, like as by Hieremie the prophete, before that exile, into Babylon, by Iohan Baptist, Christe, and his apostles before the destruction of Hierusalem, and by the apostles followers, before the diuision and first ruyne, and the Romish empire he called his disparsed remnaunt; so doth he now agayne, before hys generall comminge to iudgement, call togither hys churche of true beleuers, by the godly preachers of thys age. That wonderfull wurke of God, that noble prince, Kynge Henrye the 8, within thys realme by hys royall power assysted, after that he had gyuen an overthrowe to the great Golias of Rome, oure most godly Souerayne Kynge Edward the 6. for hys tyme perfourmyng the same.

The fyrst, with noble Kynge Dauid, prepared thys buyldynge of the Lorde; but thys other, with the wyse Kynge Salomon, to hys power made all thinges very perfyght. And though now, after hys death, a Hieroboam, parauenture, is risen, which will sett up the golden calues in Samaria, or mayntayne the Popysh religyon agayne, in ymages, aulters, ydle ceremonyes, and blasphemouse supersticions. Yet doubt I it not, but a faythfull Asa shall folowe, either els a Iosaphat, an Ezechias, or a myghtye Iosias, which will dissolue those ydolatryes agayne. And, as concerning the fornamed Kynge Edwarde, I will recite here what hys wurthinesse ded for me his most vnwurthie subject, that I shuld, among others, be a collectour, or a caller togyther of the Christen flocke in thys age.

Vpon the 15. daye of August, in the yeare from Christes incarnation, 1552, being the first daye of my deliuerance, as God wolde, from a mortall ague, which had holde me longe afore: In reioyce that hys maiestie was come in progresse to Southampton, whiche was 5. myle from my personage of Byshoppes Stoke, within the same countye: I toke my horse about 10 of the clocke, for very weaknesse scant able to sytt hym, and so came thydre. Betwixt 2. and 3. of the clocke, the same day, I drew towardes the place where as his majestie was, and stode in the open strete ryght against the gallerye. Anon, my frinde,

Johan Fylpot, a gentylman, and one of hys preuie chambre, called vnto him 2. more of hys companyons, which, in mouing their heades towardes me, shewed me most friendely countenaunces. By one of these 3. the Kynge hauynge informacion that I was there in the strete, he marueled therof, for so much as it had bene tolde hym a lytle afore, that I was bothe dead and buried. With that hys grace came to the wyndowe, and earnestly behelde me a poore weake creature, as though he had had vpon me, so symple a subiect, an earnest regard, or rather a very fatherly care.

In the very same instaunt, as I haue bene sens that tyme credibly infourmed, hys grace called unto him the lordes of his most honourable counsel, so manye as were than present, willinge them to appoint me to the bishoprick of Ossorie, in Irelande. Wherunto they all agreeably consentinge, commaunded the letters of my first callinge therunto, by and by to be written and sent me. The next daye following, which was the xvj. day of August, the lettre beinge written by B. Hamptone, a clarke of the counsell, they very favourably subscribed to the same, in maner as hereafter foloweth:

THE COPPIE OF THE SEYD LETTRE.

To our very louinge Frende, Doctour Bale.

AFTER our hartye commendacions. For as muche as the Kinges maiestie is minded, in consideracion of your learning, wysdome, and other vertuouse qualityes, to bestowe vpon yow the Bishoprick of Ossorie, in Irelande, presently voyde, we haue thought mete, both to giue yow knowledge therof, and therwithall to lete yow vnderstande, that his maiestie wolde ye made your repayre hyther to the courte, as sone as conueniently ye maye, to thende, that if ye be enclined to embrace this charge, his highnesse maye, at your comminge, gyue suche ordre for the farther proceding with yow herin, as shal be conuenient. And thus we bid yow hartely farewell. From Southampton, the xvj. daye of August, 1552.

Your louing Frendes,

W. Winchestre,	T. Darcy,
I. Bedford,	T. Cheine,
H. Suffolke,	Iohan Gate,
W. Northampton,	W. Cecill.

And to conclude, thus was I called, in a maner from deathe, to this office, without my expectacion, or yet knowlege thereof. And thus haue ye my vocacyon to the Bishoprick of Ossorie, in Irelande. I pass ouer my earnest refusall therof, a moneth after that, in the Kinges Majesties returne to Winchestre; where, as I alleged (as I than thought) my lawfull impedimentes, of pouerty, age, and sycknesse, within the Bishopes howse there; but they were not accepted. Than resorted I to

the Court at London within vj. wekes after, accordinge to the tenure of the forseyd lettre; and within vi. dayes had all thinges perfourmed perteininge to my election and full confirmacion, frely without any maner of charges or expenses, wherof I muche marueled.

On the xix. day of Decembre, I toke my Iourney from Byshoppes Stoke with my bokes and stuffe towardes Bristowe, where as I tarryed xxvj. dayes for passage, and diuerse times preached in that worshipfull cytie, at the instaunt desyre of the cytiezens. Vpon the xxj. daye of Ianuary we entred into the shippe, I, my wyfe, and one seruant: and, being but ij. nyghtes and ij. dayes vpon the sea, we arryued most prosperously at Waterforde, in the coldest time of the yeare, so mercifull was the Lorde vnto vs.

In beholdynge the face and ordre of that citie, I see many abhomynable ydolatryes maintcined by the epicurysh prestes, for their wicked bellies sake. The communion, or supper of the Lorde, was there altogyther vsed lyke a popysh masse, with the olde apysh toyes of Antichrist, in bowynges and beckynges, knelinges and knockinges, the Lordes death, after S. Paules doctrine, neyther preached nor yet spoken of. There wawled they ouer the dead, with prodigyouse howlynges and patterynges, as though their sowles had not bene quyeted in Christe and redemed by hys passion, but that they must come after and help at a pinche with *Requiem Eternam*, to deliuer them out of helle by their sorrowfull sorceryes: Whan I had beholden these heathnysh behauers, I seyd vnto a senatour of that cytie, that I wele perceyued that Christe had there no bishop, neyther yet the Kynges maiestie of England any faythfull officer of the mayer, in suffering so horryble blasphemies. The next daye after I rode towardes Dublyne, and rested the nyght folowinge in a towne called Knocktouer, in the howse of maister Adam Walshe, my generall commissarye for the whole dyocese of Ossorie.

At supper, the parish prest, called Syr Philypp, was very seruiceable, and, in familyar talke, described vnto me the howse of the White Fryres, which sumtyme was in that towne; concludinge in the ende, that the last prior therof, called Wyllyam, was his naturall father. I axed him, if that were in mariage? He made me answere, No. For that was, he sayd, against hls profession. Than counselled I hym, that he neuer shulde boast of it more. Whie, sayth he, it is an honour, in this lande, to haue a spirituall man, as a byshop, an abbot, a monke, a fryre, or a prest, to father. With that I greatly marueled, not so much of his vnshamefast talke, as I ded that adultery, forbidden of God, and of all honest men detested, shulde there haue both prayse and preferrement, thinking in processe, for my part, to refourme it. I came at the last to Dublyne, wher as I founde my companyon maistre Hugh Goodaker, that archebishop of Armach elected, and my olde fernde, M. Dauid Coper, parson of Calan. Much of the people ded greatly reioice of our cominge thidre, thinkinge, by our preachinges, the popes supersticions wolde diminish, and the true Christen religion increace.

Vpon the Purificacion daye of our ladye, the Lorde Chancellour of Irelande, Sir Thomas Cusake, our speciall good Lorde and earnest

ayder in all our procedinges, appoynted vs to be inuested or consecrated, as they call it, by George, the Archebishop of Dublyne, Thomas, the Bishop of Kyldare, and Vrbane, the Bishop of Duno, assistinge him. I w ll not here describe at large the subtyle conueyaunce of that greate epicure the Archebishop, how he went about to diffarre the daye of our consecracion, that he might by that meanes haue preuented me, in takinge vp the proxyes of my bishoprick to his owne glottonouse vse, and in so depriuinge me of more than halfe my lyuynge for that yeare. As we were comminge fourth, to haue receyued the imposicion of handes, accordynge to the ceremonye, Thomas Lockwode (blockheade he myght wel be called) the deane of the Cathedrall Churche there, desired the Lord Chauncellour very instauntly, that he wolde in no wise permyt that obseruacion to be done after that boke of consecratinge bishoppes, which was last set fourth in Englande by acte of parlement; alleginge that it wolde be both an occasion of tumulte, and also that it was not as yet consented to by acte of their parlement in Irelande. For whie, he muche feared the newe changed ordre of the communion therein, to hindre his kychin and bellye. The Lorde Chauncellour proponed this matter vnto vs. The archebishop consented thereunto, so ded the other ij. bishoppes. Maistre Goodaker wolde gladly it might haue bene otherwise, but he wolde not at that time contende there with them.

Whan I see none other waye, I stepped fourth, and sayde, If Englande and Irelande be vndre one kinge, they are both bounde to the obedience of one lawe vndre him. And as for vs, we came hyther as true subiectes of his, sworne to obeye that ordinaunce. It was but a bishopprick, I sayde, that I came thydre to receiue that daye; which I coulde be better contented to treade vndre my fote there, than to breake from that promyse or othe that I had made. I bad them, in the ende, sett all their heartes at rest, for, came I ones to the churche of Ossorie, I wolde execute nothinge for my part there, but accordinge to the rules of that lattre boke. With that the lord chauncellour right honourably commaunded the ceremonie to be done after the boke. Than went the asseheaded deane awaie, more than halfe confused; neyther folowed there any tumulte amonge the people, but euery man, sauinge the prestes, was wele contented. Than went the Archebishop about that obseruacion, very vnsauerly, and as one not muche exercised in that kinde of doynge, specially in the administracion of the Lordes holy supper. In the ende the Lorde Chauncellour made to vs and to our frendes a most frendly diner, to saue vs from exceedinge charges, which otherwise we had bene at that day.

Within ii. dayes after was I sick agayn, so egerly, that no man thought I shulde haue lyued, which malladie helde me till after Eastre. Yet, in the meane tyme, I founde a waye to be brought to Kylkennie, where as I preached euery Sondaye and holy daye in Lent, tyll the Sondaye after Eastre was fully past, neuer felinge any maner of grefe of my syckenesse, for the tyme I was in the pulpet; whereat many men, and my selfe also, greatly marueled. Neyther had I, for all that tyme space, any minde to call for any temporall profites, which was afterwardes to my no small hynderaunce. From that daye of our

consecracion, I traded with myselfe, by all possybylyte, to set fourth that doctrine, which God charged his churche with, euer sens the beginninge; and thought therwith in my minde also, that I had rather that Aethna ded swallowe me vp, than to mainteine those wayes in religion, which might corrupte the same. For my daily desire is, in that euerlastinge Schole, to beholde the eternall Sonne of God, both here and after this lyfe: and not only to see the fathers, prophetes, and apostles therein, but also, for loue of that doctrine, to enjoye their blessid felishiip herafter. And so muche the rather I traded thus with myselfe, that I see than the Kinges Majestie, the Archebishopp of Canterbury, and the honourable lordes of the counsell, so feruently bent that waye, as to seke the peoples helthe in the same. I thought it, therupon, no lesse than my bounde dewtie, to shewe my selfe faithful, studiouse, and diligent in that so chargefull a function.

My first procedinges, in that doynge, were these: I earnestly exhorted the people to repentaunce for sinne, and required them to giue credite to the Gospell of saluacion. To acknowledge and beleue that there was but one God, and him alone, without any other, sincerely to worship. To confesse one Christe for an only sauer and redemer, and to truste in none other mannis praiers, merites, nor yet deseruinges, but in his alone, for saluacion. I treated at large both of the heauenly and politicall state of the Christen Church; and helpars I founde none amonge my prebendaries and clergy, but aduersaries a great nombre.

I preached the gospell of the knowledge and right inuocacion of God; I mayntened the politicall ordre by doctrine, and moued the commens alwayes to obeye their magistrates. But, whan I ones sought to destroye the ydolatries, and dissolue the hypocrites yockes, than folowed angers, slaunders, conspiricyes, and, in the ende, the slaughter of men. Much a do I had with the prestes; for that I had sayd amonge other, that the whyte goddes of their makinge, such as they offered to the people to be worshipped, were no Gods, but ydoles; and that their prayers for the dead procured no redempcion to the sowles departed, redempcion of sowles beinge only in Christe, of Christ, and by Christe. I added, that their office, by Christes strayght commaundement, was chifely to preache, and instruct the people in the doctrine and wayes of God, and not to occupie so muche of the tyme in chauntynge, pypynge, and synginge.

Muche were the prestes offended also, for that I had, in my preachinges, willed them to haue wiues of their owne, and to leaue the vnshamefast occupienge of other mennes wiues, doughters, and seruauntes. But heare what answere they made me alwayes, yea, the most viciouse men amonge them: what shulde we marrie, sayd they, for halfe a yeare, and so loose our liuynges? Thinke ye not that these men were ghostly inspired? eyther yet had knowlege of some secrete mischefe wurkinge in Englande? I, for my part, haue not a little, sens that time, marueled, whan it hath fallen to my remembraunce. Well, the truthe is, I coulde neuer yet, by any godly or honest persuasion, bringe any of them to mariage, neither yet cause them, whiche were knowne for vnshamfast whorekepers, to leaue that fylthye

and abhomynable occupienge, what though I most earnestly laboured it. But, sens that tyme, I haue considered, by the iugement of the scriptures, that the impenytent ydolatour must therwith be also a fylthie adulterer or most detestable sodomite. It is his iust plage, Rom. 1. we can not stoppe it. Lyke wyse the dissemblinge hypocrite, in contemning Gods truthe, must nedes folowe errours and lyes in the doctrine of deuyls, 1 Timot. 4, to haue in the ende the greatter confusion. " Lete him that is wicked," sayth that angell to S. Iohan, " become more wicked, and he that is fylthie, become more fylthye, that hys damnacion maye be the depar, and his sorowes extremer." Apoca. 22.

The Lord, therfor, of his mercie, sende discipline with doctrine, into his church. For doctrine without discipline, and restraint of vices, maketh dissolute hearers. And, on the other syde, discipline without doctrine maketh eyther hypocrites, or els desperate doars. I haue not written this in dispraysе of all the Prestes of Kylkennye, or there about; for my hope is, that some of them, by thys tyme, are fallen to repentaunce, though they be not manye. An other thinge was there, that muche had dyspleased the prebendaryes, and other prestes: I had earnestly, euer sens my first comminge, requyred them to obserue and folowe that only boke of commen prayer, whych the Kynge and hys counsell had that yeare put fourth by acte of parlement. But that wolde they at no hande obeye, allegynge, for their vayne and ydle excuse, the lewde example of the Archebishop of Dublyne, which was alwayes slacke in thynges perteyninge to Gods glorie; alleginge also the want of bokes, and that their owne iustices and lawers had not yet consented therunto; as though it had bene lawfull for their iustices to haue denyed the same, or, as though they had rather haue hanged vpon them, that vpon the Kinges autoritie, and commaundement of his counsell.

In the weke after Eastre, whan I had ones preached xii sermons amonge them, and established the people, as I thought, in the doctrine of repentaunce, and necessarie beleue of the Gospell, in the true worshyppynges of one God, our eternall Father, and no more; and in that hope of one redemer, Iesus Christe, and no more: I departed from Kylkennie to an other place of myne, v myles of, called Holmes' Court, where as I remained tyll the Assension daye. In the meane time came sorowfull newes vnto me, that M. Hugh Goodacker, the Archebishop of Armach, that godly preacher, and virtuouse learned man, was poysened at Dublyne, by procurement of certen prestes of his diocese, for preachinge Gods verite, and rebukinge their commen vices. And letters by and by were directed vnto me, by my speciall frendes from thens, to be ware of the like in my diocese of Ossorie; which made me paraventure more circumspect than I shulde haue bene. Vpon the Assension daye, I preached again at Kylkennie, likewyse on Trinite Sondaye, and on S. Peters daye at Midsomer than folowinge.

On the xxv daye of Iuly, the prestes were as pleasauntly disposed as might be, and went by heapes from tauerne to tauerne, to seke the best *Rob Dauye* and *Aqua Vite*, which are their speciall drinkes there. Thei caused all their cuppes to be filled in, with *Gaudeamus in*

dolio, the misterie therof only knowne to them, and, at that time, to none other els.

Which was, that Kynge Edwarde was dead, and that they were in hope to haue vp their maskynge masses againe; as we haue in S. Iohans Reuelacion, That they which dwell on the yearth (as do our earthly minded masmongers) shulde rejoyce and be glad, whan Gods true witnesses were ones taken awaye, and shulde send gyftes one to an other for gladnesse, because they rebuked them of theyr wycked doyngs, Apoca. xi. For ye must consydre, that the prestes are commenly the first that receiue suche newes. The next daye folowinge, a very wicked iustice called Thomas Hothe, with the Lorde Mountgarret, resorted to the cathedrall churche, requyrynge to haue a communion, in the honour of S. Anne. Marke the blasphemouse blyndenesse and wylfull obstinacye of thys beastly papist. The prestes made hym answere, That I had forbydden them that celebracion, sauynge only vpon the Sondayes; as I had, in dede, for the abhomynable ydolatries that I had seane therein. I discharge you, sayth he, of obedience to your bishop in this point, and commaunde yow to do as ye haue done heretofore; which was, to make of Christes holy communion an ydolatrouse masse, and to suffre it to serue for the dead, cleane contrarye to the christen vse of the same.

Thus was the wicked iustice not only a vyolatour of Christes institucion, but also a contempner of his princes earnest commaundement, and a prouoker of the people, by his vngraciouse example, to do the lyke. Thys coulde he do, with other mischefes more, for his longe beynge there by a whole monthes space; but for murthers, theftes, ydolatryes, and abhominable whoredomes, wherwith all that nacion habundeth, for that time he sought no redresse, neyther appointed any correction. The prestes thus reioycing that the kinge was dead, and that they had bene that daye confirmed in their supersticiouse obstinacie, resorted to the forseyd false iustice the same night at supper, to gratifye him with Rob Dauye and Aqua Vite, for that he had bene so friendly vnto them, and that he might styll continue in the same. The next daye after was the Ladye Jane Gylforde proclamed their quene, with solemnite of processions, bonefyres, and banquettes; the seyd iustice, as I was infourmed, sore blamynge me for my absence that daye, for, in dede, I muche doubted that matter.

So sone as it was there rumoured abrode, that the kynge was departed from this lyfe, the ruffianess of that wilde nacyon, not only rebelled against the English captaines, as their lewde custome in such chaunges, hath bene alwayes, chefely no English deputye beinge within the lande, but also they conspired into the very deathes of so many English men and women, as were left therin alyue; mindinge, as they than stoughtly boasted it, to haue set vp a kinge of their owne. And, to cause their wilde people to beare the more hate to our nacion, very subtilly, but yet falsely, they caused it to be noysed ouer all, that the yonge Earle of Ormonde, and Barnabe, the barne of Vpper Ossories sonne, were both slaine in the court at London.

Vpon this wylye practise of myschefe, they raged, without ordre, in all places, and assaulted the English fortes euery where.

And at one of them, by a subtyle trayne, they got out ix of our men, and slewe them.

On the xiii daye of August, a gentill woman, the wyfe of Mathew Kinge, hauynge a castell not farre of, her husbande than beinge at London, fledde with her familie and goodes, in cartes, towardes the forseid Kylkennie; and, in the hyghwaye, was spoyled of all, to her very petycote, by the Kearnes and the Galoglasses of the forenamed Barne of Vpper Ossorie, Michell Patricke, and of the Lorde Mountgarret, which ought rather to haue defended her. In this outrage had she, after longe conflicte with those enemyes, iiii of her companie slain, besides other mischefes more.

On the xx. daye of August, was the ladye Marye with vs at Kylkennye proclamed Quene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, with the greatest solempnyte, that there coulde be deuysed, of processions, musters, and disgysinges, all the noble captaynes and gentilmen there about beinge present. What a do I had that daye with the prebendaryes and prestes abought wearinge the cope, croser, and myter in procession, it were to muche to write.

I tolde them earnestly, whan they wolde haue compelled me therunto, that I was not Moyses minister, but Christes; I desyred them not to compell me to his denyall, whiche is, S. Paule sayth, in the repetinge of Moyses sacramentes and ceremoniall schaddowes, Gal. v. With that I toke Christes testament in my hande, and went to the Market Crosse, the people in great nombre folowinge. There toke I the xiij. Chap. of S. Paule to the Romanes, declaringe to them breuely what the autoritie was of the worldly powers and magistrates, what reuerence and obedience were due to the same. In the meane tyme, had the prelates goten ij. disgysed prestes, one to beare the myter afore me, and an other the croser, makinge iij. procession pageauntes of one. The yonge men, in the forenone, played a tragedye of Gods Promyses in the olde lawe, at the Market Crosse, with organe, plainges, and songes very aptely. In the afternone agayne they played a commedie of Sanct Johan Baptistes preachinges, of Christes baptisynge, and of his temptacion in the wildernesse, to the small contentacion of the prestes and other papistes there.

On the Thursdaye next folowinge, which was S. Bartylmewes daye, I preached agayne amonge them, bycause the prebendaryes and other prestes there had made their boastes, that I shulde be compelled to recante all that I had preached afore; and, as I was entered into the pulpit, I toke this sainge of S. Paule for my thema: *Non erubesco euangelium; virtus enim Dei est in salutem omni credenti*, &c. 'I am not ashamed of the gospell.' And whie? 'For it is the power of God unto saluacion, to all them that beleue it,' Rom. 1. Than declared I vnto them all that I had taught there, sens my first comming thydre, the iustice Hothe beinge present; as, That our God was but one God, and ought alone to be worshipped; and that our Christe was but one Christe, and ought alone to be trusted to for our redempcion of sinne. I earnestly charged the people to rest vpon these ij. principles firmely, as they wolde answere it at the dredefull daye, and not to suffre themselues to be led, by a contrariouse doctrine of deceytfull teachers,

into any other beleue, from thens fourth. *Item*, Concerninge the sacramente of Christes bodye and bloude, wherin they had bene most prodigiously abused, through the vnsaciable couetousnesse of the prestes, I required them very reuerently to take it, as a sacramente only of Christes deathe, whereby we are redemed, and made innocent membres of hys misticall bodye, and not to worship it as their god, as they had done, to the vtter derogacion of hys heauenly honour. And, as I came in the vsuall prayer to remembraunce of the dead, I willed them to gyue harty thankes to God for their redempcion in Christe, largely declaringe, That the sowles of the righteouse were in the hande of his mercye, without cruell torment, Sap. 3. and that the prestes, with all their masses and funerall exequies, coulde nothinge adde to their redempcion, if they had bene otherwise bestowed.

After the prayer, I toke the gospell of the daye, *Beati oculi, qui vident quæ vos videtis, &c. Luce* 10. wherin I was occasioned to speake of certen degrees of men, as of kinges, prophetes, lawers, iusticiaryes, and so fourth: As, That the kinges were desierouse to see Christe, the prophetes to embrace him, the swellinge lawers to rise vp againste him and to tempte him, and the ambiciouse iusticiaryes to toye with him and to mocke him. The wounded man to haue nede of him, the preste to shewe no compassion, the Leuite to ministre no mercye, and, last of all, the contemptuouse Samaritane to exercise all the offices of pitye, loue, beniuolence, and liberall mercye, vpon the same wounded creature; as, to resort to him, fauourably to see him, with layser to beholde him, to haue compassion on him, to bynde vp his woundes, to poure in oyle and wyne, to sett him on his owne beaste, to brynge him to a place of comfort; finaly, to socour him, and to paye his whole charges: All these matters I declared there at large, which were now to muche to repete here againe.

The same daye, I dined with the mayer of the towne, whome they name their Suffren, called Robert Shea, a man sober, wise, and godly; which is a rare thinge in that lande.

In the end of our dyner certen prestes resorted, and began very hotely to dispute with me concerninge their purgatorye and suffrages for the dead. And as I had alleged the scriptures prouing Christes sufficiencie for the sowles discharge afore God, without their dirtie deseruinges, they brought fourth, as seemed to them, contrary allegacions, that there shulde apere no truthe in those scriptures. As S. Paule prophecied of them, Rom. 1. That suche as they were, shulde seke to turne the veryte of God into a lye. And whan I had ones deprehended them in that theuerie, and agreed both our alleged scriptures, to the mayntenaunce of my first princyple, to their manifest reproche: I demaunded of them, what a christenmannys office was, whan suche a scripture was vttered as neyther man nor angell was able to denie any truth therof? But they made me no answere. Than sayde I unto them, Ye haue set me fourth a newe lesson, and taught me this daye to knowe a good man from an hipocrite, and to discerne a true Christian from a wicked Papist. The good man, said I, beleueth a truthe in the scriptures, the hipocrite denieth it, the Christian embraceth it, the Papist doubteth and disputeth against it; as ded the

deuill in the wildernesse with Christe, whan he sought by one scripture to confounde an other.

The next daye I departed from thence, and went home with my cumpanye to Holmes Court agayne.

Where as I had knowledge, the next daye folowinge, that the prestes of my diocese, specially one Sir Richard Routhe, treasurer of the churche of Kylkennie, and one Sir Iames Ioys, a familiar chaplaine of mine, by the helpe of one Barnabe Bolgar, my next neibour and my tenaunt, at the seyd Holmes Court, had hired certen kearns of the Lorde Mountgarret, and of the Barne of Vpper Ossorie, whom they knew to be most desperate theues and murtherers, to slea me.

And I am in full beleue, that this was not all without their knowleges also; for so muche as they were so desierouse of my landes in diuerse quarters, and coulde neyther obtaine them by their owne importunate sutes, nor yet by the frendeshipp of others. As for the Lorde Mountgarret, I suspect him by this:

An horse grome of his, with an other of his brechelesse gallauntes besides, came into my court one daye, and made a stought bragge among my seruauntes, that he wolde both steele my horses, as it is there reckened no great faulte to steel, and also that he wolde haue my heade, if I came abroade.

I sent my seruaunt vnto him, not as one desireouse to be reuenged, but to knowe what cause his grome had, to vttre so muche malice. Yea, I afterwards complayned therof my selfe, to his owne persone, and had but a slendre answere, with no redresse at all. The Barne of Vpper Ossorie molested my pore tenauntes in the quarter wher as he dwelte, most maliciously; and Barnabe Bolgar maryed his yonge doughter to one of those murtherers, called Grace Graceless, to helpe the matter forwarde: For he thought by that meanes to haue the full occupienge of Holmes Court yet ones agayne.

On the Thursdaye after, which was the last daye of Auguste, I beinge absent, the clergie of Kylkennie, by procurement of that wicked Iustice Hothe, blasphemously resumed agayne the whole papisme, or heape of supersticions of the Bishop of Rome; to the vtter contempte of Christe and his holy wurde, of the kinge and counsell of Englande, and of all ecclesiasticall and politike ordre, without eyther statute or yet proclamacion. They ronge all the belles in that cathedrall, minstre, and parish churches; they flonge vp their cappes to the battlement of the great temple, with smylinges and laughinges most dissolutely, the justice himselfe beinge therwith offended: They brought fourth their coopes, candelstickes, holy waterstocke, crosse, and sensers: They mustered fourth in generall procession most gorgiously, all the towne ouer, with *Sancta Maria, Ora pro nobis*, and the reest of the Latine *Letanie:* They chattered it, they chaunted it, with great noise and deuocion: They banketted all the daie after, for that they were deliuered from the grace of God into a warme sunne.

For they maye, now from thens fourth, againe deceiue the people, as they ded afore tyme, with their Latine momblinges, and make marchaundice of them, 2 Petre ii. They maye make the witlesse sort belieue, that they can make euery daye newe goddes of their lyttle whyte

cakes, and that they can fatche their frendes sowles from flaminge purgatory, if nede be, with other great miracles els.

They maye now, without checke, haue other mennes wiues in occupienge, or kepe whores in their chambers; or els playe the buggery knaues, as they haue done alwayes, and be at an vttre defiaunce with mariage, though it be the institution of God, honourable, holye, righteouse, and perfight.

I wryte not this without a cause, for whie, there were some amonge them, which boasted both of this and muche more to vayne to be told.

And, whan they were demaunded, How they wolde, afore God, be discharged?

They made answere, that eare confession was able to burnish them agayne, and to make them so white as snowe, though they thus offended neuer so oft. And one of them, for example, was the dronken bishop of Galwaye, which, besides these vncomly bragges, furiosly boasted, in the howse of one Martine, a faithfull Italiane and seruant to the Earle of Ormonde, and in other howses more, that the Bishop of Rome was the heade supreme of the Christen churche in earthe, and shulde so be proclamed in Irelande, the said Martine, as Gods true frende, rebukinge him for it. The exercise of this beastly bishop is none other, but to gadde from towne to towne ouer the English part, confirminge yonge children for ij. pence a pece, without examinacion of their Christen beleue, contrary to the Christen ordinaunces of Englande, and at night to drinke all at Rob Dauye and Aqua Vite, like a man: to whome, for a mocke now of late, a Galoglasse of the land brought hys dogge, wrapped in a sheet, with ij. pens about his necke, to have him confirmed among neybers children: in this he noted this beastly bishop more fit to confirme dogges, than christen mennes children.

On the Frydaye next followinge, which was the eyt daye of Septembre v. of my howsholde seruauntes Rycharde Foster, a deacon, Rycharde Headley, Iohan Cage, an Irish horsegrome, and a yonge mayde of xvj. yeares of age, went out to make haye abought halfe a myle of betwixt viij. and ix. of the clocke, after they had serued God according to the daye. And, as they were come to the entraunce of that medowe, the cruell murtherers, to the nombre of more than a score, leaped out of their lurkynge busshes, with sweardes and with dartes, and cowardly slewe them all vnarmed and vnweaponed, without mercy. This ded they, in their wicked furye, as it was reported, for that they had watched so long afore, yea, an whole month space they saye, and sped not of their purpose concerninge me. They fellonously also robbed me of all my horses, and of all Maistre Coopers horses, which that time soiourned with me for sauegarde of hys lyfe, to the nombre of vij. dryuynge them afore them. In the afternoone, abought iij. of the clocke, the good suffren of Kylkennye, hauinge knowledge therof, resorted to me with an hondred horsemen, and iij hondred fotemen, and so with great strengthe brought me that nyght to the towne, the yonge men syngynge psalmes and other godly songes all the way, in reioyce of my deliueraunce.

As we were come to the towne, the people, in great nombre, stode on both sydes of the waye, both within the gates and without, with

candels lyghted in their handes, shoughting out prayses to God for deliuerynge me from the handes of these murtherers. The prestes the next daye, to colour their myschefe, caused it to be noysed all the countrey ouer, that it was by the hande of God that my seruauntes were slain, for that they had broken (they sayde) the great holy daye of our ladyes natiuitie. But I wolde fayne knowe what holy dayes those bloodthurstye hypocrites and malyciouse murtherers kepte, which had hyred their cruel kearnes to do that myschefe? O! abhoymynable traytours, both to God and to all godly ordre. Ye here commende murther undre a colour of false religyon, to hyde your owne myscheles to the eyes of the people, but the eyes of God ye cannot deceyue. Youre horrible slaughter must now be Gods doynge, and yet was it the devyll that sett ye a wurke. Ye prate here of the obseruacion of the holy daye, which neuer yet kepte the holy daye as it shulde be kepte. For ye neuer yet preached the wurde of God truly, neyther mynystred the sacramentes ryghtly, neyther yet taught the people to honour God purely, and to keepe his commaundementes inuiolably, which are the only kepinges of the holy dayes.

But on those dayes, more than on any other, ye pampre them vp in all supersticions, false worshippynges, and ydolatryes, to the utter defilynge both of the dayes and of them. Ye are much offended that a good wurke shulde be done on the sabboth daye, as were your forefathers the Pharisees, but, with whoredome, ydolatrye, dronkennesse, and slaughter of men, ye are nothinge at all offended, but wickedly ye do mainteine them, as I am able to proue by a thousande of your lewde examples. The natiuitie of our ladye was at that daye a feast abrogated, by autoritie of a christen kynge, and his whole parlement; and yet you saye the holy daye is broken, whan it is no holy daye at all, but as all other dayes are holy to them only which are holy through their true obedience to Gods most holy wurde. Ye had kepte the daye much holyar, in my opinyon, if ye had, in the fear of God, obeyed the commaundement of your christen kynge; where as, in disobeynge the same, ye haue resisted the holy ordinaunce of God for a supersticion, procuringe thereby to your selues damnacion, Roma. 1. Christe, our heauenly Maistre and Redemer, was wele contented that his most holy natiuitie gaue place to an heathnysh emperours obedience, Luc. 2. And yow disdaine that daye to obeye a most christen kynge, counsell, and parlement, and yet ye are not ashamed to boast it, that ye kepte the daie holy. O! right antichristes. On the daye next followinge, which was Saturdaye in the afternoone, the forseid treasurer, a man vnlearned, and therwith an outragiouse whorekepar, resorted to me with a nombre of prestes, to tempte me, like as Sathan ded Christe in the wildernesse, sauing that Sathan to Christe offered stones, and that tempting treasurer both apples and wyne. And, as they had than compassed me in rounde about, the seid treasurer proponed vnto me, that they were all fully minded to have solempne exequies for kynge Edwarde, lately departed, lyke as the quenes highnesse had had them in Englande. I axed them how that was? They made me answere, with a *requiem* masse and *dirige*. Than asked I of them agayne, Who shulde singe the masse? And they answered, me,

that it was my bounde dewtie to do it, beinge their bishop. Than sayde I vnto them, massinge is an office appointed of that antichriste, the Bishop of Rome, to whom I owe no obedience, neither will I owe him any so longe as I shall lyue. But if ye will haue me there, to do that office, which Christe, the Sonne of God, hath earnestly commaunded, which is to preach hys holy gospell, I will do it with all my heart.

No, sayde they, we will haue a solempne masse, for so had the quene. By my trouth, sayde I, than must ye go seke out some other chaplayne; for, truly, of all generacions, I am no masse-mongar; for, of all occupacions, me thinke, it is most folish; for there standeth the preste disgysed, lyke one that wolde shewe some conveyaunce or iuglyng playe. He turneth his back to the people, and telleth a tale to the walle, in a foren language. If he turn his face to them, it is eyther to receyue the offering, eyther to desyre them to giue him a good wurde, with *orate pro me fratres*, for he is a poore brother of theirs; eyther to bid them God spede,, with *dominus vobiscum*, for they get no part of his banket; eyther els to blesse them with the bottom of the cuppe, with *benedictio Dei*, whan all the brekefast is done. And of these feates, said I, can I now lyttle skille. With that the treasurer, beinge in hys fustene fumes, stoughtely demaunded a determinate answere, as though he came not thydre without autoritie. Than suspected I somwhat the wickednesse of Iustice Hothe, and such other; notwithstandinge, I axed him ones again, What profyght he thought the kynges sowle to haue of those funerall exequies? Than answered one of the prestes, that God knewe wel inough what he had to do. Yet yow must appoint him, sayde I.

If these poure suffrages be a waye for him to heauen, and that he cannot go thydre without them, ye are much to blame, that ye haue differred them so long. Ye had, sayde I, a commaundement, the last Saterdaye, of the Iustice Hothe, to haue solempnised them that nyght, and the next daye after. But the deuyll, which that daye daunsed at Thomas-Towne (for they had a procession with pageauntes) and the Aqua Vite, and Rob Dauie withall, wolde not suffre ye than to do them. I desire yow, considering that the last Sondaye ye differed them to see the deuyll daunse at Thomas-Towne, that ye will also this Sondaye differre them, tyll such tyme as I sende to the quenes commissioners at Dublyne, to knowe how to be discharged of the othe which I made to the kynge and his counsell for abolyshement of that Popish masse; for I am loth to incurre the daunger of periurie. With that, after a few wurdes more, they seemed content, and so departed. The next daye came thydre a proclamacion, that they which wolde heare masses, shulde be suffered so to do, and they that wold not shulde not therunto be compelled.

Thus was that buyldynge clearly ouerthrowne, and that practyse of blasphemye wolde not take at that tyme, as God wolde.

And, as I had continued there certen dayes, I chaunced to heare of manye secrete mutteringes, that the prestes wolde not so leaue me, but were styll conspiringe my deathe.

It was also noysed abroade, by the Bishop of Galwaye, and others,

that the antichrist of Rome shulde be taken agayne for the supreme heade of the churche of Irelande.

And, to declare a contemptuouse chaunge from religion to superstición againe, the prestes had sodainly set up all the aulters and ymages in the cathedrall churche. Beholdinge therfor so many inconueniences to ensewe, and so many daungers towarde, hauinge also, which was worst of all, no English deputie or gouernour within the lande to complaine to for remedie, I shoke the dust of my fete against those wicked colligyners and prestes, accordinge to Christes commaundement, Math. 10, that it might stande against them as a witnesse at the daye of iudgement. The next daye, early in the morninge, by helpe of frendes, I conuayed my selfe awaye to the castell of Lechline, and so fourth to the cytie of Dubline, where as I, for a certen time, amonge frendes remayned.

As the epicurouse archebishop had knowledge of my beinge there, he made boast vpon his ale benche, with the cuppe in his hande, as I hearde the tale tolde, that I shulde, for no mannis pleasure, preache in that cytie of his. But this neded not, for I thought nothinge lesse at that time, than to poure out the preciouse pearles of the gospell afore so brockish a swine as he was, becominge than, of a dissemblinge proselite, a very perniciouse Papist. And as towchinge learninge, wherof he muche boasted amonge his cuppes, I knowe none that he hath so perfightly exercised as he hath the knowne practises of *Sardinapalus;* for his preachinges twise in the yeare, of the ploughman in winter, by *Exit qui seminat*, and of the shepeherde in somer, by *Ego sum pastor bonus*, are now so wele knowne by rott, of euery gossipp in Dublyne, that, afore he cometh vp into the pulpet, they can tell his sermon. And as for his wife, if the mariage of prestes endureth not, he hath already prouided his olde shifte of conueyaunce, by one of his seruauntes. But I wolde wishe, that, amonge other studies, he remembred old Debethes at London, for surgerie; for ywys there is yet some moneie to be paied, and an Irish hobby also by promyse.

About thre yeares a go, he made interpellacyon to the Kynge, in his Lente sermon, for his doughter Irelande; but now he commaundeth her to go a whoringe againe, and to folow the same deuyll that she folowed afore; for that he ded than, was but only to serue the time. He neded lyttle than to haue accused Sir Antony Sellenger of treason, if ye marke him wele now, but that he thought, by such conueyaunce, to winne estimacion, and to obtayne the Hygh Primacie of Irelande, from the archebisshoprycke of Armach, as he ded in dede. Full wele bestowed. Such dissemblinge gluttons, and swynysh Papistes, are a sore plage to that lande, which, for their wicked bellyes, make the people beleue, that sower is sweete, and darkenesse lighte, with their aulters, masses, and ymages. And that causeth me to write this to his shame.

'The salte,' sayth Christe, 'that is become vnsaueric, is from thens fourth good for nothinge, but to be cast out at the dores, and trodden vndre mennes fete,' Math. 5. After certen dayes within my hostes howse, a yonge man of Estsexe, called Thomas, was comminge and

goynge, which, for his maisters affayres into Scotlande, had hyred a small ship, there called a Pyckarde.

I reioyced at the chaunce, as one that had founde a great treasure, and thought it a thinge prouided of God, for a sauegarde and deliueraunce at that present. Anon I couenaunted with him, to paye the halfe charges of that shippe, that I might passe thydre with him, and deliuered to him out of hande the more part therof.

I thought at all tymes by him, and by an other whom I there had also herde of, hauinge their continuall occupyenges thydre, to haue, from tyme to tyme, knowlege of the deputyes commynge ouer into Irelande, and so to resort againe to myne owne, in case all thinges were to my minde: As that the tirannouse Bishop of Rome had not his primacye and old doynges there againe, as it had bene boasted he shulde, and that the Christen religion gaue not place to blasphemouse papistrie. And as he and I were togyther in the shippe, there tarrienge vpon the tyde for passage, an Irishe pirate, yea, rather a cruell tiraunte of helle, called Walter, beinge pylate, as they call them, or loades man in a Flemmish shippe of warre, made the couetouse captaine therof to beleue that I was a Frenche man, and that I had about me innumerable treasure. The captaine, hearinge of this, with an excedinge fearcenesse, inuaded our poore shippe, and remoued both the yonge man Thomas and me from thens into his great shippe of warre; Where as he searched vs both to the very skinnes, and toke from vs al that we had in moneye, bokes, and apparell. He toke also from the maistre of our pickarde, or lyttle shippe, v. pounde, which I and the seyd Thomas had giuen to him in part of payement, with all his beere and vitayles, notwithstandinge that he perfightly knewe vs to be Englishe men, and no Frenche men.

In the ende I loked fourth of the captaines cabyne, and beholde a fayre howse, as it had bene a mile from vs, and axed of the yonge man, whose howse that was? He made me answere, that it was the howse of one Mr. Parker, the searcher there. I instauntly desired of the captayne to be deliuered to him, but in no wise wolde he graunt it. I required anon after, as I beheld a farre of, the citye of Dublyne, to be brought thydre for my honest tryall (for they had accused me of treason) but it might not be allowed. The next daye after, we came into the hauen of Waterforde, where as also, for my tryall, I desired to go a lande, but in no wyse wolde it be graunted. After that we passed more than the halfe seas ouer, towardes Cornewale, and were driuen backe againe with so fearce and terrible a tempest, that the whole seas, to our syght and feling, went ouer vs. And, as we were come yet ones againe into the hauen of Waterforde, I sayde vnto the captaine, God hath with violence brought vs hyther againe (I perceyue it) that I shulde trye my innocencye. I desyre yow (sayd I) as I haue done heretofore, to deliuer me into the cytie of Waterforde, where as I am wele knowne. He refused vtterly so to do, and, after certen other talk, he desiered me to content myselfe, and I shulde, he sayde, in the shippe haue all thinges to my mynde. Whie, sayde I, ye go not my waye, neither is it fit for me to seke for pryses, and to go a roauinge as yow do, but to sattle myselfe sumwhere.

Sens ye came to our shippe, sayde he, I hearde yow wishe yourselfe in Duchelande; and I promise yow, we will honestly brynge yow thydre, and not longe tarry by the waye. My chaunce was, in dede, to fynde there amonge them an Hollander, called Leonarde, which knewe me in Nortwick, with Maistre Iohan Sartorius. To him, in familiar talke, I had wished myselfe there at that present: But how will ye leade me, sayde I to the captaine, as ye haue done hytherto, lyke a captiue prisoner, or lyke a free passenger? No, sayde he, I take ye now for no prisoner, but for a man of worshipp, and for a most honest passenger, and so will I deliuer yow there. But all this time he had my moneye in his owne kepinge. Within ii dayes after, we were driuen into S. Iues in Cornewale by extremitie of wether; where as the forseid wicked pyrate Walter got him a lande afore vs so fast as euer he coulde, and accused me there for an haynouse traitour, yea, for such a one as for that cause had fledde out of Irelande.

And, to bringe his wicked purpose to passe of winninge sumwhat by me (for he thought than to haue halfe my moneye which was in the captaines hand) he fatched thydre one Downinges from vii myles of, by the counsell of the mariners of that towne, which was noysed to be the most cruell termagaunt of that shire, yea, suche a one as had bene a begynnar of the last commocion there, both to examine me and apprehende me.

And, as I was commen to that examinacion before one of the baylyses, the constables, and other officers, I desiered the seyd baylyfe, apearinge to me a very sober man, as he was in dede, to axe of the seyd Walter, How longe he had knowne me, and what treason I had done sens that tyme of his knowlege? He answered, That he neuer sawe me, neyther yet had hearde of me, afore I came into that shippe of warre a iiii or v dayes afore. Than sayde the baylyfe, What treason hast thu knowne by this honest gentelman sens? For I promise the, he semeth to be an honest man? Mary, sayde he, he wolde haue fledde into Scotlande. Whie, saith the baylyfe, and knowest thu any impediment, wherfor he ought not to haue gone into Scotlande? No, sayde the fellawe, but he was goinge towardes Scotlande. If it be a treason, sayth the baylyfe, to go towardes Scotlande, a man having businesse to do there, it is more than I knewe afore, and truly, sayth he, than are there manie traitours abroade in the worlde.

Good Fellawe, sayde he, take hede that thy grounde be good in accusinge this man, els art thu wurthie to suffre due ponnishiment for it; for thu doest it els vpon some other affection, than desire of right. With that he stode still, and was able to saye nothinge, for he was as dronke as an ape, in hope of a bone viage.

Than came in the captaine and his purser, and reuiled the seyd Walter, reportinge him to be a very noughtye fellawe, and a commen dronkarde, and that I was a very honest man.

For they feared, at that tyme, the discharge of my moneye out of their handes, I offeringe myselfe, for my tryall against him, to be brought to the sessions, which were than not farre of.

Than sayde the forseid Downinges in great displeasure, Gods sowle, what do I here? This is but a dronken matter, by the masse; and so

went his waye in a fume, and for anger wolde not ones drinke with vs, so that I wente clere awaye in this prodygiouse conflict. The next daye, beinge Sondaye, I resorted to the temple, to see the fashions there. As the peales were all ended, they sange mattens, houres, holy water-makinge, and masse, all in Latine. Nothinge was there in Englishe but the poore Letanie, which the preste, a stought sturdie lubber, sayde with the least deuocion of all, muche of the people lamentinge to beholde so miserable a mutacion, and saienge, Afore time might we haue learned sumwhat by our comminge to the churche, but now nothinge at all to our vnderstandynge: Alas! what shall become of vs?

After dyner, that preste resorted vnto vs, as bolde as great Hercules, and, after a little talke, fell to flat raylinge of good Myles Couerdale, their bishop, after this sort: Where is that heretyke knaue now, sayth he, and other of his companions, vagabondes, apostates, and runnegates? with other vncomly wurdes. And, as I was bent to haue made him an answere, a gentilman of the countrey therabout rubbed me on the elbowe, and bad me, in mine care, to lete him alone, and I shulde heare wonders: And the seyde gentilman brought him into an other talke of olde familiaritees: Wherin he confessed, that he had, in one daye, bygetten ii mennes wyues, of that parishe, with childe, to encreace the churches profyght in crisyms and offeringes, where as their husbandes were not able to do it. Yea, mary Sir Iames, sayth the gentleman, and ye haue done more miracles than that: Went ye not one daye a fishinge? sayth he. Yes, by the masse, ded I, sayde the preste againe, and made the fyshes more holye, than euer the whoresons were afore: For I sent out my Maker amonge them, whome I had that daye receyued at the aulter: By the masse, quoth he, I was able to holde him no longar. Sens that daye, I am sure, quoth he, that our fyshars hath had better lucke than euer they had afore.

Thus whan he had raged by the space of more than an houre, the last peale calling him thens to euensonge, the gentilman sayde vnto me, These are the ghostly fathers, which now are permitted to be our spirituall gydes. Are not we, sayth he, wele apoynted, thynke yow? The Lorde be mercyfull to vs, for it is sure a plage for our vnthankefulnesse, whils we had the truthe. Suche lewde bawdie prestes as this is, sayde he, doth wonderfully now reioyce, not for any vertue they loke for, but in hope to be mainteined in libertie of all wickednesse, more than of late dayes. Whan supper was done, certen of the mariners resorted to vs, declaringe what an vncomly part the preste had played with their pypar, as that he pyssed in his mouthe, beinge gapinge a slepe in the churche after euensonge. This is the bewteouse face of our Irishe and English churches at this present.

The poore people are not taught, but mocked of their mynysters, their seruauntes abused, their wiues and doughters defyled, and all Christen ordre confounded.

As the wether waxed fayre, the captaine went awaye with the shippe, and was more than ii miles on his waie, mindinge, as it apeared, to have gone awaye with all that I had, moneye, apparell, and bokes, if the winde had serued him wele. The costomers seruaunt, an Irishe man also, beinge admonished by his countreyman Walter, of my moneye in

the captaines handes, came to my lodginge in the morninge, and tolde me therof, thinkinge, as I had bene in possession therof, if I had come to lande agayne therwith, to have raysed newe rumours vpon me, and so to haue depriued me therof; for he shewed himself very seruisable in prouidinge me a boate, and in bringinge me to the shippe. But whan he ones perceiued, that I wolde not demaunde my moneye of the captaine, and returne agayne with him, though I gaue him a crowne for his boate and paynes, yet went he awaye in great displeasure, with no small reproches. And, at that present, was the forseid Walter bannished the shippe for his only troublinge of me, so beniuolouse that houre was the captaine vnto me.

The next daye after, I demaunded my moneye of the captaine, and it was very honestly deliuered me, all scysmes, as I thought, pacified. Howbeit, that wretched mammon most strongely wrought in the vnquietouse harte of the captaine, so that, continually after that time, he threttened to sett vs on lande, and maruele it was that he threwe vs not both ouer the borde. Alwayes were we wele contented to haue gone to lande, but yet still he droue it of till we came into Douer roade, I not vnderstandinge the misterie concerning the seyd moneye, as that it was in my hande and not in the captaines, which marred all the whole matter.

In the mean tyme they went a roauinge by a whole wekes space and more. And first they take an Englishe shippe of Totnes going towardes Britaine, and loaden with tinne, and that they spoiled both of ware and moneye vnder the colour of Frenche mennis goodes. The next daye in the afternoon, behelde they ii English shippes more, whom they chaced all that night longe, and the nexte daye also till x of the clocke; and of them they toke one, by reason that his topsaile brake, and that was a shippe of Lynne. In this had they nothinge but apples, for he went for his loadinge. After that, traced they the seas ouer more than halfe a weke, and found none there but their owne countrey men, beinge men of warre and sea robbers as they were.

At the last they came to Douer roade, and there wolde the captaine nedes to lande with his purser. My companion Thomas and I, takinge ourselfes for free passengers, desiered to go a lande with them, but that might not be, he sayde, till he had bene there afore. Yes, sayth Thomas, I will go a lande if any man go, for I have nothinge to do here. Thu shalt not go, sayth the captaine, but I will laye thee fast by the fete, if thu prate any more. With that one Cornelis stode fourth, and sayde, We are muche to blame, that we haue not dispatched him ere this, and throwne him ouer the borde. Than doubted I some myschefe in wurkinge amonge them; for one Martin, an English pyrate, but yet a French man borne, beinge sumtyme Tompsons man, and after that Stranguyshes man, and now one of their vnthriftie nombre, had made them beleue, that I was he which not only had put down the masse in Englande, but also I had caused Doctour Gardiner, the Bishopp of Winchestre, to be kepte so longe in the Tower, and that also I had poysened (whome I loued and reuerenced aboue all mortall men) the kinge, with many other most prodigiouse lyes.

So went the captaine and his purser with all these newes a lande,

hauinge also with them my bisshoppes seale, and ij. epistles sent me from Conradus Gesnerus and Alexander Alesius, with commendacions from Pellicanus, Pomeranus, Philippus Melancthon, Ioachimus Camerarius, Mathias Flacius, and other learned men, desierouse of the Englishe churches antiquytees and doctrines; which letters I had receyued at Dublyne, the daye afore I came to the shippe, and not yet answered them. These epistles and seale, with an other letter sent to me from the counsell of Englande, concerninge my first callinge to that pastorall office, they had taken out of my male, vnknowinge to me. For that they had seane the kinges armes in my seale, as the maner is of byshoppes seales, they layde to my charge the counterfettinge of the kinges seale, upon the ij. epistles, heresie, and vpon the counsels letter, conspiricie against the quene; so wele were they ouerseane in that malice for moneye. In Douer, amonge all his cuppes, this captaine discouered these matters, as what a man he had gotten in the borders of Irelande, suspiciously passinge ouer from thens towardes Scotlande, with all the reest. And, as he had perceiued some of the hearers desierouse of that praie, he called a great pece of his tale backe againe, and sayde, that he had sett vs a lande at Southampton, and so letten vs go. His minde was to haue solde me, if any man wolde haue offered him a good somme of moneye.

After midnyght, he returned agayne to the shippe, pratinge amonge his cumpany, what he had done a lande, and how he had almost lost all, by his busye talke. But he had hearde of me, he sayde, muche more than he knewe afore, and he trusted that I shulde be to him, and to all the shippe, a profitable prise. The next daye in the morninge, after his first slepe, he arose, and, with stought countenaunce, boasted that he wolde strayght to London, with his most daungerouse carryage, which were we ij. poore innocent sowles, that had done ill to no man, sauinge that we coulde not beare with the blasphemies of the Papistes against God and his Christe. Muche to and fro was amonge them about that passage: In the ende they all concluded, that better it was to tarry still there with the shippe, whils one or ij. of them went to the counsell of Englande, in massage, and came againe, than thydre to trauaile with shippe and all. To lande goeth the purser and an other besides, to hyre their horses towardes London, for mountaines of golde wolde be gotten that wayes, they sayde.

As I behelde this madnesse, though I little than cared for my life, yet sayde I to the captaine, Maistre Captaine, What do yow meane by these strange turmoilinges? Thinke ye there is no God? Neither yet a reckeninge to be made, at the lattre day, of these mad procedinges? The time hath bene sens our first metinge, that ye haue taken me for an honest passenger, and defended my innocencie against that cruel pyrate Walter: How standeth it with equity than, that ye now proclame me so haynouse a traitor? I am sure that ye knowe now no more by me, than ye ded afore. Your allegacions, that I had put downe the masse, emprisoned Doctour Gardiner, and poysened the kinge, are most false, as all the worlde knoweth. My seale, and my other letters, are plaine argumentes of my truthe and honest estimacion, and might be to your confusion, if I chaunced to haue righteouse hearers. I praie yow therfor in con-

science, that ye tell me what euyll ye knowe els by me, that ye make here so terrible doynges? I can not see, sayth the captaine, that ye will be ordered after anye good sort. My only misordre was than, that my moneye was in my purse, and not in his. Wherunto I answered, with an hart full of dolour and heauinesse, to beholde mennis so dampnable practises of myschefe for fylthie lucres sake.

I am contented, Maistre Captaine, sayd I, to be ordered as ye will reasonably haue me. What will ye gyue than, sayde the captaine, to be deliuered into Flaunders, and our purser to be called againe? I answered, that I wolde gyue as his selfe wolde with reason and conscience require. If ye had told vs so much yester night, sayde he, this matter had bene at a point, and we by this tyme had bene in Zelande.

Than was all the rable of the shippe, hag, tag, and rag, called to the reckeninge, rushelinge together as they had bene the cookes of helle, with their great Cerberus, and an whole hundred pounde demaunded for my deliueraunce. In the ende it was concluded, that no lesse might aswage that hungrye heate, than fiftie pounde at the least, with this prouiso, that all the moneye, which I had in my purse, with part of my garmentes also, shulde be out of hande deuyded amonge them and the Captaine; whiche was xxj. pounde in the whole. I instantly desired, that it might be receyued in part of the other somme. They cried all, with one voice, naye, we will none of that. Than I besought them, that I might haue, at least, an honest porcion thereof, for payment of my charges, whils I shulde be prouidinge of so great a raunsome, as they had layde to me.

In fine, they assented, that I shulde haue vj. crownes of myne owne moneye allowed me for my costes, till I had founde out my frendes. Than caused the Captaine a pece of ordinaunce to be fiered, and a gunne to be lete, to call backe the purser and his companion; in whose returne there was muche to and fro; for some wolde nedes to London, thinkinge that waye to winne more, than to bringe me into Flaunders; and, of them which wolde into Flaunders, some wolde to lande for a barrell of drinke, for in the shippe, at that time, was neither breade, befe, nor beere. Some feared the comminge of the Mayre and captaine of the Castell for searchinge their shippe; so that our captaine commaunded them at the last to hoyse vp the sayles, and spedily to passe towardes Flaunders. In the mean tyme was I, poore sowle, compelled to set my hande to a false bylle of their deuisinge, as, that I had hyred their shippe in Irelande, for fiftie pounde, to bringe me, withoute delay or tarriaunce, into Zelande; which I neuer ded, as the Almightie Lorde wele knoweth, but came from thens with them against my will, and was tossed to and fro vpon the seas, by the space of xxiiij. dayes, in folowinge prises, as they call their roberies; and I was, by that time, so full of lyce, as I coulde swarme.

As we came ones thydre, they brought me into the howse of one of the iiij. owners of the shippe, which was a man fearinge God, and his wyfe a woman of muche godlynesse also; which was to me a carefull creature, a singular comfort prouided of God. The next daye were all the iiij. owners called to the reckeninge, and a Latyne interpretour wyth them, to knowe howe, where, and whan this raunsome of fiftye

pounde shulde be payde; and more than xxvj. dayes of layser for the payment therof might not be graunted. I desiered to haue had libertie to go abroade to seke my frindes, but that could I not obtaine, though it were in my formar couenaunt, whan the vj. crownes were deliuered me. In the afternoone was it noysed abroade, by the dronken mariners all ouer, that they had brought suche a one with them out of Irelande, as payed halfe an hundred pounde for his passage, to the wonderinge of all the towne; so that my hoste was fayne to kepe me close in his howse, and to saye, both to the mariners and others, that I was gone to Andwerpe, the people there resorted so fast to see me; they reported there also, in their dronkennesse, that I was he which had put downe the masse in Englande, and had throwne Doctour Gardiner into the Tower, wyth a great sort of lyes and slaunders more.

Thus continued I there, as a prisoner, by the space of iij. wekes, sumtyme threttened to be throwne in their commen iayle, sumtyme to be brought afore the magistrates, sumtyme to be left to the examinacion of the clergie, sumtyme to be sent to London, or els to be deliuered to the Quenes Embassadours at Brucels; but alwayes, by Gods prouysyon, I had myne hoste and hostesse to frendes. And, beholde a most wondrefull wurke of God! The persone of the towne, a most cruell monke, a maistre of Louayne, and an Iuquisitour of heretykes, as they call those rabyes, the next daye after my comminge sore syckened, and neuer came out of his bedde, so longe as I was there; which was greatly marked of some of the inhabitauntes, beinge godly affected: At the last, in deliberatinge the matter, that they requyred so muche moneye of me, and wolde not suffre me to go abroade to seke it, mine hoste bad the captaine and mariners considre how farre they had ronne beyonde the limites of their commission, in mysusynge the Englishe nacion, with whome they had no warre. It may chaunce herafter, sayth he, depely to be layde to your charges; therefore, by my assent, ye shall agree with this good man for lesse moneye; than were they contented to receyue xxx. pounde, as I shulde be able to paye it, and so to discharge me.

Thus hathe my Lorde God most miraculously deliuered me from all those daungerouse parels, and from the gredye mouthes of deuourynge lions, into the wurthie lande of Germanye yet ones againe, I hope to the glorie of his most holie name; euerlastinge praise be to him for it. *Amen.*

Here haue ye, dere frendes, a most lyuely and wondrefull example of Gods chastenynges, and of his most gracyouse deliuerauncs agayne; for no chosen chylde receyueth he to enherytaunce without muche correction, Hebre. 12. The mercyfull Lorde throweth downe into helle, and bringeth from thens agayne, 1 Reg. 2. Though Sathan be suffred, as whete, to syfte vs for a time, yet faileth not our faythe, through Christes ayde, but that we are at all tymes readye to confirme the faythe of our weake bretherne, Luce 22. I thought my selfe now of late, for the cares of this lyfe, wele satteled in the Bishopricke of Ossorie in Irelande, and also wele quieted in the peceable possession of the pleasaunt Euphrates, I confesse it; but the Lorde of his mercye

wolde not there leaue me: what though, for the small tyme, I was in his vyneyarde not at all an ydell wurkeman? But he hath prouyded me, I perceyue it, to taste of a farre other cuppe.

By vyolence hath he yet ones agayne, as ye in this treatise haue redde, driuen me out of that gloryouse Babylon, that I shulde not taste to muche of her wanton pleasures, but, with his most derely beloued disciples, to haue my inwarde reioyce in the Crosse of his Sonne Iesus Christ; the glorie of whose churche, I see it wele, standeth not in the harmoniouse sounde of belles and organes, nor yet in the glitterynge of miters and coopes, neither in the shyninge of gylte ymages and lyghtes, as the blinde bludderinge papistes do iudge it, but in continuall labours and dayly afflyctions for his names sake. God, at this present, in Englande hath his fanne in hande, and, after his great haruest there, is now syftinge the corne from the chaffe; blessed shall they be, which perseuer in faythe to the ende. In case, without doubt, is Englande now, as was Iewrie, after the heauenly doctryne was there plentuously sowne by Christe and by his apostles, the true mynisters of his wurde beinge partly enprisoned, and partly dispersed, as they were: God of his great mercye preserue it from that plage of destruction, which not only Hierusalem, but also that whole lande, tasted, for their wylfull contempte of that massage of their saluacyon. *Amen.*

I wryte this vnto the, thu sorrowfull churche of Englande, that in the middes of thy afflictions thu shuldest not despayre. Beholde how gracyously, yea, if I maye so speake it, how miraculously and gloriously the heauenly Lorde hath delyuered me, his most vnworthie seruaunt of all men, and an excedinge great sinner. He called me of grace to that office in his vyneyarde, by sore persecucions he proued me of loue, and at the lattre of mercye and goodnesse he preserued me from the deadly furye of most fearce enemies. Thy callinge to the gospell is not vnknowne to the, thu carefull congregacion. Now suffrest thu persecucions diuersly, for not regardinge the time of thy visitacion. Repent yet in the ende, and doubtlesse thu shalt have a most prosperouse delyueraunce. They are no noblemen, that do vexe the at this present. They are but pilde peltinge prestes, knightes of the dongehill, though they be Sir Swepestretes, maistre doctours, and lorde bishoppes. Loke vpon their faces, though thu measure not them by their frutes, and thu shalt sone knowe their vertues. They are fierye, hawtie, and lecherouse as gootes, the chastest amonge them. But that shall other mennis wyves knowe, and not thu. A wele papped pygion of Paules is wholsome (they saye) for a tippetted gentilman of the Popes spialte, in a darke euenynge, to coole the contagiouse heates of a coltish confessour.

No noblemen are they, which trouble the in this age, as I told the afore. For true nobylitie neuer yet hated the truthe of God, but hath aduaunced it by all ages. Examples we haue in Adam, Noe, Abraham, Moyses, Dauid, Iosias, Nycodeme, Ioseph, Kynge Lucius, Constantine, Iustinyane, Theodosius, Kynge Arthour, Alphrede, Ethelstane, Henry the Seconde, Edwarde the Thirde, and now last of all the Virgine Kynge Edwarde the vj. which neuer was defyled with

the Popes ydolatryes. Immortall fame, and note of renowne, remayneth yet to them for it. Such men (sayth the Lorde) as worshipp me, will I make worshipfull, and they, that despise me, shall become ignoble or wretched, j. Reg. 2. These will not take away the keye of knowlege from Gods people, as do the hypocrites, Math. 23. and as the wicked lawers do also, Luce. 11. wo to them for it. But as the noble Dauid requireth, they will open the gates that the Kinge of glorie maie entre. Open the gates (sayth he) O ye noblemen, lete the euerlastinge dores be opened, that the Kinge of Glorie may come in. Ps. 24.

If any be wicked in this behalfe, which beare the name of noblemen and women, lete them wele weygh with themselues, how Pharo, Antiochus, Herode, and suche other, whome God by princely autoritie had made noble, by only tirannie against his manifest truthe, are now become more vile, than any kichine slaue or yet Lazar. *Fælix* (sayth Horace) *quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.* Happie is he, whome an other mannis misfortune maketh wyse.

Ouer the now triumpheth the Bishoppes, the pharisees, the prestes, and the couetouse lawers. At thy late soden fall, reioyceth the hypocrites, the epicures, the ydolatours, and the wicked papistes. What shall I saye more? Iohan Baptist is now derided in the prison. Iesus the Sonne of God is grenned at vpon the Crosse. Paule now in Athens is hyssed at. The poore apostles are sliely laughed to scorne. Naye, shall I yet saye more: Mycheas is smitten on the face, whils Sedechias plaieth the false harlot, 2 Parali. 18. Helias is driuen into the wildernesse, whils Baals chaplaines are banketinge amonge ladies, 3 Reg. 18. Esaye is contempned, whils the prestes are giuen to ydolatrie and dronkennesse, Esa. 28. Hieremie is sore afflicted, while Semeias peruerteth the truthe of the Lorde, Hiere. 29. Daniel is throwne into the lyons denne, whils myscheles are in wurking amonge the wicked, Dan. 6. Peter is accused of the Bishoppes wenche, whils Cayphas sitteth in consistorie, condempninge the innocent, Math. 26. Steuen is called to a reckenninge, whils the prestes and wicked lawers are bannishinge the Gospell, Acto. 6. Antipas (they saye) is now slaine at Pergamos, whils Simon Magus triumpheth in Samaria, Apo. 2. And Iohan Zebede is sent into Pathmos, whils Cerinthus, Menander, and Hebion playe the heretike knaues at home, Apo. 1. well, lete them plye it a pace. It maye chaunce to cost theyr poluted Hierusalem a fowle ouerthrowe, for so persecutynge the seruauntes of God, in her whoredome, Esa. 1. yea seruauntes I saye, for they serued faithfully in the paynefull office of the Gospell.

Those ydell mercenaries not only loyter in the vineyarde, but also like cruell wolves they rauishe and destroye, Ioan. 10. Of that which God hath expressely forbidden, they make nowe a solempne religion, both in the refusall of mariage, and in the prodygyouse veneracyon of ymages, sayinge yea to his nay, and naye to his yea. God sayth, it is not good for man to be alone, without an helpe, which is a wife in mariage, Gene. 2. They saye contrariously, that it is more than good, for it is holy, religiouse, and prestlike, to haue no wiues of their owne, whatsoeuer they haue of other mennis, besides buggery boyes. I

trowe Doctour Weston will saye none other at this daye, what though not longe ago he brent a beggar in S. Botolphes parishe without Bishopsgate, geuinge her no wurse than he had receiued afore of that religiouse occupienge. The same Weston proponed to another woman of his parishe, which was a mannis wife, that, her husbande beinge a slepe, she might lawfully occupie with him, by vertue of this texte, *Mulier, dormiente viro, a lege soluta est.* 1 Cor. 7. If this scripture were not religiously applyed, lete them tell me which knowe the right handelinge of them. Whils this priapustick prelate is prolocutor in the conuocacion howse, I trust we shall lacke no good lawes for religion, the man is so religiouse. O Abhominacion. Though they now are busily spisinge and paintinge of a toorde (the ydolatrouse masse) yet will a toorde be but a stinkinge toorde, both in smelle and syght, pepper him and bawme him, garnish him and gilde him, as wele as they can, all the packe of them. To conclude. Now are their most filthie buggeries in the darke, with their other prodigiouse whoredomes, holden a most pure state of liuinge, holy mariage disgraced, contempned, and bannished.

God sayth, thu shalt make no grauen ymage to worshipp. They say, ye shall not only make ymages, but ye shall also gylde them, sense them, worshipp them, and axe helpe of them, for whie they are the layemennis gospell. In dede Porphiriuse, the blasphemouse heretike, and troubler of the Christen Church, as Eusebius reporteth him, was the first that called them the layemennis calender. And though S. Gregorie the Great, cominge after, confirmed the same calender, yet shall it remaine an horrible blasphemie, bycause God hath in paine of dampnacion forbidden it. Epiphanius, that worthie father of the Churche, nombreth the worshippinge of our ladyes image among heresies.

If we be of his opinion, we must iudge yow no lesse than most perniciouse heretikes. Moreouer it is now become a religion agayne in Englande, to call vpon dead men, with *Sancte Petre ora pro nobis.* This also is fatched from the olde paganes sorceries, for holde hath it none of the scriptures canonicall. How howllinge and iabberinge in a foren language shulde become Gods seruice, that can I not tell. But wele I wote that S. Paules doctrine doth vtterly condempne it, as supersticiouse beggerie, bycause it is but an ydell noise and nothinge to edificacion. 1 Cor. 14.

Some men perauenture will maruele, that I, utteringe matters of Irelande, shulde omitt, in this treatise, to write of coyne and lyuerie: which are so cruell pillages and oppressions of the poore commens there, as are no where els in this whole earthe, neither vndre wicked Saracene nor yet cruell Turke, besides all prodigiouse kindes of lecherie and other abhominacions, therin committed. Thre causes there are, which hath moued me not to expresse them here. One is, for so moch as they perteine nothinge to the tyttle of this boke, which all concerneth religion. An other is for that the matter is so large, as requireth a muche larger volume.

The thirde cause is, for that I haue knowne ij worthie men, whome I will not nowe name, to haue done that thinge so exactly, as no man

(I suppose) therein can amende them. But this will I utter breuely, that the Irishe lordes and their vnder captaines, supportinge the same, are not only companions with theues, as the prophete reporteth, Esa. 1, but also they are their wicked maisters and maintencrs. So that they both coupled togyther, the murtherer with his maistre, and the thefe with his maintener, leyue nothinge vndeuoured behinde them in that fertile region, no more than ded the deuouringe locustes of Egypte, Exo. 10. Anon after their haruestes are ended there, the Kearnes, the Galloglasses, and the other brechelesse souldiers, with horses and their horsegromes, sum tyme iij waitinge vpon one iade, enter into the villages with muche crueltie and fearcenesse; they continue there in great rauine and spoyle, and, whan they go thens, they leaue nothinge els behinde them for payment, but lice, lecherye, and intollerable penurie for all the yeare after. Yet set the rulers therupon a very fayre colour, that it is for defence of the Englishe pale. I besiche God to sende such protection a shorte ende, and their lordes and captaines also, if they see it not sone amended. For it is the vtter confusyon of that lande, and a maintenaunce to all vices.

Thre peoples are in Irelande in these dayes, prestes, lawers, and kearnes, which will not suffre faythe, truthe, and honestye to dwell there; and all these haue but one God, their bellye, and glory in that wicked feate to their shame, whose ende is dampnation, Phil. 3. I speake only of those which are bredde and borne there, and yet not of them ail: These, for the more part, are sworne bretherne togyther in myschefe, one to maintaine an others maliciouse cause, by murther preuily procured. And, to bringe their conceyued wickednesse to passe, they can do great miracles in this age, by vertue of transubstanciacion belyke, for therin are they very conninge; for they can very wittely make, of a tame Irishe, a wilde Irishe for nede, so that they shall serue their turne so wele as though they were of the wilde Irishe in dede. Lyke as they ded properly and fynely, in the most shamefull and cruell slaughter of my v. seruauntes, by the Lorde Mountgarrettes kearnes, and the barne of Vpper Ossoryes farye knyghtes. By suche fyne conueniaunce of accusinge the wilde Irishe, and colour of the holy daye broken, as is written afore, they can alwayes apere to haue fayre white handes, and to be innocent maydes, what murther so euer is by them committed. But I axe of the prestes, chefely of Richard Routhe the treasurer, and of Sir Iames Joys, his companion, what they ment by their so oft rydinge to that barne of Vpper Ossorie, whan I was dwellinge at Holmes Court? Whome they neuerthelesse to me reported, to be the most errande thefe and mercilesse murtherer of all the lande. And what they haue ment also, to be so familyar with the furiouse famelye of Mountgarrett? Commenly resortinge in the endes of all those iournayes to the howse of Barnabe Bolgar. As I suspected the matter than, so haue I sens that time proued it effectually true. Moreouer, I myght axe of the lawers, why they seke to haue so many theues and murtherers perdoned, specially whan they haue slaine English men, and done their robberies within the English pale? But at this time I leaue them, and returne againe to my purpose.

Now must I saye sumwhat to the, thu carefull churche of Englande, concerninge thy misbehauer against thy most lovinge Creatour. God chose the for his elect vyneyarde; yea, he plenteously pourged and prepared the. 'But, whan thu shuldest haue brought hym fourth frute, for grapes thu gauest him thornes,' Esa. 7. He loked to haue had at thy handes, after the gospell preachinge there, faythe, knowledge, feare, loue, repentaunce, obedience, true inuocacion, and hartie thankes for his manifolde giftes, with such other wholsome frutes of lyfe.

And, in stede of them, thu hast brought fourth ydolatrie, blindnesse, impenitencie, frowardnesse, crueltie, pride, fornication, vnclennesse, couetousnesse, ingratefull contempte of the truthe, and hate of the faithfull preachers therof, with other sower crabbes of dampnacion.

Thu woldest fain be like the malignaunt churche of the Papistes, prosperouse and welthye in worldly affaires, and therwith sumwhat gloriouse; but thy eternal father in heauen will uot so haue the, but by persecucions transfourmeth the into the very similitude of his derely beloued Sonne, to whome he hath espowsed the, to reigne with him at the lattre in eternal glorie.

God hath sufficiently declared in the scripture, what his churche is in this worlde; as that it is an afflicted and sorowful congregacion, forsaken in a maner, and destitute of all humaine confort in this lyfe. It maye right wele be compared to a flocke of orphanes, which, beinge destitute of father and mother, are in this worlde subject to manye sorowfull calamitees and miseryes; but, because that poore churche shulde not utterly discourage, in her extreme aduersitees, the Sonne of God hath taken her to his spowse, and hath promised her protection, helpe, and confort in all her afflictions and parels: so that she maye at all tymes confort herselfe with this verse of Dauid, 'Though my father and mother hath left me, yet hath the Lorde taken me up for his,' Psalm 26. In the first promyse was she taken to grace after transgression, and assured of delyueraunce from sinne, deathe, helle, and the deuyl; for, if God had not most wonderfully collected her togyther, preserued her, saued her, and defended her, it had not bene possible for her to haue escaped in so horrible daungers, as were in the vniuersall floude, in the burninge of Sodome and Gomer, undre the tirannie of Pharao, in the iourneie through the Red-sea, in the captiuite of Babylon, and destruction of Ierusalem, and in so manye wonderfull alteracyons and terryble ruynes of the Romane empyre, so manye deuyls, paganes, Mahumetes, Turkes, Iewes, epicures, heretykes, popes, bysshoppes, monkes, prestes, and tyrauntes reigninge.

A perpetuall and vnplacable enemye is Sathan, and euermore hath bene to that poore congregacion, sekinge not only to disfigure her, but also to spoyle her and destroye her vtterly. Like as it is sayed, Gen. 3. That he shulde treade Christe on the hele. This excedinge great benefight of the goodnesse of God ought to be remembred, that he, after the sinne of our first parentes, not only receiued this churche to grace, but also hath euer sens both preserued and defended it; but

alac! great is the vntowardnesse, and muche is the hardenesse of mannis harte, that he neglecteth so high a benefight as is also the patefaction of Christe in the gospel, by whome we are redemed, and so remayne vnthankefull for the same. A most swete voyce is it vnto vs, from the Son of God, Iesus Christ, That he will not leaue vs as orphanes, or fatherlesse and motherlesse children, without confort, but will come vnto vs, Ioan. 14. That is, like a gentill and mercifull Lorde he will continually stande by his churche, assistinge, helpinge, and scouringe it alwaies. 'I will be with yow, saith he, to the end of the worlde,' Math. 28. Lete this be thy confort, thu sorowfull churche of Englande, and staie thy selfe in him which was incarnate, lyued, wrought, taught, and dyed for thy sinne; yea, he arose from the deathe and ascended to heauen for thy iustificacion, Rom. 4. Cleaue thu fast to him, repent thy folyes past, and take heede to thy doynges from hensfourth. Praye and fast busily, for this frantyck kinde of deuyls is neuer taken awaye, but in prayer and fastinge, Math. 17. So shalt thu be restored plenteously, and florish in vertues hereafter fruitfully, to the prayse of one God eternal, which liueth and reigneth worlde without ende. Amen.

AN

EPISTLE OF THE LADYE IANE,

A righte vertuous Woman,

TO A LEARNED MAN

Of late falne from the Truth of Gods most holy Word, for fear of the Worlde.

Read it, to thy Consolacion.

Whereunto is added,

The Communication that she had with Master Feckenham, vpon her Faith, and Belefe of the Sacraments. Also, another Epistle whiche she wrote to her Sister; with the words she spake vpon ths Scaffold before she suffered.

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SO oft as I cal to mind the dreadful and feareful sayings of God, 'That he whiche laieth hold vpon the plough, and looketh back again, is not meete for the kyngdome of heauen:' And, on the other syde, to remember the comfortable words of our Sauiour Christ to all those that, forsaking them selues, do folowe him, I cannot but maruel at thee, and lament thy case; that thou, which sometyme wast the liuely member of Christ, but now the defourmed impe of the diuel; sometyme the beautiful temple of God, but now the stincking and filthy

kenell of Sathan; sometyme the vnspotted spouse of Christ, but now the unshamefast paramour of Antichrist; sometyme my faithful brother, but now a straunger and apostata; yea sometyme a stout Christen souldier, but now a cowardly runawaye. So ofte as I consider the threatninges, and promises of God to al those that loue him: I cannot but speak to the, yea, rather cry out vpon the, thou sede of Sathan, and not of Iuda, whom the diuel hathe deceiued, the worlde hath begiled, and desire of life hath subuerted, and made the, of a Christian, an infidel. Wherefore hast thou taken vpon the the testament of the Lord in thi mouth? Wherefore hast thou yelded thi body to the fire, and blodi handes of cruel tirauntes? Wherefore hast thou instructed other to be strong in Christ, when thou thy selfe dost nowe so horribly abuse the testament and law of the Lord? When thou thy selfe preachedst (not to steale) yet most abhominably stealest (not from men) but from God, and as a most hainous sacreleger, robbest Christ, thi Lorde, of his right of his members, of thi body, and thi soule: When thou thy selfe dost rather chose to liue miserably, with shame, to the world, then to dye, and gloriouslye, with honour, to raigne with Christ; in whom, euen in death, there is life. And, when I say thou thy selfe art most weke, thou oughtest to shew thy selfe moost stronge; for the strength of a forte is not knowne before the assaulte, but thou yeldest thy holde, before any battry be made.

Oh wretched and vnhappi man, What art thou but dust and ashes? And wilte thou resist thy Maker that formed the, and fashioned the? Wilt thou nowe forsake him that called the from costome-gathering, among the Romish Antichristians to be an imbassadour and messenger of his eternall worde, he that first framed the, and since thi creation, and birth, preserued the, norished the, and kept the, yea, and inspired the with the spirit of knowledge (I cannot say of grace) shal he not possesse the? Darest thou deliuer vp thy selfe to another, being not thine owne, but his? How canst thou, hauing knowledge, or how darest thou neglect the law of the Lord, and folow the vaine tradicions of men? And, whereas thou hast been a publicke professour of his name, become now a defacer of his glorye? I will thou refuse the true God, and worshippe the invencion of manne, the golden calfe, the whoore of Babilon, the Romish religion, the abhominable idol, the most wicked masse? Wilt thou torment againe, rent and teare the most precious bodi of our Sauiour Christ, with thi bodily and fleshly teeth? without the breaking wherof vpon the crosse, our sinful sinnes could els nowaies be redemed? Wilt thou take vpon the to offer vp ani sacrifice vnto God for our synnes? consydering that Christ offred vp him selfe (as Paul saith) vpon the crosse a lyuely sacrifice once for al.

Can neyther the punisment of the Israelites, whiche for their idolatrye so oft they receaued, moue the? Neyther the terrible threateninges of the auncient prophetes stirre thee, nor the cursses of Gods own mouth feare the to honour any other God than hym? Wilt thou so regarde him, that spared not his deare and only Sonne for the? So deminishing, yea, vtterlye extinguishing his glorye, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honour to idols, whiche haue mouthes, and speake not, eyes, and se not, eares, and yet heare not; which shal perish with

them that made them? What saith the prophet Barucke, wher he reciteth the epistel of Ieremie, written to the captiue Iewes? Did he not forewarne them, that in Babilon thei should se gods of gold, siluer, wood, and stone, borne upon mens shoulders, to cast a fear before the heathen; but be not ye afraide of them (saith Ieremie) nor do as other do; but, when you se other worship them, saye you in your hartes: It is thou, O Lord, that oughtest only to be worshipped: for, as for the timber of those gods, the carpenter framed them, and polyshed them, yea, gylded be they, and laid ouer with siluer, and vayne thynges, and cannot speake. He sheweth, moreouer, the abuse of their deckings, how the priests toke of their ornaments, and appareled their women withall: Howe one holdeth a septer, another a sworde in hys hande, and yet can they iudge in no matter, nor defend them selues, much lesse any other, from either battel, or murther, nor yet from gnawing of woormes, nor anye other euill thyng. These, and such lyke words, speaketh Ieremie vnto them, wherby he proueth them but vain thinges, and no Gods. And, at last, he concludeth thus: Confounded be thei that worship them. They wer warned by Ieremie, and thou, as Ieremie, hast warned other, and art warned thy selfe, by many scriptures, in many places.

God saieth, he is a gelious God, which wil haue al honour, glorye, and worship giuen to him onlye. And Christ saith in the fourth of Luke to Sathan, whiche tempted him, euen to the same Sathan, the srme Belzabub, the same dyueil, whyche hath preuayled againste thee, 'It is written, saieth he, thou shalt honour the Lorde thy God, and him onlye shalt thou serue.' These, and such like, do prohibite thee and al Christians to worship anie other God then whiche was before all worldes, and laied the foundations bothe of heauen and earth. And wilt thou honour a detestable idol, inuented by Romish popes, and the abhominable colledge of craftie cardinals? Christ offered him selfe vp once for al, and wilt thou offer him vp againe dayly at thy pleasure? But thou wilt saye, thou dost it for a good intent. Oh sincke of sinne, Oh child of perdition! Doest thou dreame therein a good entent, wher thy conscience beareth the witness the promis of Gods wrath toward the? How did Saule, who, for that he dysobeied the word of God for a good entent, was throwen from his worldli and temporal kingdome? Shalt thou then, that dost so deface Gods honor, and robbe him of his right, inherit the eternal and heauenly kingdome? Wilt thou for a good entent pluk Christ oute of heauen, and make hys deathe voyde, and deface the tryumphe of hys crosse, offeryng hym vp daylye? Wilt thou, eyther for feare of death, or hope of life, deny and refuse thi God, who enriched thi pouerti, healed thine infirmitie, and yelded to this victori, if thou couldest have kept it? Dost thou not consider that the thryde of lyfe hangeth vpon hym that made the, who can, as his wyll is, either twine it hard, to last the longer, or vntwine it againe, to breake it the sooner? Doest thou not remember the saying of Dauid, a notable king, whiche teacheth thee, a myserable wretche, hys ciiii Psalme, where he sayth, 'When thou takest away thy Spirit, O Lord, from men, they dye, and ar turned againe to their dust; but, when thou lettest thy breath go fourth, they shal be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth.'

Remember the saying of Christ in his gospel, 'Whosoeuer seeketh to

saue his lyfe, shal lese it; but whosoeuer wil lese it for mi sake, shal find it.' And in another place, 'Whosoeuer loueth father or mother aboue me, is not mete for me: For he that wyll be my dysciple, must forsake father and mother, and him selfe, and take vp his crosse and folow me.' What crosse? the crosse of infamy and shame, of misery and pouerty, of affliction and persecution, for hys names sake.

Let the oft falling of those heauenly showres pearce thy stonye hart. Let the two edged sword of Gods holy word, shere a sonder the sewed together sinowes of worldly respectes, euen to the very mari of thy carnal hart, that thou maiest once againe forsake thy self, and embrace Christ; and like as good subjectes wil not refuse to hasard al in the defence of hys earthly and temporal gouernour: So flye not lyke a white hewred milksoppe from thy standynge, wherein thy chief captaine, Christ, hath set the in a rai of this life, *Viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum, & sustine Dominum.* Fight manfullye, come lyfe, come death, the quarel is Gods, and vndoubtedly the victorye is ours. But thou wilt say, I will not break vnitie. What, not the vnitie of Sathan and his members? Not the vnitie of darknes, the agrement of Antichrist, and hys adhearentes? Nay, thou deceiuest thy selfe with fond imaginations of such an vnitie as is among the enemyes of Christ. Were not the false prophetes in an vnitie? Were not Iosephs brethren and Iacobs sonnes in an vnitie? Were not the Heathen, as the Amelechites, the Feresites, and Iebusites, in an vnitie? I kepe no order, but rather looke to mi matter. Were not the Scribes and Pharisees in an vnitie? Doth not King David testifie, *Conuenerunt in vnum aduersus dominum?* Yea, theeues and murderers, conspyratours, haue theyr vnitie.

But marke, my frende (ye frende) if thou be not Gods enemy: ther is no vnitie but wher Christ knitteth the knotte among such as be hys. Yea, be you wel assured, that, where his truthe is resident, there it is verefyed that he sayeth, *non veni mittere pacem in terram, sed gladium.* That is, Christ came to set one against another; the sonne against the father, the daughter against the mother. Deceiue not thi selfe therfore with the glysteryng and gloryous name of vnitie; for Antichrist hath his vnitie, yet not in deede, but in name. The agreement of euery man is not an unitie, but a conspiracie.

Thou hast heard some threateninges, some curses, and some admonishions out of the Scripture, to those that loue themselnes aboue Christ; thou hast heard also the sharpe and byting wordes, to those that denye him for loue of life. Saieth he not, that 'he that denieth me before men, I wyl denye hym before my father in heauen? And to the same effecte wryteth Sainte Paule. Hebru. vi. 'It is impossible (saith he) that they, which be once lightned, and haue tasted of the heauenly gyfte, and be partakers of the Holy Ghost, and haue tasted of the good worde of God, if they fal and slide away, it is impossible that they shuld be renewed againe by repentaunce, crucifyinge againe to themselues the Sonne of God, and makinge him a mocking-stocke.' And again, saieth he, 'If we shal willinglie sinne, after we haue receiued the knowledge of the truthe, there is no oblation left for sinne, but the terrible expectation of iudgement, and fire, which shall deuour the aduersaries.' Thus S. Paule writeth, and this thou readest, and

dost thou not quake and tremble? Well, yf these terrible and thundring threatninges cannot stur thee, to cleaue unto Christ, and forsake the world, yet let the swete consolacions and promises of the scriptures, let the example of Christ and his apostles, holi martirs and confessours, encourage the to take faster hold by Christ. Harken what he saith, 'Blessed are you when men reuile you, and persecute you for my sake; reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen; for so persecuted thei the prophets before you.' Heare what Esay saith, 'Feare not the cursse of men, be not afraid of thei blasphemies and reuylynges; for wormes and mothes shal eate them vp like clothe and wol, but my righteousnes shal endure for euer, and my sauing-health from generation to generation. What art thou then, saith he, that fearest a mortal man, the child of a man, that fadeth away as doth the flower, and forgettest the lorde that made the, that spread out the heauens, and laid the foundations of the earth. I am the Lord thy God that maketh the Sea to rage, and to be styl, who is the Lord of hosts. I shal put my word in thy mouth. and defend the with the turning of a hand.' And our Sauiour Christ saith to his disciples, 'They shall accuse you, and brynge you before the princes and rulers, for mi names sake. And some of you thei shal persecute and kil, but feare you not, saith he, neither care you not what you shal say, for it is mi spirit that speaketh in you, the hand of the highest shal defend you, for the heares of your head are nombred, and none of them shall perish. I have layed vp treasure for you, saith he, where no theefe can steale, nor moth corrupt, and happye are you, if you endure to the end. Feare not them, saith Christ, that haue power ouer the bodi only, but feare him that hath power both ouer the bodi and soul. The world loueth her owne, and, if ye wer of the world, the world wold loue you; but you are mine, therfore the world doth hate you.' Lette these and such like consolacions, out of the scriptures, strengthen you to godward. Let not the ensamples of holy men and women go out of your mind, as Daniel, and the rest of the prophetes, of the three children, of Eleazarus, that constant father, of the vii. of the Machabes children, of Peter, Paule, Steuen, and other apostles and holi martirs in the beginning of the church. As of good Simeon Archbishop of Seloma, and Zetrophone, with infynite other vnder Sapores the King of the Persians and Indians, who contempned al tormentes deuysed by the tiraunts, for theyr Sauiours sake. Returne, returne, againe into Christes warre, and, as becommeth a faithful warriour, put on that armour that S. Paule teacheth to be moste necessarye for a Christian man. And, aboue al thynges, take to you the sheylde of faythe.

And be ye prouoked, by Christes owne example, to withstande the deuil, to forsake the world, and to becomme a true and faithful member of his mistical body, who spared not his own body for our sins. Throwe doune thy selfe with the feare of his thretned vengeaunce for this so great and heinous offence of apostacy, and comfort your selfe on the other part with the mercy, bloud, and promises of him that is ready to tourne to you, whensoeuer thou tourne to him. Disdaine not to come again with the lost son, seinge you haue so wandred with him. Be

not ashamed to tourne again with him from the swil of straungers, to the delicates of the moste benign and louing father, acknoledginge, that you haue sinned against heauen and earth. Against heauen, by stainynge his glorious name, and caused his most cinsere and pure worde to be cuil spoken of, through you. Against earth, by offending your so many weak brethren, to whom you haue bene a stombling-blocke throughe your sodaine slidinge.

Be not ashamed to come againe with Marye, and to wepe bitterly with Peter, not only with sheding of teares out of your bodely eyes: but also powring out the streames of your heart, to wash awaye out of the sight of God the filth and mire of your offensive fal. Be not ashamed to saye with the publicane: 'Lord be merciful to me a sinner.' Remember the horrible history of Iulien of old, and the lamentable case of Fraunces Spira of late, whose case (me thynceth) should be yet so grene in your remembraunce, that, being a thing of our time, you should fear the like inconuenience, seinge that you are fallen into the like offence. Last of al, let the liuely remembraunce of the last day be alwaies afore your eyes, remembring the terrour that suche shal be in at that time, with the runnagates and fugetiues from Christ, whiche setting more by the worlde, then by heauen, more by their life, then bi him, that gaue them their life, did shrink, yea did clean fal away from him that neuer forsoke them. And contrary wise the inestimable ioyes prepared for them that feared no parel, nor, dreading death, haue manfully fought, and victoriously triumphed ouer al power of darknes, ouer hel, death, and damnation, through their most redoubted captain Christ, who now stretcheth out his armes to receiue you, ready to fal vpon your necke and kisse you, and last of al to feast you with the deinties and delicates of his own precious bloud, which vndoutedly, if it might stand wyth his determinate purpose, he wold not let to shed againe rather then you should be lost. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be honoure, prayse, and glorye euerlastingly. *Amen.*

Be constant, be constant, feare not for payne:
Christ hath redemed the, and heauen is thy gayne.

A certayne commvnycation, betwene the Ladye Iane, and Master Feckenham, iiii Dayes before her death, euen word for word, her own Hand being put therto.

Feckenham first speaketh.

WHAT thing is required in a Christian?

Iane. To beleue in God the Father, in God the Sonne, in God the Holi Gost, thre persons and one God.

Fecken. Is ther nothing els required in a Christian, but to beleue in God?

Iane. Yes, we must beleue in hym, we must loue hym, with al our hart, with al our soule, and al our minde, and our neyghbour as our selfe.

Fecken. Why then faith iustifieth not, nor saueth not.

Iane. Yes verely, faith (as St. Paule saith) only iustifieth.

Fecken. Whi S. Paule saith: If I haue al faith without loue, it is nothing.

Iane. True it is, for howe can I loue hym, in whom I trust not? Or howe can I trust in hym, whom I loue not? Faith and loue agreeth both together, and yet loue is comprehended in faith.

Fecken. Howe shall we loue oure neyghbour?

Iane. To loue oure neyghbour, is to feede the hungri, clothe the naked, and geue drinke to the thirsty, and to do to hym, as we wold do to our selues.

Fecken. Why then it is necessary to saluation to do good workes, and it is not sufficient to beleue?

Iane. I deny that, and I affirme that faith onlye saueth. But it is mete for Christians, in token that thei folow their master Christ, to do good workes, yet may we not say that thei profit to saluacion. For, although we haue al don al that we can, yet we be vnprofitable seruauntes, and the faith onelye in Christes bloude saueth.

Fecken. Howe many sacramentes be there?

Iane. Two; the one the sacrament of baptisme, and the other the sacrament of oure Lordes Supper.

Fecken. No, ther be vii.

Iane. By what scripture find you that?

Fecken. Well, we will talke ther of hereafter. But what is signifyed by youre two sacramentes?

Iane. Bi the sacrament of baptisme, I am washed with water, and regenerated bi the Spirite; and that washing is a token to me, that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lordes supper is offred vnto me as a sure seale and testimoni, that I am by the bloud of Christe, whiche he shedde for me on the crosse, made partaker of the euerlasting kyngdome.

Fecken. Why, what do you receiue in that bread? Do you not receiue the very body and bloude of Christ?

Iane. No surely, I do not beleue so. I thinck that at that supper I receiue neither flesh, nor bloud, but only bread and wine. The which breade when it is broken, and the wine when it is dronke, putteth me in minde, howe that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his bloud shed on the crosse, and, with that bread and wine, I receyue the benefites that cam bi breaking of his bodi, and bi the sheddying of his bloud on the crosse for mi sins.

Fecken. Why, doth not Christ speake these wordes: Take, eate, this is my bodi? Require we any plainer wordes? Doth not he say, that it is hys body?

Iane. I graunt he saieth so, and so he saieth: I am the vine, I am the doore, but yet he is neuer the more the vine nor doore. Doth not S. Paule say, that he calleth those thinges that are not, as though thei were? God forbid that I shuld say that I eate the very natural

bodi and bloud of Christ, for then eyther I shuld pluk awai my redemtion, either els ther wer ii. bodies, or ii. Christes or els ii. bodies? the one bodi was tormented on the crosse, and then, if thei did eate another bodi, then either he had ii. bodies, either els, if his bodi were eaten, it was not broken vpon the crosse; or els, if it wer broken vpon the crosse, it was not eaten of his disciples.

Fecken. Whi is it not as possible, that Christ by his power coulde make his bodi both to be eaten and broken, as to be borne of a woman, without the sede of man, and as to walke on the sea, hauing a bodi, and other such like miracles as he wrought by his power onlye?

Iane. Yes, vereli, if God wold haue done at his supper a miracle, he might haue don so; but I say he minded no worke, or miracle, but only to breake his bodi, and shed his bloud on the crosse for our sins. But I pray you answer me to thys one question, Wher was Christ when he sayd: Take, eat, this is my bodi? Was not he at the table when he said so? He was at that time aliue, and suffred not, til the next daye. Well what tooke he, but breade? And what brake he, but breade? And what gaue he, but breade? Looke what he toke, he brake; and looke what he brake, he gaue; and looke what he gaue, that did they eate; and yet al this while he hym selfe was at supper before his disciples, or els they were deceiued.

Fecken. You ground your faith vpon suche authors as say and vnsay, both with a breathe, and not vpon the churche, to whom you ought to geue credyt.

Iane. No, I ground my faith vpon Gods word, and not vpon the churche. For, if the churche be a good churche, the faith of the churche must be tried by Gods word, and not Gods word by the churche, neither yet mi faith. Shall I beleue the churche, because of antiquitie? Or shall I geue credit to that churche, that taketh awai from me that half parte of the Lordes supper, and wyl let no lai man receiue it in both kyndes, but them selues? Which thing if they denye to vs, thei denie us part of our saluation; and I say that is an euyl church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the diuel, that altreth the Lordes supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that churche I saye, God wyl adde plages, and from that churche wyl he take their parte out of the Booke of Lyfe. Do you not learne that of S. Paule, when he ministred it to the Corinthians, in both kyndes? shall I beleue that churche? God forbid.

Fecken. That was done of a good intent of the church to auoide an heresi that sprong on it.

Iane. Whi, shal the churche alter Gods wyl and ordinaunces, for a good intent? How did King Saul the Lord define? With these and such like perswasions, he wolde haue had me to haue leaned to the churche, but it would not be. Ther wer many mo thinges, whereof we reasoned, but these wer the chief.

Be me
Iane Dudley.

These woordes were spoken openlye. After this master Feckenham tooke his leaue, sayinge, that he was sorie for her. For, said he, I am sure we two shal neuer mete. Trothe it is, quoth she, that we shall neuer mete, vnlesse God turne your hart. For I am sure, vnlesse you repent and turne to God, you ar in an euyl case, and I pray to God, in the bowels of his mercie, to sende you his holy spirite. For he hath geuen you his great gift of vtteraunce, if it please him to open the eyes of your hart to his truth. And so she departed.

AN EXHORTATION

Written by the Lady Iane, the Night before she suffered, in the Ende of the New Testament, in Greke, which she sent to her Sister,

LADY KATERINE.

I HAUE here sent you, good sister Katerine, a boke, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardli it is more worth then precious stones. It is the boke (deare sister) of the lawe of the Lorde. It is his Testament and last Wil, whiche he bequethed vnto vs wretches, whiche shal leade you to the path of eternall ioye. And if you with a good mynde read it, and with an ernest desire folowe it, it shal bring you an immortal and euerlasting life. It will teache you to liue and learne you to dye. It shal winne you more, then you should haue gained by the possession of your woful fathers landes. For, as if God had prospered him you should haue inherited his landes; so, if you appli diligently this boke, seking to direct your life after it, you shal be an inheritour of sutche riches, as neither the couetous shal withdraw from you, neither the theife shal steale, neither yet the mothes corrupte. Desire with Dauid (good sister) to vnderstand the lawe of the Lord your God. Liue stil to dye, that you by death maye purchase eternall life. And trust not that the tendernes of your age shal lengthen your life; for assone (if God cal) goth the yong as the olde. And laboure alwaye to learne to dye. Deny the world, defie the deuil, and dispise the flesh, and delight your selfe only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sinnes, and yet dispaire not: Be strong in faith, and yet presume not; and desire with S. Paule to be dissolued, and to be with Christe, with whom, euen in death ther is life.

Be like the good seruaunt, and euen at midnight be waking: least, when death commeth and steale vpon you, like a theife in the nighte, you be with the deuils seruaunt found sleping; and least for lacke of oyle ye bee founde like the fiue foolishe wemen, and like him that had not on the wedding garment; and then you be cast out from the mariage. Reioyce in Christ, as I trust ye do. And seinge ye haue the name of a Christian, as nere as ye can, folow the steppes of your master Christ, and take vp your crosse, lay your sinnes on his backe, and alwaies imbrace him. And, as touching my death, reioyce as I do (good sister) that I shal be deliuered of this corruption, and put on

vncorruption. For I am assured, that I shal, for losing of a mortal life, winne an immortal life. The whiche I praye God graunt you, sende you of his grace to liue in his feare, and to dye in the true Christian faith. From the whiche, in Gods name, I exhorte you that ye neuer swarue, neither for hope of life, nor fear of death. For if ye wil deny his truth, to lengthen your life: God wil deny you, and yet shorten your daies. And, if ye wil cleaue to him, he wil prolonge your daies, to your comforte, and his glory. To the which glory, God bringe me nowe, and you hereafter, whan it shal please God to cal you. Far well, good sister, and put your onlye trust in God, who onely must helpe you. Amen.

Your louing sister,

IANE DUDLEY.

The Lady Ianes Wordes vpon the Scaffold.

'GOOD Christen people, I am vnder a lawe, and by a lawe I am condempned to dye, not for ani thing I haue offended the Quenes Maiesti, for I wil wash my hands giltles therof, but only for that I consented to the thing whiche I was inforced vnto. Notwithstanding I haue offended Almyghtie God, for that I haue folowed ouer much the lust of mi flesh, and the pleasure of this wretched world, and I haue not liued according to the knowledge that God hath geuen me; wherfor God hath plaged me nowe wyth thys kinde of death, and that worthelye accordyng to my desertes. Howebeit I thancke him hartelie that he hath geuen me time to repent my syns here in this world. Wherfor, good Christian people, I shal desyre you al to pray with me, and for me, while I am now aliue, that God of his goodnes will forgeue me my sinnes. And I pray you al to beare me witnesse, that I here dye a true Christian woman, and that I truste to be saued by the bloud of Iesus Christ, and bi none other meanes; and now I pray you al, 'pray for me, and with me, and so saied the Psalm of *Miserere mei;* that don, she saied, Lorde saue my soule, whyche now I commend into thy handes and so prepared her selfe meekelie to the blocke.'

A DECLARATION

OF THE

QUENES MAIESTIE, ELIZABETH,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD,

QUENE OF ENGLAND, FRAUNCE, AND IRELANDE,

DEFENDOR OF THE FAYTH, &c.

Conteyning the causes which haue constrayned her to arme certeine of her subiectes, for defence both of her owne estate, and of the moste Christian Kyng, Charles the Nynth, her good brother, and his subiectes. Septemb. 1562. Imprinted at London, in Powles Churchyarde, by Rycharde Iugge and Iohn Cawood, printers to the Quenes Maiestie. Cum Priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis. In Quarto, containing thirteen pages, black letter.

This political Queen, Élisabeth, having discovered, that great endeavours were carrying on by the Papists to restore their religion by force of arms, under a pretence of the Queen of Scotland's title to the crown of England; and that the duke of Guise was to assist her rebellious subjects, with a French army, to execute their treason; and that the duke of Guise, with the Cardinal of Lorrain, had engaged the King of Navarre, or Anthony of Bourbon, to their support; with a promise to guarantee to the said king the crown of England, if he would assist in dethroning Elisabeth; she resolved to support the French Huguenots, in opposition to the Guises, and procured for them a favourable edict, called, the Edict of January.

The duke of Guise, penetrating into the Queen's intentions, concerted and assisted in the execrable massacre of Vassy; which at once deprived the Queen Regent of Fraunce, and her son the King, of their liberty, and obliged the Huguenots, or French protestants, to desire succours from Queen Elisabeth; promising to put her in possession of 'Havre de Grace,' till she had Calais restored to the Crown of England.

The Queen, glad of this opportunity to declare against the Guises, agrees to furnish them with an hundred-thousand crowns, and six-thousand foot; and then published the following declaration, or manifesto, viz.

ALTHOUGH the myserable and afflicted estate of the realme of Fraunce is to be lamented of all Chrystien Princes and nacions, and requyrethe som good remedie, not only for preseruation of the Kyng there, with the Quene his mother, and the subiectes of that realme from danger and ruyne; but also for the staye of the reste of Christendome in peace, and to be free from the lyke cyuyle warre,

into the whiche, as it appeareth by these straunge dealinges in the sayde realme, it is meant the same shall fall; yet there is no prince, that hath more iuste cause to haue regarde herunto, nor that hath more indifferently and earnestly intended the recouery of quietnesse and accorde therin, than the Quenes maiestie of this realme of Englande, both by her owne gracious disposition, and by aduyse of her councell. For, as the matter is nowe playnly discouered to the worlde, and as her maiestie hath proued the same sufficientlye by her owne late experience, she is not only touched, as other princes ought to be, with great compassion and commiseration for the vnnaturall abusyng of the French Kyng, her good brother, by certen of his subiectes, the daunger of his person and his bloud, the lamentable and barbarous destruction, hauocke, and spoyle of so manye Chrystien innocent people beyonde all measure: but her maiestie also euidently seeth before her eyes, that, yf some good remedye be not, by Gods goodnesse, prouided in season, the very fyre, that is nowe kindeled and dispersed there, is purposelye ment and intended to be conueyed and blowen ouer to inflame this her crowne and her realme. Whiche greate peryll, although it be so playnly sene to all wyse and prouident men, both at home and abrode, that they can not mislyke her care and prouidence to remedye the same in tyme; yet hath her maiestie thought not vnmeete to notifie some parte of her dealynges herin, so as it shall well appeare howe sincerely her maiestie hath both hytherto proceaded with her neyghbours, and how playnly and vprightly she is determined to continue.

Fyrst, It hath ben well sene to the worlde, howe well disposed her maiestie was, euen at the beginning of her raigne*, to the restitucion of peace to Christendome, that, for loue therof, was contented to forbeare for certein yeres the restitucion† of a portion of her auncient dominion, when all other parties to the same peace, with whom, and by whose alliaunce her crowne susteyned losse, were immediately restored to the most parte of their owne in possession: and yet it can not be forgotten, within howe short a space, or rather no space after, and by whom, and vpon howe greate, euidente, and iuste causes (aswell by meanes of force and armes first taken, as by other open attemptes agaynst her maiestie) she was constrained to prepare like armes of defence only, euen for her whole crowne and kingdome, and ioyntly therwith for the safetie of her next neyghbours‡ from a playne tirrannye. And also howe sincerely her maiestie proceaded therin ‖, firste, by sundry requestes and meanes made to forbeare theyr attemptes; next, by open declaration of her intent to be onely for defence of her selfe, and by the whole handelyng of the matter; and, lastly, by the euent and issue of the cause all the worlde hath clerely vnderstande.

After which daungerous troubles pacified the quene of Scottes, at her returne to her countreye, felyng the greate commoditie herof folowyng, both to her selfe and her realme, and vnderstanding the sincere dealyng of the Quenes maiestie in all her former actions, dyd by diuers meanes geue signification to her maiestie, of a greate desire to

* 1 Apryl, 1550. The peace made at Casteau, in Cambresy. Callayse, which was to be restored to the Quene of Englande.

† The Towne of

‡ The Scots.

‖ 20 Apryll, 1560.

enter with her into a strayghter kynde of amitie: Wherunto her maiestie, being of her owne nature much enclined, redely accorded. And howe farre and prosperously they both proceded therin by many and sundry mutuall offices of frendshippe, aswel the good wyl shewed by her maiestie to the Quene of Scottes vncles, the Guyses, and to all her frendes and ministers passyng and repassyng through this her realme; as also the accorde of the enteruiew intended betwixt them both, this last sommer*, hath well declared.

But, in the middest of these her maiesties quiet and peacyble determinations, she hath ben, to her great griefe, vtterly disapoynted; and constrayned, for her owne interest, to attende and intermedle in the pacification of these great troubles in Fraunce neare to her realme, the same beyng styrred vp by suche, as both were her laste manifest great enemies, and haue also (they know howe) continued the cause of mistrust tyl this day, by manifest argumentes of iniustice, which her maiestie is contented to conceale, for the great affection that she beareth to the Scottysshe Quene. Fyrste, her maiestie at the beginning, doubting, by the encrease of these Frenche troubles, that not onely that realme should fall into daunger of ruyne† by diuision, as it nowe is; but also that the reste of Christendome, and specially her owne realme, both for the nearenesse thereto, and for the respectes of them which were the principall aucthours and parties in these troubles, shoulde be also disturbed and brought to daunger; vsed all the meanes that might be, by messages, by solicitations, by aduyse, yea, by a speciall ambassade‡ of a person of good credite, to haue some mediation made betwixt these parties beyng at controuersie. But suche was the policie and violence of the one partie in hastye proceadyng, euen at the firste, as no mediation coulde be harde of, or allowed. And yet coulde not her maiestie discontinue her good intent, but, seyng the cruelties encrease, the bloudsheddyng and murders continue; yea, which was most peryllous, the yonge Kyng, and the Quene his mother, being sodeynlye assayled, and founde without force, were directed and drawen altogether, by the verye aucthours of the troubles, to suffer theyr name and aucthoritie to be abused, euen to the kyllynge of the Kynges owne vnarmed innocente people, the spoylyng of his ryche townes, the breakyng of his best aduysed edictes, the persecutyng of his owne bloud and his nobilitie, the destroying of his faithfull approued‖ seruauntes, with many suche other heapes of mischiefes; and all these for no other cause, but for the particular appetites of some, and to breake with violence the ordinaunces§ of the realme, specyallye those which were lately deuysed by the long and great councell of the realme, both for quietnesse in matters of religion, and for the relefe of the Kynges estate diuers wayes¶.

And, finally, her Maiestie vnderstandyng very certeinly of an open destruction and subuertion** there, put already in vre, and lyke-

* 1562. † 1 March, 1562. The slaughter of Vassy. ‡ 29 Aprill, 1562, Syr Henry Sidney, Lord President in Wales. ‖ Protestant. § Of the great Parliament at Orleans, in Jan. 1560. ¶ The Edict of 17 Jan. 1562.

** The slaughters at Vassy, Paris, Sens, Tholose, Blois, Tours, Angers, and other places, by credible estimation reported out of Fraunce, to the number of an hundred thousand persons, betweene the 1st of March and the 20th of August last.

wyse intended against all states and persons professyng the gospell abroade, her Maiestie thought it very nedefull to thynke of some other meanes of more efficacie to induce the aucthours of those troubles to geue eare to some reasonable mocions of accorde, and not to aduenture the ruyne of a realme for theyr particuler appetites; and therefore determined * to sende a solempne ambassade of a certeine numbre of personages of her councell, being of great aucthoritie, experience, and indifferencie, to repayre into Fraunce, to assay howe some staye myght be reasonably deuysed for these extremities, by preseruyng of both partes indifferently, to the seruice of the kyng theyr soueraigne, according to theyr estates of byrth and callyng.

But thys maner of proceadyng also could no wyse be lyked nor allowed, neither coulde answere be hadde hereunto from the good yonge kyng, nor the timerous quene his good mother, without the onely direction of that part, which both began and continued the troubles from the begynnyng.

And whylest her Maiestie was thus well occupyed, meanyng principallye the weale and honour of the Kyng, her good brother; and, secondly, well towardes both the parties beyng at deuision, without the preiudice of eyther; a playne contrary course and proceadyng was vsed agaynst her Maiestie, by the whiche was made manifest what was further ment and intended by them that had so often tymes refused to heare her Maiestie speake for mediation and accorde. All her Maiesties subiectes aad marchauntes, aswell of her cities of London and Excester, as of other porte townes in the west partes of the realme, beyng at that very tyme† in diuers partes of the countrey of Bryttayne, resortyng thyther onely for trade of marchaundizes, and ready to returne to theyr owne portes, were in the same tyme‡ apprehended, spoyled, miserably imprisoned; yea, such, as sought to defend themselues, cruelly kylled, theyr shyppes taken, theyr goodes and marchaundize seased, and nothyng sayde nor deuysed to charge them, but onely furiouslye callyng them al Hugenotz: a word, though very strange and folyshe to many of the honest marchauntes and poore maryners, yet fully sufficient to declare from whence these commaundementes came, and what their intent is to prosecute, when theyr tyme shall serue them. Neither were these spoyles small or few, but in value and numbre greate and many; neither done by private furye, but by publique officers, who were also mainteined by gouernours of the countreys; yea, none of her Maiesties subiectes were there spared, that coulde be taken, though some escaped with great hazarde. Well; herof complaint was made‖, where it ought to be, but therin hath ben as small regard had, as was before for robbyng of her Maiesties owne messengers with her letters from her embassadour, and yet the fact vnpunyshed, without any satisfaction for the same: wherin her Maiestie surely noteth and pitieth the lacke, rather of aucthoritie, then of good wyll. in the Kyng, or the Quene his mother, or the Kyng of Nauarre his lieuetenaunt; but seethe manifestly, by this, and by al other proceadinges, in what harde tearmes the estate of the yong kynge is set,

* 26 July, 1562. † 30 July. ‡ 19 Aug. 1562. ‖ 29 Aug. 1562.

that can neither be permitted to preserue his own people and seruauntes, his owne lawes and ordinaunces, neither to aunswere to other princes and people, in fourme of iustice, that which he ought to do.

Vpon these, and other former daungerous enterprises agaynste her Maiestie and her crowne, may it well appeare, to all persons of indifferent iudgement, howe these violent proceadynges in Fraunce, conducted at this tyme by the Duke of Guyse and his adherentes, do touch the Quenes Maiestie much nearer for her state and realme, then anye other prince of Christendome. Wherfore, seyng the aucthoritie of the King and the Quene his mother, with theyr quiet good councellours, can not at this tyme haue place to direct theyr affayres, neyther towardes theyr owne people, nor towardes theyr neyghbours; neither can any mediation, sought by her Maiestie, for concorde, be allowed; but, contrarywise, the tender persons of the king, and the quene his mother, be manifestlye abused, and daungerouslye caried about, for the particuler pleasures onely of a fewe persons, and specially those of Guyse, to waste the kinges countreys, to sacke and spoyle his ryche and greate townes, to kyll and murder the multitude of his good and true subiectes: And, seyng also the quarrell manifestly publyshed, and prosecuted, both by wrytyng and otherwyse, by them, is to subuert the whole profession of true * religion through Christendome by force, without mercy, and thereby to stirre vp a ciuile blouddy lamentable warre in all Christendome. Lastly, seyng they, whiche be the aucthours and mainteyners of all these diuisions, are well knowen to the worlde to be the same that, when tyme serued them, bent theyr whole endeuours to offende and diminishe the crowne and dignitie of this realme of Englande †; and of late tyme, for the exaltation of theyr particuler house, deuysed vniustly to assayle the whole crowne of Englande ‡ by sundrye wayes; though, by Gods goodnes, theyr practises and counsels turned, for that tyme, to theyr owne confusion, as, by the same goodnes, they shall at all tymes hereafter.

Howe may her Maiestie, without note of manifest vnkyndnes to her deare yonge brother and confederat; of vnmercifulnes to her next neighbours, his subiectes; of vncarefulnes to the common quiet of Christendome; and, lastly, whiche is nearest to her selfe, of mere negligence to the suertie of her owne estate, her countrey, and people, suffer these fewe troublesome men, firste, to destroye and shedde the bloud of a number of Chrystien people, whose bloud, by nearnesse of place to her maiesties realme, may be stopped, or some wyse saued: Nexte, to surprise and take such townes and hauens, whereby theyr former long intended and manyfest practises agaynst the crowne of this realme may be most easyly for them, and daungerously for this realme, put in vre and execution. Wherfore, for these reasonable, evident, vrgent, and necessary considerations, and not without the lamentable and continuall request of the Frenche kynges subiects, her maiesties nexte neyghbours, crying to her maiestie onelye for defence of themselues, their portes, and townes, from tiranny and subuertion, duryng this theyr kynges minoritie,

* Protestant and Evangelical. † By denying the restitution of Calice. ‡ From 1560, there were French armes sent by way of Scotlande, and other deuyses, to clayme the crowne of Englande, &c.

or, at the least, duryng this his vnhabilitie to pacifie these troubles; her Maiestie hath put certayne numbres of her subiectes in order, both by sea and land, to saue some parte of her good brothers innocent people from this tiranny, slaughter, and ruyne; and to preserue some speciall townes and portes of importaunce for the kyng, her good brother, that they come not into the possession of them; who, yf they hadde them, myght more easely therby prosecute theyr old particuler practises against this realme, as in tymes lately paste they dyd manifestly attempte; wherby of necessitie they muste nedes endaunger the perpetuitie of the peace betwixt the Frenche kyng and her Maiestie, and so, consequentlye, though agaynste the meanyng of the kyng, depriue her Maiestie of her good ryght to her towne of Callyce, and the membres thereof, wherof it behoueth her Maiestie, as thinges be handled, to haue good regarde. And in this sort her Maiestie doubteth not, but the sinceritie of her doynges, tendyng onely to procure Chrystien quietnes, by sauing of Chrystien bloud, shal wel please Almyghtie God; content the kyng her good brother, when he shal be in estate and libertie, to ponder the same indifferentlye; and serue also for the iuste and naturall defence of her selfe, her people, and countreys; and, finallye, by Gods grace, shal establyshe the continuaunce of some more assured peace and concorde betwixt both theyr Maiesties and countreys, so as eyther of them quietly enioy and rule theyr own. And, in the meane time, her Maiestie assureth the sayde kyng, the quene his mother, the kyng of Navare, and al his good councellours and subiectes, that, whatsoeuer anye malicious or miscontented person shall sinisterly report of her intent and doynges, her Maiestie meaneth nothing herin, but sincerely, and as the necessitie of the time and cause requireth, without vsurpyng any thyng, or doyng wrong or violence towardes any the French kynges subiects; protesting before God and all the worlde, that her meanyng is for a necessary defence onely of the true and good subiectes of the Frenche kyng, whiche otherwyse apparantly, in this troublesome tyme, shoulde be violentlye kylled or destroyed: And so, consequentlye, her Maiestie intendeth, by al maner of meanes possible, to kepe and continue good peace with the sayde Kyng and all his countreys, and to neglect no reasonable meanes, that may procure libertie to hym selfe, and quietnesse betwixt his subiectes; which then shall succede, when it shall please Almyghtye God to geue to the first and chiefe aucthours * of these troubles grace to content them selues with theyr owne estates, and to lyue within the compasse of theyr degrees, lyke quiet subiectes, and fauourers of the common peace and tranquillitie of Christendome: A matter more necessarye at this tyme to be sought for, rather by coniunction of Christen princes and states in vnitie of mynde, and loue of peace and concorde, then in this sorte by sworde and fyre, by priuate deuises and secrete factions to stirre a deuision and ciuile warre in Christendome, vnder the cloke and pretence of religion.

* The Guises.

A LETTER

FROM

SIR HENRY SIDNEY, TO HIS SON, SIR PHILIP SIDNEY,

Consisting of

RULES, IN HIS CONDUCT IN LIFE.

MS.

Son Philip,

I HAVE received two letters from you, the one written in Latin, the other in French, which I take in good part, and will you to exercise that practice of learning often, for it will stand you in stead, in that profession of life which you are born to live in; and now, since that this is my first letter that ever I did write to you, I will not, that it be all empty of some advices, which my natural care of you provoketh me to with you, to follow as documents to you in this tender age. Let your first action be the lifting up of your hands and mind to Almighty God, by hearty prayer, and feelingly digest the words you speak in prayer with continual meditations and thinking of him to whom you pray, and use this at an ordinary hour, whereby, the time itself will put you in remembrance to do that thing which you are accustomed in that time.

2. Apply your study such hours as your discreet master doth assign you earnestly, and the time I know he will so limit, as shall be both sufficient for your learning, and safe for your health; and mark the sense and matter of that you read, as well as the words; so shall you both inrich your tongue with words, and your wit with matter; and judgment will grow, as years grow on you.

3. Be humble and obedient to your master, for unless you frame yourself to obey, yea, and to feel in yourself what obedience is, you shall never be able to teach others, how to obey you hereafter.

4. Be courteous of gesture, and affable to all men with universality of reverence, according to the dignity of the person; there is nothing that winneth so much with so little cost.

5. Use moderate diet, so as after your meat you may find your wit fresher, and not duller; and your body more lively, and not more heavy.

6. Seldom drink wines, and yet sometimes do, lest being forced to drink upon the sudden, you should find yourself inflamed.

7. Use exercise of body, but such as is without peril of your bones or joints; it will much increase your force, and inlarge your breath.

8. Delight to be cleanly, as well in all parts of your body, as in your garments; it shall make you grateful in each company, and otherwise loathsome.

9. Give yourself to be merry, for you degenerate from your father, if you find not yourself most able in wit and body to do any thing, when you be most merry; but let your mirth be ever void of all scurrility and biting words to any man, for a wound given by a word is harder to be cured than that which is given by a sword.

10. Be you rather a hearer and bearer away of other men's talk than a beginner, or procurer of speech, otherwise you will be accounted to delight to hear yourself speak.

11. Be modest in each assembly, and rather be rebuffed of light fellows for a maiden shamefacedness, than of your sober friends, for pert boldness.

12. Think of every word you will speak before you utter it, and remember how nature hath, as it were, rampired up the tongue with teeth, lips, yea, and hair without the lips, and all betoken reins and bridles to the restraining the use of that member.

13. Above all things tell no untruth, no not in trifles, the custom of it is naught; and let it not satisfy you, that the hearers for a time take it for a truth, for afterwards it will be known as it is to shame, and there cannot be a greater reproach to a gentleman than to be accounted a lyar.

14. Study and endeavour yourself to be virtuously occupied, so shall you make such a habit of well doing, as you shall not know how to do evil though you would.

15. Remember, my son, the noble blood you are descended of by your mother's side, and think, that only by a virtuous life, and good actions, you may be an ornament to your illustrious family, and otherwise through vice and sloth you may be esteemed *Labes Generis*, one of the greatest curses that can happen to a man; well, my little Philip, this is enough for me, and I fear too much for you at this time, but yet if I find that this light meat of digestion do nourish any thing the weak stomach of your young capacity, I will, as I find the same grow stronger, feed it with tougher food. Farewel; your mother and I send you our blessing, and Almighty God grant you his; nourish you with his fear; guide you with his grace, and make you a good servant to your prince and country.

Your loving Father,

HENRY SIDNEY.

THE

COPIE OF A LETTER,

WRITTEN BY

ONE IN LONDON TO HIS FREND,

Concernyng the

CREDIT OF THE LATE PUBLISHED DETECTION OF THE DOYNGES OF THE

LADIE MARIE OF SCOTLAND.

Without date, black letter, 12mo. containing fourteen pages; and, by some, thought to have been written by the learned Buchanan.

MANY are the practises of Papistes, and other false and hollow-harted subiectes; and wonder it is, what they dare do and say, as if they had the Maiesty of our Prince in contempt, or did still beare them selues bold vpon the successe of some mightie treason, the bottome whereof hath not yet bene throughly searched. Of late hath bene published, out of Scotland, a treasise, detectyng the foule doynges of some that haue bene daungerous to our noble Queene; by which detection, is induced a very excellent comparison for all Englishmen to iudge whether it be good to chaunge Queenes or no, and, therewith, a necessary enforcement, to euery honest man, to pray hartely for the long continuaunce of our good mother to rule ouer vs, that our posteritie may not see her place left empty for a perilous stepedame. Some caryed with popishe affection, that regardeth neither naturall prince nor contrey, and puffed with the dropsey of a trayterous humor, labour what they can to discredit the same detection, as vntrue. Some of them, whyle they, lyke good sincere men forsoth, would fayne seme very indifferent iudges, say they will credit nothing, till they heare both parties, not remembryng, that, in the same one booke, are both parties to be heard, the one in the former parte, both in the declaration and oration of euidence; the other in the latter parte, in the parties owne contractes, songes, letters, iudiciall procedynges, protestations, examinations, and confessions. Some other more open fellowes say flatly that all is false, the booke hath no credit, the authour is vnknowne, obscure, the mater counterfaite, and all is nothing. If any such rumors come to youre eare, first, I think verely, in truth you may be bold to say to the partie, *Et tu ex illis es*, thou art also one of them. And, for the matter, I haue thought good to enforme you of so much as I know, for profe of the same treatise to be of credite, wherewith you may aunswere and stoppe the mouthes of such rumor spreaders.

The booke it selfe, with the oration of euidence, is written in Latine

by a learned man of Scotland, M. George Buchanan, one priuie to the procedynges of the Lordes of the Kynges secret Counsell there, well able to vnderstand and disclose the truth, hauyng easie accesse also to all the recordes of that contrey that might helpe hym. Besides that the booke was written by hym, not as of hym selfe, nor in hys owne name, but accordyng to the instructions to hym geuen by common conference of the Lordes of the Priuie Counsel of Scotland; by hym onely for hys learnyng penned, but by them the mater ministred, the booke ouerseen and allowed, and exhibited by them as mater that they haue offred, and do continue in offeryng, to stand to and iustifie before our soueraigne ladie, or her Highnesses commissioners in that behalfe apointed. And what profe they haue made of it already, when they were here for that purpose, and the sayd authour of the sayd booke one among them, when both parties, or their sufficient procurators, were here present, indifferently to be heard, and so were heard in deede; all good subiectes may easely gather, by our sayd soueraigne ladyes procedyng, sins the sayd hearyng of the cause, who, no dout, would neuer haue so stayed her request, but rather would haue added enforcement, by ministring of aide to the Ladie Marie of Scotland, for her restitution (the president and honor of princes, and her Maiesties own former example of sinceritie, vsed in defense of the Scottish Queene, her selfe in Scotland against France, and her maintenance of the French Kinges honour and libertie, against the hye attemptes of some of his Popish subiectes, considered) nor would haue lyued in such good amitie with the yong Kyng of Scotland, the Regentes, and the true lordes mainteiners of that side*; if these haynous offenses, alleged on that part, had not bene prouable, or if the yong Kyng had bene an vsurper, or hys Regentes, and other lordes of that faction, traytors, as they must haue bene, if all be false that is obiected against the sayd Ladie Marie. I recite not what subscriptions and assentes haue bene to confirme the booke, and the maters in it conteined; byside that I do you to wyte, that one written copie thereof, in Latine, was now, vpon hys late apprehension, found in one of the Duke of Norfolkes mens houses, and thether sent, by his commaundement, a little before his apprehension, to be secretlie kept there, with diuers other pamphelets and writynges; whiche thyng not onely addeth credit to this booke, that it was not counterfait, but also geueth shrewed suspicions, that the Duke could not so well lyke the woman, beyng such a woman, as, for her persons sake, to venture the ouerthrow of such a florishing state, wherein he stode before; but that some other greater thing,† it might be, that he lyked, the gredynesse whereof myght temper his abhorryng of so foule conditions, and of so great a danger to hym selfe, to be sent after his predecessours.‡ The Bysshop of Rosse ‖ lykewise doth both knowe, that the duke had this booke, and can tell how the duke came by it. The other mater of the contractes, letters, songes, &c. haue, among other, these proues. Liuely witnesses, of great honor and credit, can tell, that the very casket, there described, was here in England shewed; the letters,

* See Ane Admonition to Lordis.
‡ Beheaded for treason.
† Viz. the Crown of England and Scotland.
‖ Agent for the Queen of Scots.

and other monumentes, opened and exhibited ; and so much, as is there sayd, to haue bene written or subscribed by the sayd Ladie Marie, the Erle Bothwell, or other, hath bene, by testimonies and othes of men of honor and credite of that contrey, testified and auowed, in presence of persones of most honorable state and authoritie, to haue bene written and subscribed, as is there alleged, and so deliuered without rasure, diminution, addition, falsifieng, or alteration, in any point. And a nomber there be in England, of very good and worshypfull calling, byside the commissioners thereto apoynted, that haue seene the originals them selues, of the same handes whoes this book doth say them to be. Whiche thinges haue been heard and vnderstoode by those that can tell, and those whoes truth, in reporting, is above all exception.

Wherefore sithe the Scottishemen haue, for satisfaction of vs, their good neyghbours, among whom the sayd Ladie Marie remayneth, to the perill of both Princes as the Scottishemen say, published these maters, to the intent that the impudencie of the sayd Ladie Maries fautors, in denyeng those truthes, may not seduce Englishe subjectes to the vnderminyng of the estate, honor, and noble procedyng of our most gracious Soueraigne, and diuertyng of affections to vndue places, and to the great perill of both realmes, which the aduersaries call, 'beneficiall vnityng,' but is in deede most maleficiall confoundyng, intended to ioyne the realmes in other persones, excluding the person of our sayd Soueraigne Lady: Let vs receiue this admonishment thankefully, and gather the frute thereof, to the stablishment of our loyaltie to our owne Queene, agaynst whom the fauorers of the other side haue banded them selues in hostilitie and treason.

This I haue thought good to write to you, for your satisfaction in knowledge of the case ; whom I know alreadie sufficiently satisfied in good and dutifull affection. God disclose these hollow hartes, or rather God graunt her Maiestie, and those that be in authoritie vnder her, an earnest will to see them, for they will disclose them selues fast enough. And God send her Maiestie so to remoue the groundes of her perill, that not onely we, which by open thrustyng our selues agaynst her enemyes, haue set vp our rest vpon our Queene Elizabeth, and shall neuer be admitted to fauour on the other side, but also all wise and honest men may know that it shal be safe to be true, and daungerous to be false. Otherwise the mischief is euident. For men in nature and in policie will seke for their own safeties, which if they may not finde in truth, it is a great auauncement of falsehode. God long preserue our good and gracious Queene Elizabeth, and make her enemyes know, that there is sure perill in treason, and her true subiectes bold to sticke to her without dread of any reuenge or displeasure. So fare ye well.

For further profe, that the sayd letters, written by the said Ladie Marie, and mentioned in the sayd booke, are not counterfait but her owne, I haue herewith also sent you the most autentike testimonie of the three estates of Scotland, assembled in Parliament. The copie of which acte you shall receiue word for word, as it was enacted in Scotland in December 1567, and remaineth publikely in print, sauyng, that I haue for your more easy vnderstanding changed the Scottishe orthography, which I would to God had been done for Englishemens better satisfac-

ion in Maister George Buchanans booke. Howbeit, the same is not so hard but that, after the readyng of two leaues, a man may easily enough grow acquainted with it; and doutlesse the knowlege and monumentes, therein contained, are wel worth so small a trauell to vnderstand them.

The Scottishe Act of Parliament, touching the retention of our Soueraine Lordes Mothers Persone.

ITEM, touching the article propounded by the earles, lordes, and other noblemen, who tooke armes at Carbarie hill, vpon the xv. day of Iune last by past, and touching their conuenynges of before, and of the cause of the apprehension of the Queene Mother to our Soueraigne Lord: and whether the sayd noblemen, and others, which tooke armes of before her sayd apprehension, and which ioyned with them, and assisted them at that tyme, or any wayes sence, haue done the dutie of noblemen, good and true subjectes of this realme, and no wayes offended, nor transgressed the lawes in that effect, or any thing depending thereupon, either preceding, or following the same.

Our Soueraigne Lord, with aduise of my Lord Regent, and three estates, and whole body of this present parliament, hath found, declared, and concluded, and by this present act, findeth, declareth, and concludeth, that the cause and occasion of the conuentions and messages of the sayd earles, lordes, noblemen, barons, and others, faythfull and true subiectes, and consequently, their takyng of armes, and comming to the fieldes, with open and displayed baners, and the cause and occasion of the taking of the sayd queenes person, vpon the sayd xv. day of Iune last, by past, and holdyng and deteinyng of the same, within the houses and fortalice of Lochleum, continually, sence presently, and in all tyme comming, and generally all other thinges inuented, spoken, written, or done by them, or any of them to that effect, sence the x. of Febr. last by past, vpon the which day, the late Henry Kyng, then the sayd Queenes lawfull husband, and our Soueraigne Lord the Kynges dearest Father, was treasonablie, shamefully, and horriblie murthered, vnto the day and date of this present act, and in all tymes to come, touchyng the sayd Queene, and deteinyng of her person: that the cause, and all thinges dependyng thereon, or that any wayes may perteine therto, the intermission, or disponyng vpon her propertie, casualties, or whatsoeuer thing perteyning, or that any wayes might perteyne to her, was in the sayd Queenes own default, 'in so far as by diuers her priuie letters, written wholly with her own hand, and sent by her to Iames sometime Earle of Bothwell, chief executor of the said horrible murther, aswell before the committing therof, as therafter, and by her vngodly and dishonorable procedyng to a pretended marriage with him, sodainly and vnprouisedly therafter, it is most certain, that she was priuie, airt, and part, of the actual deuise, and dede of the foresaid murther, of the King her lawfull husband, and father to our Soueraigne Lord,' committed by the said Iames,

sometime Earle of Bothwell, his complices and partakers.' And therfore, iustly deserueth what soeuer hath ben done to her, in any time by gone, or that shal be vsed towardes her, for the sayd cause in time comming, which shal be vsed by aduise of the nobilitie, in respect that our sayd Soueraigne Lordes Mother, with the sayd Iames, sometime Earl of Bothwell, yeid about by indirect and coloured meanes to colour, and hold backe the knowlege of the truth of the committers of the sayd crime. Yet all men in their hartes were fully perswaded, of the authours and deuisers of that mischieuous and vnworthie fact, awaityng while God should moue the hartes of some to enter in the quarell, for reuengyng of the same. And in the meane time, a great part of the nobilitie, vpon iust fear to be handled and demeaned in semblable manner, as the Kyng had bene of before; perceiuyng also the Queene so 'thrall, and so blindly affectionate to the priuate appetite of that tyranne, and that both he, and she, had conspired together such horrible crueltie,' being therwith all garnished with a companie of vngodly and vitious persons, ready to accomplish all their vnlawfull commaundementes, of whom he had a suffieient nomber, continually awaytyng vpon him, for the same effect, all noble and vertuous men, abhorrying their tyrannie, and companie, but chiefly suspecting, that they, who had so treasonablie put downe and distroyed the father, should make the innocent prince, his onely sonne, and the principall and almost onely comfort, sent by God to this afflicted nation, 'to tast of the same cup' (as the many inuented purposes to passe where he was, and also where the noblemen were in) by their open confession gaue sufficient warnyng and declaration, where through the sayd earles, lordes, barons, and others, faythful and true subjectes, taking armes, or otherwayes whatsoeuer ioynyng and assisting in the sayd action, and in the sayd conuentions, displaying baners, and commyng to the fieldes, takyng and reteinyng of the Queenes person, aswell in tymes by past, as hereafter, and all others that haue therafter, or shall in any time comming adioyne to them, and all thinges done by them, or any of them, touching that cause, and all other thinges depending thereon, or that any wayes may appertaine therto, the intromission, or disponing upon her propertie, or casualties, or whatsoeuer other thinges perteyning, or any wayes might apperteyne to her, was in default of her selfe, and the sayde Iames, sometime Earle of Bothwell, and by the 'horrible and cruel murther of our sayd Soueraigne Lordes late dearest father, conspired, deuised, committed, counseled, and coloured by them,' and not condignely punisht according to the lawes, &c.

This act with the rest is thus subscribed in the Scottishe booke. *Extractum de libro actorum parlamenti per me Jacobum Makgill de Rankelour nether clericum rotulorum registri ac consilij S. D. N. Regis sub meis signo et subscriptione manualibus. Jacobus Makhill. And is imprinted at Edinburgh, by Robert Lekprewik, printer to the King's Majestie the vi. day of Aprill, in the yeare of God* 1568.

AN EPITAPH,

OR RATHER

A SHORT DISCOURSE MADE VPON THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF

DR. BONNER,

Sometime vnworthy Bishop of London,

Whiche dyed the Fifth of September in the Marshalsie.

Imprinted at London, at the long Shop adjoyning vnto S. Mildreds Church in the Pultrie, by John Allde, An. Dom. 1569. Sept. 14. Duodecimo, containing fourteen Pages.

Quam cito de viuis extirpabuntur iniqui?
Fidentum Domino pars bona fortis erit:
Per breue tempus adhuc et non erit impius vltra,
Quæretur, nec erit quo fuit ante loco.

HOW soon are wicked men cut of,
From suche as liue in fame?
Yet is the Lord the portion good,
Of those that loue his name.

A little while as yet therfore,
And there shall not remain
One wicked man hencefoorth to be,
Of all the wicked train.

The wicked man shall then be sought,
But he shall not finde grace;
There to be found, where he before
Was knowne to haue a place.

And therfore joy all Englishe harts
That fear the Lord aright,
And haue the loue of natiue land,
Alwayes before your sight.

Lift vp your harts, rejoyce in him,
For work of his owne hand;
For I of happy tidings mean,
To let you vnderstand.

Whiche cheerful wil be sure to all,
Of faithful Englishe blood;
Whose harts did neuer hate the truthe,
Nor gospel yet withstood.

A man there was, a *quondam* great
Of might, of pomp, and praise;
Of Englishe blood, though Englishe loue
Were small in all his wayes.

As did appeer by Roomishe acts,
Proceeding from his hight;
Whiche prooude him not an Englishe man,
But sure a Romain right.

For neuer faithful Englishe hart
Was foe to natiue soil;
Yet hee in natiue land did seek,
Christ's faithful flock to spoil.

And also then be wrought much wo,
To England's chiefest stayes;
He spilt their blood, and mockt God's woord,
Whereby his gaue him praise:

Seducing men from sacred truthe,
To walke in Roomish trade;
Whereby this land was ransackt so,
So spoil'd and so bare made,

That many yet doo feel the smart
Of that unhappy time;
Though God haue clensed now these parts,
From suche moste vgly crime.

Wherwith this land infected was,
By Balams brood throughout;
Who sought a mischeef huge and great,
As then to bring about.

And more then so, t'encrease, by blood,
The great and pining lack
Of pastors pure, and pillers strong,
Whiche then were brought to wrack.

Without remorse, his mates and he
Ful sore did them torment;
By seeking of their death and losse,
Which lov'd Christes Testament.

And more then so, of woorthy wights,
Of whom bereft are wee;
Whiche left their welth, their ease, and life,
That Christe might gayned bee.

And yet not so, this * Cyrus left
Muche humain blood to spil;
And so ceace his devouring rage,
And moste blasphemous wil.

But more and more he sought outrage,
(As all his mates were bent)
By lies and tales, and popish toyes,
Gods gospel to preuent.

As one in place by Sathan sent,
Gods instrument of ire;
To daunt the pride of England then,
(Which did it much require.)

And so no dout this † Bonner did,
He spared no degree;
Ne wise, ne graue, ne riche, ne poor,
Be pitied no man hee.

Ne lame, ne blinde, suche was his thirst,
Ne fooles, ne wise in name;
Yea nobles blood, as tyrant tride,
He sought to bring to flame.

When pastors roum, and bishops place,
Of London see he had;
As beautie then of all his dayes,
(A woolf in lamb-skinne clad)

His rage defilde the seat with crime,
That nations far could say:
A drunken man dooth take in hand,
To guide the ship her way.

Not drunk with wine, tho' iudgement might
Declare he loou'd it more;
Then Christes pasture sheep, whereby
He should have set great store.

* Cyrus was Sonne of Cambises, and King of the Meedes and Persians, who making war against the Scithians, Tomiris the Queen, hauing by suttletie slain Cyrus with two hundred thousand Persians, did cut of his head, and cast it into a boll of man's blood, saying, *Satia te sanguine quem sitisti*, &c. *Iustin.* li. i.

† He spared none, that he eyther durst, or could, be bolde to put to pain for Gods truthe.

But bloody drunk, sith he not one
Did spare of Christes sheep;
Whiche did desire their conscience pure,
By gospel, for to keep.

Yet he did watche, though as a woolf,
Christes lambes for to deuoure;
He watched not to feed their soules,
Nor yet to preache one houre.

For sure, though he had bishops rowm,
Paul saith, he was vnfit*;
In suche a place of Christes flock,
At any time to sit.

Whose iudgment was so small and weak,
In Christes testament;
And learning lesse to teache the flock,
With that so slowe intent.

Should he obtain of grace deuine,
Now for to haue a praise?
Whose retchless rage, and swinishe life,
Shall liue in all mens dayes.

His knoweledge was to base, no dout,
To sit in bishops seat;
Though he, perhaps, in Popes decrees,
Through travail might be great.

And ciuile law right prompt he knew,
Though all for private gain;
And cannons too, for therin was
His only studeous pain.

And all but to upholde the pride
Of Rome, which was to ill;
Or els to finde a way how he
Gods childrens blood might spil.

But who can boste in Gods decrees,
Of Bonners knowledge now,
In Scriptures force his answers shewd
Him learned as a cow.

Or as an asse, whiche iudgement lacks,
In sence of holy writ;
Though he obtaind, a bitter space,
In bishops seat to sit.

* 1 Tim. iii.

* Sus taught Mineruam there to long,
Whiche held usurped place;
'Till Christe, by force of gospel truthe,
This † Bufo did displace:

‡ And took the asse from his repast
Of playing on the harp;
Whose horned pawes, in harmony,
Made neither flat nor sharp.

But spilt the sound so long a time,
When mischeef reignd at wil;
'Till || Pallas came who took the asse
Down from Parnassus hil.

And tied him vp at Maunger yet,
Whiche once did there remain;
Though there he felt not his deserts,
Nor halfe deserued pain.

To lodge on boords, as he had made
Some other lodge before;
With hands and feet, to starue in stocks,
With giues to be ful sore.

No, no, in stall, his torments were
None suche, nor half so vile;
He pris'ner hath been sure, but yet
Not tasted, all this while,

Of pris'ners thrall, of hungers bit,
In dungeon deep to grone;
Yet he of captiues life, ful oft,
To many made his mone.

Not sure for pain, which he did feel,
But for the greatest greef:
That he could not be fed as yet,
(In slaughter who was cheef)

With blood of saints, and Christian fleshe,
Wherwith his lust was fed;
That he could not exalt the Pope,
Stil heer as supreme hed.

* *Sus Mineruam*, the sow teacheth Minerua. What a sow is by nature, needeth no expressing. Minerua was daughter of Iupiter, and called by the poets Goddess of Wisdome and all good arts; now this is talking a prouerb, where one unlearned teacheth him of wisdom he might better be taught.

† *Bufo* is a tod, so applied to Bonner, because of his venemous minde.

‡ *Asinus ad Liram.* This is a prouerb of those that haue neither goodnes, nor wils to submit to discipline.

|| Pallas the neck-name of Minerua, so named from a mountain of Thessalia or Aonia, with a twisted top, where the muses called Parnassides, or Aonides, did remain.

That he could not his holy lambes,
And leaden bulles bestowe;
His pardons and his obsequies,
Mens souls to ouerthrowe.

That truthe had ouerthrowen with power
His brutishe vile intent;
Whiche thought, by fire and fagots force,
Gods gospel to preuent.

This wrought his onely greef and wo,
As wel it did appeer;
For other cause sure there was none,
That euer I could hear.

He lay ful soft and had inough
Of beer, and chaunge of wine;
Bothe fleshe and fishe, bothe fruits and foul,
Moste delicate and fine.

His table neuer wanted sutes,
At wil it to maintain
He lacked neuer cators he,
His ayds took always pain.

To keep their God, their hope, their trust,
Their staffe of Roomishe stay;
Because with him they wisht a chaunge,
Stil looking for a day.

And not with him, but with the rest,
Of all their hellishe rable;
Whiche are in their blinde errors stil,
Moste hard and wilful stable.

Who pris'ners are as foes to Christe,
To Christian Queen and land;
But cheef this Quondam which made boste,
If he might haue in hand

His former poure and time again,
To blesse and curse at wil;
Where one he burnt, on thousands then
He would his lust fulfil.

This was his boste and blooddy thirst,
Wherin his ayds did trust;
That once again the Roomishe whore
Might haue her filthy lust.

Although since he, by due desert,
Hath been in holde for sin;
Suche mercy hath been shew'd him there,
As he shew'd none I win,

To such as were his betters far,
In knoweledge, birth, and fame;
Yea, and in life apostolique,
Of muche more godly name.

For sure his manners were moste vile,
At all times plainly shew'd;
Why? wa'st not he that sought the tree
Of our increase t'aue hew'd?

Who shamelesly hath stood thus long,
At royall mercyes grace;
Although his deeds and woords ful oft,
Did craue another place,

But what said those of Balams sect,
There is no law wherby
The sword of justice could him strike,
Nor cause why he should die.

Although, when as the dragon rulde,
Right woorthy wights were slain:
But * one, when cannon law could not,
He was adiudged pain.

Without the cannons councels he,
That † Pool might haue his place;
By Popes assent, and Roomishe rout,
Whiche ror'd him to deface.

Yf Popes assent, when Englishe lawes,
Nor cannons could preuail:
Might giltless make so wise a sage,
By fiery flames to quail.

Why might not princes lawful poure
Haue made a iust decree?
That suche, deseruing open shame,
Might recompensed be.

But onely that pure mercy did
Keep back that right did craue:
In recompensing him with death,
As all the rest might haue,

* Tho. Cranmer, Archbishop of Cant. whom, by their cannons, they could not put to death, til the Pope, arayng his image at Room, condemned it, burnt it, and then was he burned at Oxford.
† Cardinal Pool, who could not be Archbishop by the cannons, til the other were dead.

Yet he tryumpht as whole and sound,
His purpose whole to make:
Right many yet (if time would serue)
To bring vnto the stake.

And once again, if Fortune stood,
He might haue vp the masse:
(But see how now the Lord of Hostes
Hath made his foe like grasse)

Who bragd and boasted in his greace,
To washe the tile anew:
And faind an end to his deuise,
Whiche yet he neuer knew.

And so the rest with cheerful sound,
At eu'ry newes that came,
Sang, as the prouerb olde hath been,
Laudes ante victoriam.

Sith monst'rous corps, with delicates,
So monst'rously was blowen:
Whose monst'rous minde, with poys'ning woords,
In graue is ouerthrowen.

But what, did he repent of all
His blooddy sinful race?
And learn by Gods woord to amend,
His life so voyd of grace?

Nay sure, til time of present death,
He chaunged not his minde:
But, as he liu'd a foe to Christe,
So dyed moste wilful blinde.

Oh, yet though he had liu'd so il,
Gods mercy is not bace:
To suche as think that Jhesus Christe
Can all their sinnes deface.

But as this * Eresichthon liu'd,
In spite and rage to spoil:
So, in his end, of mightie Ioue
He took a deadly foil.

Not that he died, but that in death
His helth he did denie:
For sure *non mori turpe est,*
Sed turpiter mori.

* Erisichthon was King of Thessalia, who despised Ceres, and cut down her woods; at last, being stroken with a meruailous hunger, was compeld to eat his own fleshe.

And yet though Erisichthons end
Hapt not vnto this foe:
To eat his fleshe, sith Bonners mates
In stie did fat him so.

Yet viler end had he, no dout,
Then Eresichthons was:
Because their times were far vnlike,
As it did come to passe.

The one a Christian was in name,
The other Pagan prowd:
Yet in there acts of maners like,
As may bee wel avou'd.

He Ceres sought, this Ihesus Christe,
And his to bring to wrack:
He did starue, this with grease died,
Though grace from him went back.

Whereby all such as blinded were,
By fau'ring of his acts,
May see what iudgement is preparde,
To recompence their facts.

And therefore houle all Balams seed,
And weep both moste and least:
Which bear the mark (in such a light)
Of that ilfau'red beast.

But Englishe harts, which love Gods word,
Our Queen and Englishe land:
Reioyce, sith hope of foes is spoild,
By force of Gods right hand.

Sith filthy flesh doth lie in graue,
Though soule I fear be il:
Which liu'd and dide so stout a foe
To Christes death and wil.

But what though blooddy corps of his
Be forste to live ful lowe:
His blooddy facts and deeds moste vile
From hence, shall no man knowe?

Shall treason so conspir'd, shall pride,
Shall blasphemy lie dead?
No fame from earth to vpper skies,
His wickednes shall spread?

His brutishe tigrishe toil, in time
Of his most high renown:
T'extoll the power and pomp of him,
That weres the triple crown.

His rage and currish cruel spite,
Against his cuntriemen:
His butcherly deuice to waste
The fleshe of Christians then.

His false surmise and murdring spite,
Whiche shew'd him then to be
A * Poliphemus right, whiche slue,
In three yeeres, hundreds three.

Not of Vlisses souldiours sure,
But Christians truly tride,
Whiche were deuoured, while he had
The ruther for to guide.

Shall now † Philonides lie dead,
Shall serpentinishe rage
So sleep? Nay sure his wickednes
Shall liue the worldes age.

His stoutnes shall remain now shewd,
In time of his conflict:
Who as a subject did deny,
To haue his hart adict.

And as a foe to Christ (his woord)
And to our gracious Queen:
Wisht with his mates moste trat'rously
Some others raign I ween.

Beside his epicurishe life,
Before and in this cace:
Though corps be dead, yet death cannot
These horrours quite deface.

He suffred was, ful ten years space,
By fauour him to win:
(As gospels nature is) yet he
Could never once begin

* Poliphemus, or Cyclops, was son of Neptune and Thoosa, a great monster, hauing but one eye, which was in his forehed. He was of the ile of Scicilia, into whiche Vlisses being cast by rage of tempest. and hapning on the caue of this Cyclops, lost four of his men, who would have deuoured the rest, if Vlisses, making him drunk, had not, with a fire-brand, bored out his eye.

† Philonides was a great big lubber of Miletæ (now called Malta) altogether so folishe and unlerned, that of him grew a prouerb. *Indoctior Philonide.* Some wil say, Bonner was wel lerned. I graunt, yet, in knowledge of holy scripture, like to Philonides, notwithstanding his ciuile law.

For to repent (though fauour he
Deserued had but small
At those, which now in his distresse,
Did shew him moste of all.)

But scoft and mocked those, as yet
Whiche gladly would him teache.
But, cheefly in his death, such men
As gospel soundly preache.

And therfore sith, in life of his,
No vertue was to praise:
In welth, ne wo, no spark of grace,
Whiche liu'd and spent his days,

So like a Cyclops in his den,
Deseruing no good fame:
Sith God hath cut of suche a * drone,
Can we but praise his name?

And eke beseeche th' almightie Ioue,
The number to fulfil:
In cutting of the rest with speed,
That bear the beast good will.

Who sure may shame at his vile race,
But more at his vile end:
And sore lament his fearful state,
Whiche now did not amend.

Though all his life he had been bent,
Yet now to stand so stout:
Denying Christe, at his last breath,
Is fearful, out of dout.

This may suffize, as God hath lent
Me grace to rule my pen:
In blasing foorth the deeds and fame,
(Before all Christian men)

Of Romaines greasy God, whose life
And death (so woorthy shame)
I haue display'd, and therfore now,
Such shal be muche to blame,

Which carp at truthe, and stomack this
That eury man can tel
Throughout this land, and others to,
Ere this whiche knew it wel.

* A drone breedeth among bees, muche like a bee; and alwayes liues in the hiue, neuer coming out to gather hony, but stil deuoureth that whiche the bee dooth gather, and, at last, the bee and all.

God saue our Queen Elizabeth,
And bring her foes to il:
And root out those with speed from vs
Whiche bear the Pope good wil. Amen.

T. KNELL. Iu.

A

COPIE OF A LETTER

Lately sent by a Gentleman, Student in the Lawes of the Realme, to a Frende of his,*

CONCERNYNG D. STORIE.

Black Letter, Octavo, containing twenty-two Pages.

ACCORDING to your request, you shal hereby vnderstand what you may truely saye and auowe vpon such questions as it seemeth you haue harde, of the late execution of D. Storie, who suffred at Tiburne the first of Iune last.

It is notorious howe euyll and vnloyally he behaued hym selfe here in Englande before he departed the realme, and howe earnest a persecutor afterward he was of all the good subjectes of Englande, hauyng cause to be in the Lowe-countreys, both before the arrest made of late by the Duke of Alua, as sence that tyme, a multitude of honest marchaunts knowe it, both Englyshe and others, and a great number haue felt it, by imprisonment, procured by hym, and by seasyng and confiscatyng of their goodes; so as there is no doubt to be made, but that he was, to his power, as earnest an enemie to the state of Englande, his naturall countrey, and the Queenes Maiesties good subiectes, as any man borne in this realme coulde be. Neuerthelesse, because, at the place of his execution before his death, he vsed long and many speeches, to moue some of simple understandyng, or that dyd not knowe his rancor and malice agaynst the Queenes Maiestie, and the state of this realme; and for that it was not then conuenient, nor at least coulde be imagined aforehande, that he woulde haue vsed suche speeches at that tyme, and so he was suffred to speake altogether without contradiction, whereby the trueth, percase, may be made to you obscure; you shall vnderstande of what detestable crymes he was gyltie, and therewith shoulde haue ben particulerly charged at tyme of his arraignement in the Kyngs-benche, but that he craftyly and traytorously, knowying by his examination wherewith he was to be

* See the 4th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets.

charged, and howe much he hym selfe had confessed in the Towre; and, beyng written in certayne leaues of paper, had subscribed with his owne hande wrytyng; refused to haue any tryall made therof, alleaging that he ought not to answere, nor woulde answere, because he was subject to the Kyng of Spayne, and not subiect to the Queenes Maiestie, and the Crowne of Englande: and so, although he was charitably, earnestly, and reasonably required at his arraignment, to answere to the matters wherewith he was charged by indytement, as a borne subiect of this realme; yet he woulde not, but traytorously refused to answere thereto, in such sort, as if he had been indyted of felonie, as he was of hygh-treason, he should, for his not answeryng, haue suffred the payne of pressyng to death, which maner of iudgement is not vsed in cases of treason by the lawes of the realme, bnt was adjudged gyltie of the treasons conteyned in the indytement, as of necessitie and iustice he ought to be, for other iudgement coulde not be geuen: and so, by iustice of lawe, he was iudged to the death which he suffred. But, for that it may serue to the satisfaction of all men, to consyder howe farre he was gyltie of the treasons conteyned in his indytement, hereafter foloweth a true, iuste, and playne report of the matters, both wherof he was accused and examined, and which also he did confesse in the Towre.

He was to be charged, that he dyd traytorously conspire agaynst the Queenes Maiestie, with one Prestall, an Englyshe man, who was a fugityue, and principall deuisor of the first treason intended by the young Pooles xi yeres past, and therof was indyted and outlawed: and afterwarde, of late tyme, he practised an other great treason with certayne persons, wherof one disclosed the same to the Duke of Norfolke, who also verye dutifullye reuealed the same to the Queenes Maiestie, wherevpon the sayde Prestall, beyng sought for to be apprehended, fledde into Scotlande, where also he ioyned hymselfe with the Englyshe rebelles, and there attempted sundry treasons against her Maiestie, and from thence he fledde into Flaunders. With this maner of traytor had this D. Storie a continuall intelligence to further his treasons, insomuche as he sayde, not long before he came into Englande, to one that for Dueties sake disclosed it, and is redy to proue it, that Prestall shoulde, or it were long, be the leader of xl thousand men into Englande, agaynst that woman which toke vpon her to be Queene; and sayde the same Storie, I woulde be God she were in the bottome of the sea; with other vile and reprochfull wordes, not meete to be reported. With which traytorous speeches he should haue ben charged, yf he woulde haue abyden Tryall accordyng to the lawes of the realme.

The sayde Storie sayde also, in the presence of two persons of English byrth, who were redy to haue charged hym therewith, yf he woulde haue stande to tryall, that he had written letters to Bruxels, that, yf the matters conteyned therein shoulde be reucaled, where he shoulde be charged therewith, he shoulde be hanged, drawen, and quartered. And immediately after this speeche he went to Bruxels with Prestall, where he and Prestall were rewarded with money; and there Prestall declared to certayne persons, redy also to haue auowed

the same, that he had opened his whole purposes to D. Story, whereto D. Story was sworne to kepe the same secrete. But, of the thynges intended by Prestall and Story at that tyme, neyther of them woulde be then knowen; but yet Prestall affirmed, that he had an art to poyson any body a farre of, beyng not present with them, and that none coulde do it but he. And, to shew some taste of their mischiefes, a gentleman belongyng to Courteuile, a secretarie to the Duke of Alua, tolde an Englyshe man, redye also to auowe the same, that D. Story and Prestall were about such matters, and such vyle treason, as the saide partie sayde, that no man coulde deuise worse, and that D. Story was such a wicked man, as could not be found the like, and that he thought veryly they were about murdring of somc great persons in Englande.

The sayde Story also receaued certayne letters from Prestall out of Scotland, being written in Scottyshe, whiche are also to be seene, and myght haue ben shewed at the arraignement, yf he woulde haue ben tryed: which letters Story translated into Latin, and caryed the same to Bruxels, by whiche it was required, that meanes should be made to the Duke of Alua, to sende into Scotland certayne horsmen, and a number of dagges, to make an entry and inuasion into Englande, with the Scottes; and by the same letter Prestall wrote, that, the thyng, whiche he tolde D. Story in secrete, woulde cost a thousande markes, and that yf the regent and the foolyshe boy, the young kyng, were dispatched and dead, the Scottyshe Queene were a marriage for the best man lyuyng. Al which wordes are conteyned in the letter, translated by D. Story.

The sayde Story beyng at Bruxels, and receauyng a letter from olde Norton, a very olde rebell, beyng arryued at Antwerpe, dyd sollicite certayne of the counsell about the Duke, for money for the reliefe of the same Norton, and his company; and wrote to hym to comfort hym by expresse wordes, that, where he and his company were before but worshipfull, nowe they were an honourable state, and had wonne double honor, and perpetuall fame, for their late enterprise in Englande, and that he woulde come shortly, to geue them their welcome to Antwerpe; and immediatlye he procured, that one D. Saunders, with certayne Englyshe fugityues harboured in Louain, went to Antwerpe to the rebelles, and there Saunders made to them a solemne long oration in prayse of their actes.

Story also declared in Antwerpe, in presence of such as shoulde haue auowed it ar his arraignement, yf he woulde haue denyed it, that the rebellion shoulde be renewed in Englande, and that, at the same instant also, Irelande shoulde rebell, whereof he sayde he was well assured by aduertisement from an Iryshe bishop, that hadde scaped out of the Towre of London, and that, at the same instant also, the Scottes shoulde, with an ayde out of Fraunce, inuade Englande, and set vp the Scottyshe Queene.

The sayde Story also vsed commonly this maner of prayer after his meates, whereof there are diuers persons redy to witnes the same, that haue hearde hym, and lastly, euen in the hoy wherein he was before he came last into Englande, in the presence of diuers persons, that yf the Queenes Maiestie, whom he woulde neuer tearme, but by the

name of Dame Elizabeth, that tooke vppon her to be Queene, woulde not speedyly turn to Queene Maries religion, he prayed that she myght be ouercome with sworde and fyre, and all that woulde take her part.

And though he myght haue ben charged with sundry other traytorous and haynous conspiracies in the Lowe Countreys, and with aydyng of the rebelles there, whereof out of the saide Lowe Countreys aduertisement was geuen by sundry of good credite; yet of set purpose no more is aboue recited, but suche thynges only, as wherwith he shoulde haue ben charged openly by witnesses, at his arraignement, who, yf he woulde haue denyed the same, shoulde haue auowed the whole to his face, and in the hearyng of the jury, that shoulde haue tryed hym. And howe many of the thynges before recited are to be iudged true and probable, it is to see by these thynges folowyng, whiche are worde by worde extracted out of his owne confessions, subscribed with his owne hande, and vttered upon interrogatories, without any maner of torture, or offer of torture, although at the place of execution he vsed speeche to the contrary, very vntruly, as the worshipfull persons that examined hym can well testifie, which were,

Sir Thomas Wroth, Knight, Maister Wilbraham, then Recorder of London, and Maister Peter Osborne, the tresorers Remembrancer in the Exchequer, and so can also the Lieuetenaunt of the Towre, as touchyng any torture.

Extracted out of D. Stories Confessions.

ix. *December.* 1570.

IOHN STORY, the day and yere aboue written being examined, saith, that John Prestall dyd wryte a letter to the sayde John Story, of three sydes of a sheete of paper, as he remembreth, and directed to the sayde Story, which letter was inclosed in a letter, wrytten to one Hamelton, a Scot, that lay at Bruxels, for hym to peruse and seale the same, and then to delyuer it to the sayd Story. And the same letter the sayde Hamelton read, and sealed it vp, and told this examinat the effect therof, and he bad hym open it, and reade it; and so the sayde Hamelton dyd, vntyll he came to a word, 'Boy or Chylde,' meanyng the King of Scottes, to be made away, as the said Story tooke it.

xii. *December.* 1570.

Item, He sayth, that Hamelton tolde hym, that Prestall had written, that the matter which Prestall had tolde Story, and the sayd Hamelton, that an Englyshe man nowe in Irelande coulde do, woulde not be done without a great summe of money, whiche matter was to make the Kyng of Scottes away; for Prestall had told this examinat and Hamelton, that the Scottes woulde hardlye be reduced to obe

dience, as long as the Queene of Scottes was without an husbande, and no man of estimation woulde haue her, so long as the boy lyued; and yf he were dead, he hoped the Emperours brother woulde haue her, and wyshed he myght be an entreater in that matter. And further Prestall said, that the said man, nowe in Irelande, had tolde the Pooles, and hym, the very month, the daye, and houre, that the Queene of Englande shoulde be in hazarde of her lyfe, and that the same Englishe man could dispatch the King of Scottes for money: and beyng asked what the same Englyshe mans name was, Story sayth of trouth he knoweth not, but hath forgotten it, yet Prestall told it him; but whither he is in Irelande, or of what estate, degree, or condition he is of, he knoweth not. And further, that Prestall tolde him, he coulde do much with that Englyshe man in Irelande, wherein this examinat discouraged hym. And the sayde Story sayth, he thynketh of his conscience that Prestall would do all the harme that he coulde to this realme of Englande.

And further sayth, that Prestall tolde hym, he woulde take any thyng in hand to inuade Englande, so he might haue good assistance, and not to be vsed as an vnderlyng. But Prestall neuer tolde hym by what deuice Englande shoulde be inuaded.

And more he sayth, that Jenny and Markenfelde hath made suite to Courteuile, and to Northcarne, as Northcarnes secretarie tolde hym, for the reliefe of the Nortons and Neuyls; and after this Courteuile called this examinat, wyllyng hym to byd Markenfelde to come to hym that day, at two of the clocke, and then this examinat prayed, that yf he shoulde come about the money, for the reliefe of the Nortons, and others, that then one Parkar myght be payed for theyr charges, and so it myght be delyuered to Parkar.

He sayth, he wrote a letter to the elder Norton from Bruxels, and shewed the sayde elder Norton, that he woulde be glad to do for hym, euen the best that lay in the sayde Stories power to do, and that he woulde rather stay his owne suites to the Duke, then not to do the best he could for hym, and this was all the effecte of his letter to the sayde eldest Norton; but, afterwarde he called to remembrance, he wrote vnto him, that he was glad, that he and his company were so well come into the Catholyke realme, and safely arryued there. He sayth, he doth not remember, that he wrote to the sayde Nortons, and the reste, that where they were before but worshipfull, they were nowe worthy double honor; but he sayth it may be he dyd write so, because he thought so; and thynkes he dyd wryte vnto them, that he woulde come shortly to Antwerpe, and geue them their welcome, because he meant so to do.

After Markenfelde, and Jenny came ouer, and one Leedes with hym, and first they came to Parkars house, where the sayde Jenny declared openly at the boorde, in the presence of this examinat, and others, the order of the sayde late rebellion.

And hereupon this examinat made reporte to Northcarnes secretarie, that the sayde Ienny was a frende to the Catholykes, and the Earles, and is a very trusty frende, and hath ventured his life for the Catholykes. But afterwarde, this examinat perceauyng the contrary of

Ienny by a Scotte, he gaue Northcarnes secretarie warning to take heede of Ienny.

Shortly after this, the sayde Story came to Antwerpe to Parkars house, where syttyng at dynner, the sayde elder Norton and some other of his company came in from the churche, and one saide, this is Norton, and thereupon this examinat rose, and gaue hym place, and bad him welcome; and so the elder Norton sate downe in the said Stories place.

After old Norton shyfted his lodging, and this examinat, with one Shawe, Nortons sonne in lawe, went to the sayde olde Nortons lodging to dyner, and there dined with hym; and that day al their talke was of the suspition that Norton had of Iennys firste commyng to the rebelles in Englande, from the Earle of Sussex, and so he tooke hym styl but a spye, and to couer hym selfe with, to the Duke, with labouryng for them.

He sayth, that he hearde by Markenfeldes report, that the sayde Nortons and Neuyls, and their company, had two-hundred crownes geuen them from the Duke, at their first commyng, and shoulde haue two-hundred crownes more afterwarde.

More he sayth, that, before the dukes last commyng to Antwerpe, the saide Story and Sir Iames Shelley, beyng at Louain, were there sent for to come to D. Saunders, to heare a certayne booke read (of the reasons that the bull late sent over into Englande should be obeyed, as he suspected) and thither the sayde Story promised to come, but that after noone he was dryuen to go to Bruxels; and so Sir Iames Shelley went thyther, and brought worde to this examinat, being with one Leedes at dyner, that, yf he had come, he shoulde haue hearde goodly reasons, that he would haue wel lyked, about the booke that Saunders had made.

Further, the sayde Story doth say, that he was neuer sworne to King Philip, nor to the Duke of Alua, nor neuer by any meanes was made Kyng Philippes subiecte or denizen, or otherwyse naturalized to be Kyng Philippes subiect, but remaynes only styll a subiect to the Queene of Englande.

Thus subscribed, though he sayd otherwyse at Tyborne,

IOHN STORY.

xx. *December*, 1570.

The sayde John Story, this xx. day of December, beyng examined, sayth, that about two yeres sence he dyd deale by wrytyng with Courteuile, shewyng vnto hym, that the Catholykes in Englande dyd dayly decay, and the scismatykes dyd there daylye encrease; and therfore, yf the King of Spayne had any meanyng to wryte to the Queene of Englande, or otherwise to helpe to restore religion in Englande, he shoulde do it betyme, or els it woulde be to late. And eyther he dyd wryte further, or sayde by mouth to the sayde Courteuile, that, yf the Kyng of Spayne dyd but come into the Low Countreys out of Spayne, with a number of shyppes, the catholykes of Englande would thynke, as this examinat thought, that he were come to restore

religion, and would take the Kyng of Spaynes part. And the said Story confesseth, that he wrote to Courteuile, that, if about the realme of Englande there might go a number of shyppes, as men went about Ierico, then the catholykes of Englande woulde take courage to prepare entry for them that went so about with the said shyppes. To which ende of entry by the Kyng of Spaynes power into England, the saide Story dyd write to Courteuile many tymes by his letters and perswasions therein, hopyng thereby, that either the King of Spayne woulde write to the Queene of Englande to restore the catholyke religion, or els woulde make some entry into Englande and refourme religion, according as he was bounde by his title of Catholyke King, as the sayde Story thought.

Further the sayde Story sayth, that Iohn Prestall, at such tyme as he talked with Hamelton and this examinat about the death of the Kyng of Scottes, as is aforesayde, when Prestall had tolde hym, as aforesayde, that the Englyshe man, that fledde into Irelande, had tolde the sayde Prestall of the tyme and houre the queenes maiestie should be in peryll of her death, as is aforesayde, then Prestall sayd, that, yf the sayde Englyshe man in Irelande myght be plyed, he could bryng the Queenes Hyghnes to death in deede, and sayde he thought surely he coulde do it; and then this examinat sayde, that was to be done by necromancie.

Subscribed,

Iohn Story.

It is here to be consydered also, howe lykely it is, that the thynges whiche he spake at Tiborne for his purgation were true, when at the same tyme he woulde haue had, by his earnest speeches then vsed, all the hearers beleue, that he vsed neuer any crueltie, in Queen Maries time, against any that were then burnt for religion, but, as he sayde, he dyd but only chyde them; and that he was no cause of the death of any, but that the Bishoppes dyd procure the sentences of death. And howe vntrue this speeche of his was in that behalfe, as to excuse hym selfe, a number of witnesses lyuyng, that manifestly saw his extreme cruelties, and some that felt thereof, are very plenteous. And what his hart was towards the Queenes maiestie may playnly appeare by his traytorous wordes in the Parliament House, where he sayde, that, yf his counsel had ben folowed, the root should haue ben stryken downe, and not the branches.

And howe horrible, traytorous, and monstruous a meanyng he had to refuse to answere at his arraignement, by refusyng his naturall allegeaunce to the Queenes maiestie and this crowne (from which no lawe in the worlde coulde separate hym) and by auowyng that he was a subiecte to the Kyng of Spayne, it may appeare, in that he sayde at his arraignement, for defence of his traitorous refusall of his obedience: that kinges were chosen at the first by the people for their necessitie, and not the people for their kynges; and therfore the people myght leaue their kynges, when they hadde no more neede of them. And so the conclusion, in his opinion, serued for hym, that he myght refus his naturall liege lady and queene; and so, consequenl y, by the

monstruous reason, all kynges may be depriued of their subiectes, or of as many as woulde enter into that traytorous and monstruous error, at their pleasure: a thyng, of it selfe, worthy of some monstruous death, accordyng to the monstruousnes of the treason.

Otherwyse, to remember the vnworthynes of this D. for his long lewde lyfe in all tymes past, is not conuenient, because he is dead; of whom also nothyng should be now in this sort written, but that, by his craftye traytorous doynges at his arraignement, and by his vntruethes vttered at his death, trueth it selfe shoulde take harme by mistakyng and misreportyng; and only in fauour of trueth haue I collected the premisses, and for no other purpose; and so, I pray you, vse it accordyng as you shal thynke meete. For al those thynges, which are before recited, are manyfestly to be proued, partly by the very wrytynges extant, and in no worde altered, and the rest by sufficient witnesses, whereof I haue hadde good regarde, euen for the truethes sake, knowyng that Almyghtie God is the auenger of all vntrueth.

4 Iunii, 1571.

God saue the Queene.

THE CASE OF
THE BISHOP OF ROSS,

RESIDENT OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS;

WHO WAS SEIZED AND COMMITTED TO THE TOWER

BY

QUEEN ELISABETH,

For traiterous Practices, and Endeavouring to raise a Rebellion against her *.

Folio, containing four Pages.

RIDOLPHO, the Florentine, who was sent to sollicit the Queen of Scots affairs beyond sea, had communicated to Charles Bayliff, a Netherlander, the Queen of Scots servant, all his transactions with the Duke d'Alva; and had given him letters, written in cyphers, for her, the Spanish Ambassador, the Duke of Norfolk, Ross, and the Baron of Lumley, made up in one packet; which Bayliff brought over himself, though Ross had ordered him to leave them with the Governor of Calais to be conveighed over.

* Which is in some measure applicable to the case of the Marquis de Botta and M. de Chetardie, Ambassador at the Court of Russia from France, and detected of treasonable practices against the Czarina.

But, as soon as Bayliff was arrived at Dover, he was apprehended and imprisoned, and the pacquet sent to the Lord Cobham, governor of the Cinque-ports. Ross was the first that had notice of it, who managed his busines so industriously and cunningly with the Lord Cobham, that the packet was delivered to him, and another packet made up of other obsolete letters delivered to the Council; and this Bayliff was acquainted with. But however, being put to the rack, he confessed some things, and amongst the rest, that a pacquet of letters was come to Ross's hands. Nor was Ross ignorant of this, who presently sent away Cuthbert his secretary, and left his cyphers and what else might do him any prejudice, among his friends; so that, when Sussex, Burleigh, Mildmay, and Sadler made a careful search in his house, they found nothing, nor could they get any thing out of him by questions, who stifly maintained, that an ambassador was not to be accountable to any but his prince. However, the third day after he was committed to the custody of the Bishop of Ely, and a while after conveighed to the Isle of Ely.

But since by the confession of all, even of the duke of Norfolk himself, the Bishop of Ross was charged as principal contriver of the business, they entered into a serious consultation what should be done with him, being an ambassador? For, whilst he, after the manner of other ambassadors, thought he might lawfully promote the interest of his prince by any methods, and that, by the sacred and inviolable privilege of ambassadors, he was not to be accountable to another's jurisdiction; he had already committed many irregularities, by raising rebellion, and holding nocturnal cabals with the Earl of Southampton and others; and now lately with the English fugitives in the Netherlands, the Duke d'Alva the Spaniard, and the Pope, for invading of England. It was therefore proposed to Daniel Lewis, Valentine Dale, William Drury, William Aubrey, and Henry Jones, learned civilians,

First, Whethether an ambassador, that raises rebellion against the Prince to whom he is sent, should enjoy the privileges of an ambassador, and not rather be liable to punishment as an enemy?

They answered:

"That such an ambassador, by the law of nations, and the civil law of the Romans, has forfeited the privileges of an ambassador, and is liable to punishment."

Secondly, Whether the minister or agent of a prince deposed from his publick authority, and in whose stead another is substituted, may enjoy the privileges of an ambassador?

They answered:

"If such a prince be lawfully deposed, his agent cannot challenge the privileges of an ambassador, since none but absolute princes, and such as enjoy a royal prerogative, can constitute ambassadors.

Thirdly, Whether a prince, which comes into another prince's kingdom, and is there kept prisoner, can have his agent; and whether that agent can be reputed an ambassador?

They answered:

"If such a prince have not forfeited his principality, he may have an agent; but, whether that agent may be reputed an ambassador, depended upon the authority of his commission."

Fourthly, Whether, if a prince declare to such an agent, and his prince in custody, that he shall be no longer reputed an ambassador, that agent may, by law, challenge the privilege of an ambassador?

They answered:

"That the Prince may forbid the ambassador entrance into his kingdom, and may command him to leave the kingdom, if he keep himself not within the bounds prescribed to an ambassador; yet in the mean time he may enjoy the privileges of an ambassador according to the authority deputed to him."

According to these answers of the civilians, Ross being called up from the Isle of Ely, and receiving a sharp reprimand, it was declared by the council, that he should be no longer reputed an ambassador, but be severely punished, according to his demerits. He answered: "That he was the ambassador of an absolute queen that was unjustly deposed, and had, according to his duty, carefully endeavoured the delivery of his princess, and the safety of both kingdoms; that he came into England with the full authority of an ambassador under public warrandise, which he had produced; and that the sacred privileges of ambassadors are by no means to be infringed."

Burleigh most gravely informed him, "That neither the privileges of an ambassage, nor letters of publick warrandise could protect ambassadors that offended against the publick majesty of a Prince, but that they are liable to be punished for the same; else wicked ambassadors might plot against the life of princes without any punishment."

On the other hand, he stifly maintained, that the privileges of ambassadors had never been violated (to use his own words) *via Juris*, but *via Facti;* and he pleasantly wished them not to shew him fouler play than the English ambassadors Throckmorton in France, and Randolph and Tamworth in Scotland had found; who had raised rebellions and openly fomented them; and yet suffered no greater punishment, than the being commanded to depart within such a time.

When they began to urge him with testimonies of Englishmen, he gently desired them not to do it, since by a common received custom, which (as he said) was grown into a law, The testimony of an Englishman against a Scotchman, or of a Scotchman against an Englishman, was not to be allowed.

After some debates whether this would hold good, unless betwixt

the borders of both kingdoms, and that in cases relating to the frontiers; and whether the English ambassadors had raised rebellions; Ross was committed to the Tower of London; where being kept close prisoner, within a while he answered to all questions, with this proviso, that his answers should not be prejudicial to any: "He excused the Queen of Scots, for that, she being a prisoner, in the flower of her age, could not but use her utmost endeavours to regain her freedom, since Queen Elisabeth denied her access to her presence, debarred her from all hope of her liberty, and openly relieved her enemies. The Duke of Norfolk he excused, in that he had done nothing as to the marriage with the Queen of Scots, but with the consent of many of the queen's council; nor could he forsake her, though he had promised to do so under his hand and seal, since there was before a mutual engagement of marriage betwixt them. Lastly, he excused himself, for that, since he was an ambassador and a servant, he could not without a sin depart from his duty, and abandon his princess in her distress. But that he proposed the design of seizing on the Queen, with no other intent, than to try whether the Duke had courage to undertake such an attempt." The crimes of the other conspirators he cunningly extenuated, but could by no means be brought to tell the names of the gentlemen who had devoted their service to the Duke in seizing the Queen. But he confessed, that, by the Queen of Scots orders, he had, by servants employed betwixt them, treated with the Duke, Arundel, Lumley, and Throckmorton, and with the Lord Viscount Montacute by Lumley, about putting the Castles in Scotland, the hostages, and the King of Scots into Englishmen's hands, about renouncing the title, and giving up the English rebels. Thus far of these transactions for this year, extracted wholly out of the Duke of Norfolk's confession, and Ross's own account under his own hand to the Queen of Scots.

A DECLARATION

OF THE

LIFE AND DEATH OF IOHN STORY,

Late a Romish Canonicall Doctor, by Professyon. 1571.

Imprinted at London, by Thomas Colwell. Octavo, containing thirty-two pages.

John Story, whose life and death are related in the following tract, and related by a Protestant, perhaps without that candour and impartiality, which the Protestant religion prescribes, was a man of great eminence and authority in the reign of Queen Mary, and contributed very much to kindle the flames of persecution in that cruel reign; and, with whatever detestation he may be mentioned by this writer, he is by some of the Romanists celebrated as a saint.

Of the justice of the proceedings against him, it is not necessary here to dispute. It is certain, that he had given great provocation in the reigns of Edward and Mary, first, by his opposition, and afterwards by his cruelty; in the reign of Queen Elisabeth, he renewed his struggles against the establishment of the reformation.

When a parliament met, Jan. 25, 1558-9, (says Heylin) 'Many of the members eagerly opposed all oppositions, which seemed to tend unto the prejudice of the Church of Rome; of which number none so violent as Dr. Story, Doctor of Laws, and a great instrument of Bonner's butcheries in the former reign, who, being questioned for the cruelty of his executions, appeared so far from being sensible of any error which he then committed, as to declare himself to be sorry for nothing more than, that instead of lopping off some few boughs and branches, he did not lay his ax to the root of the tree; yet passed unpunished for the present, though divine vengeance brought him in conclusion to his just reward.

The Author, who has recounted Story's cruelties with so much acrimony, has forgotten to inform his reader, that part of his severity was repaid; for he was cut down so soon from the gallows, that, when the executioner began to quarter him, he rose up and gave him a blow on the ear; but, notwithstanding his sensibility, they proceeded to dismember him. J. ----- O.

The speciall Contents of this Declaration.

First, wherfore Iohn Story was imprisoned in the Queenes Benche.

His breaking of that prison, and flyeng into Flaunders.

His trayterous and naughtie delyng there.

The cause and maner of his conueyance from thence into England.

The maner of his arainement and iudgement.

The maner of his death and execution.

An epilogue or short conclusion of his lyfe.

GENTLE reader, in this short declaration, I purpose briefely to note vnto thee part of the lyfe, and the maner of death of John Story, late a Romish and canonicall doctor by professyon. If I should discourse the common places of discription of persones, hys parentes, hys educatyon and bringyng vp, hys sundrie outragious doinges executed by him, in the persecutynge of the membres of Christ, and the maner of hys lyfe, from tyme to tyme, namely in the tyme of King Henry the Eight, when the statute of sixe articles was first set foorth, and all hys cruelty used sithens, to the daye of hys death, it would ask a volume as greate as the Booke of Martyrs; a great part of which booke is stuffed with hys tyrannous and cruell tragedies, executed against God and hys poor membres.

As for the wilfull and wicked course of hys yonger yeres, a great parte wherof he spent in the Uniuersitie of Oxforde, to reporte all the partes, it would require a longer story.

One pranke may stand instead of many. And although Christian

charitie requyre vs alwaye, and of all men, to reporte the best, speciallye of them that be departed: yet no charytie forbyddeth a man with sobryetie and modestye to reporte the truthe, for the benefite of good example to other: or els all writyng of histories after the parties death (when they be most truely written) should bee condemned, and the bridle of iust infamy perilously taken away from wicked men.

About the yere of our Lord, 1529, Story, being a student of the ciuill law in Hinksete-hall, in Oxforde, and on a tyme, lodging abroade alone, as often tymes his maner was to do, in the company of a woman, whome hee had at his commaundement, was set home from thence late in the night, and caried alofte through the open streetes with a solemne procession of the whole companie of his house, euery man caryenge a candell burninge before hym, as a token of hys virginytye, and syngyng merelye together,

Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus,
Sobrius, castus fuit, & quietus,
Vita dum presens, &c.

as if they had been S. Nicholas clerkes.

After that, about the yere of our Lord, 1538, the sayde Story, beyng then Doctour and Pryncypall of Broadgates in the sayde Universitie of Oxforde, and mistrustinge a yonge gentleman for over familiar resorting to hys acquaintaunce in the towne, gaue him earnest charge, with terrible threates, as he loued his life, to come there no more, for loue and lordship can brooke no fellowshipp.

Therfore on a certayne tyme for hys good chaste purpose, takynge occasion to walke abroade, and hauing his man with his sworde wayting vpon him, and passing through the church-yarde of St, Olaues, he met the sayde yonge gentleman retorning home from the towne, beeyng vtterly without weapon, and hauing onlie his study gowne cast vpon him. And he imagining that he cam from such places, as he had so often forbidden him, in great furie and heate of minde, beeyng also fired with ielosie towards his loue, he raught backe sodenlye vnto hys man, and drewe hys sworde, and, hauing the gentleman at advantage in the corner of two walles, ran him thorowe both sydes, and lefte him for dead.

Imediatly a cry was raysed, the people assembled, Doctor Story was apprehended by the officers, and layd in Bocardo, wher he continued vntill it was perfectly knowen, that the yonge gentleman so wounded was past all danger. For God, by hys gracyous provydence, so dyrected the sworde, that, notwithstanding it pearced through both sides, yet it perished not one parte of all the entrailes.

He that writeth these wordes is a witnes hereof, and sawe the partye dressed, and the towells drawen through his bodie.

The partie so wounded is named N. Brierton, and is yet aliue.

These are the fyrst fruites of Doctour Stories good doctorly doinges, agreable with his lyfe that folowed afterwarde.

A kyndly beare wyll bite by tyme.

Now I wyll begyn the rest of this declaration at the begynning of the reigne of the most vertuous, godly, learned, and hopeful prince, King Edward the Sixt, who, after the death of the most noble and famous prince, Kinge Henry the Eight, his father, tooke vpon him, as of right appertayned vnto him, the regall state and Gouernment of this realme. And first, and before all other things, he, seekynge the high aduauncement of Goddes honour, restored vnto vs the sincere doctrine of the gospel of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, and made most godly lawes, for the abbolysshynge of all superstycion and idolatry. At whiche tyme, John Storye being then of the parliament house, and a great enemye to the glorious light of Christes gospel, did vehemently inueigh against the godly doynges of that vertuous prince, namely, for settynge foorth the book of common-prayer and administracion of the sacraments in Englysh, where he did not only slaunderouslye speake of the doctrine, but also malyciouslye and sediciouslye spake of that godly prince, alleging the sentence of Ecclesiastes: "That wo is to that realme, whose kynge is but a childe," wrestynge the same text against that noble prince, euen to the same sence that gave cheefe occasion to the rebellion in the same Kinges tyme, and meaning that both the Prince, and the realme, did they wyst not what.

And shortly after, that he had thus declared hys rebellious hart, and canckred iudgement, he then fledde this realme into the partes beyond the seas, and there abode all the lyfe of that vertuous Prince.

After his death, as sone as the late Queen Mary possessed the crowne, the aforsayd Story retorned again from beyond the seas, and obtayned of Queene Mary by the help of Bishop Boner, that he became a commissioner, and a cruel persecutor of Christes members, wherin he trauelled with such vehemency and in such a tyrannous maner, as neuer was there any before him did, and in that state he contynued al the dayes of Queene Maryes lyfe.

After the death of Queene Mary, so sone as our most dere soueraigne lady came to the possession of the crowne, and that she had called a parliamenr, chieflye for the restitucyon of Gods blessed worde, and the true administracion of the sacramentes to Goddes high honor, and also for the amendment of the decayed state of this realme: the said Story, being of the parliament-house who was an enemy to al godly reformations, did wyth great vehemency speake against the bill that was ther exhibited for the restytucyon of the Book of Common-Prayer, and sayd these wordes: 'I did aften tymes, in Queene Maries tyme, saye to the bishops that they were to busie with *Pecora campi* (for so it pleased him to terme the poor commons of England) chopping at twiges; but I wished to haue chopped at the roote, which if they had done, this gere had not cum now in question, and here in most traiterously he ment the distruccion of our dere and Soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth.' For the which wordes, spoken in such an audience and in such vehement maner, there was no honest nor true hart, that hard him, but did utterly abhorre him.

And sone after, that he had declared his trayterous hart to the Queenes Highnes, and hys conscience accusing him, he fled and lurked about in sondry corners, as did Cain, when he had murdered his bro-

ther Abell. But, at the last, he was taken in the West Countrye, ryding before a male, in a frise coate lyke a seruing man, and was apprehended in the highwaie, by one Master Ayleworth a gentleman, one of the Queenes seruauntes, and brought before the counsaill, and after sent to prison to the Queenes-Bench (for more than suspicion of treason) in the fyrst yere of her Highnes reigne.

And after the sayd Story had remained there a whyle, he espyenge hys tyme, and by the helpe of hys frendes (as commonly such lewde Papistes lacke none) he brake the sayd prison and fled againe beyond the seas, namely, into Flaundyrs, and there not only practised diuerse wicked and treyterous enterprices towards our Soueraigne Lady, the Quenes Majestie, and the state of this realme, by sondry conferences that he had, with such as haue of late rebelled and conspired the destruccion of the same: but also he became an open and comon enemi to euery good subiect of this realme of England, and obteyned in Flaundyrs, of the Duke of Alua, a commission and auctoritie to practise his old crueltie, and to arest and aprehend al such Englishmens goods, as shold arriue in those countries, or that did traffique out of England, into those partes, or from thence into England, and to confiscat the same; by reason of which auctoritie, he vsed there such extremytie, that he was the spoiler and vndoer of dyuerse merchauntes, and of more would haue bene, if he had longer continued; wherfore the sayd merchauntes were inforced to study and deuyse some remeady, and to practise some waye or meane howe to remoue this combersome man from them.

And among other deuises they, hauing experience of hym to be a gredy and rauenous wolfe, put into hys head (by such as he suspected not) that ther was a praye for hym of English goodes, in a ship that lay in a certein place, which was named vnto him, where he should fynd such a treasure of goods to be confiscate, as would be sufficient for him, during his lyfe. The wolfe, beynge hongry and desyrous of this great praye, set forward, and came into a shyp that promysed to brynge hym to the place, where the praye was. But, to be shorte, assone, as he was entered the shyp, the same brought hym cleane awaye out of Flaundyrs into England, and landed him at Harwyche, in the moneth of Auguste last paste.

And sone after, knowlege being geven to the queenes honorable counsaill of his landynge, he was brought to London, and there he was committed to prison to the Lollardes Tower in Powles, where he continued a whyle that he myght well peruse that place, wherin he had most cruelly tormented many a good Christyan. But he lacked there one thing, which was the monstrous and houge stockes, that hee and Boner, his old faithfull frend, had vsed to turmoyle and persecute the poore and innocent Christians in, hanging sum therin by the heles so high, that only theyr heades laye on the ground. Some wer stocked in both feet and armes, some also wer stocked by both thir feet and by both thir thombes, and so did hang in the stockes. And some also were stocked by both theyr fete, and cheyned by the necke wyth collars of iron made fast behynde theim to a post in the wall, and suche other deuelishe and tyrannus engynes and deuyses by hym practised; these at his beinge in

the Lollardes Tower he myssed, and great pitie it was, that he had not tasted of theim: But alack, the good Bisshop Gryndall, late Bishop of London, had brent and consumed theim with fire.

But to returne where I left, after that Story had contynued a certaine of tyme, in the Lollardes Tower, and had ben diuers tymes examined, he was from thence remoued to the Tower of London, wher he remayned vntill the xxvi. day of Maye, 1571. And then was hee brought from thence into Westminster-hall, before the Judges of the Queenes-Benche, and there arayned. And after the indictment had ben read vnto hym, the effect wherof was, that wher as Rychard Norton, Thomas Markenfelde, Christopher Neuyll, Frances Norton, and Thomas Jenny, alias Jennings, with other traytors, after their offences committed in the north, and being thereof indicted in the xii. yere of the Queenes Highnes raigne before the right honorable Thomas Erle of Sussex, Lorde President of the Queenes Counsaill in the North Partes, John Lorde Darcye, &c. they, after their indictment, did the xxiii. of June, in the yere aforsayd, embarke theimselves in sundry shyppes, and fled this realme unto Antwarpe in Brabant, whych is vnder the gouernment of King Phylip, and ther contrarye to theyr allegiaunce did lead their liues, and the aforsayd John Story. D. W. P. and J. P, being borne in Englande, and the Queenes subiectes, did with theim conspire, compasse, and imagin the Queenes death, and her Highnes to depose and depryue.

And by diuers perswasions and letters, did also procure straungiers to inuade this realme of England, and to leuy warre against the Queene, and her Hyghnes to depose. And, that the aforsayd John Story, &c. knowing the abouesaid Norton, and others, to haue committed theyr treasons here in England, did receaue, comfort, and helpe theim at Antwarp aforsaid, agaynst theyr allegeaunce, &c.

And after the indictment read, he being called vpon by the courte to answere to the same, pleaded, that he was not the Queenes subiect nor had not bene these vii. yeres, but was the subject of the most Catholicke and mighty Prince, Kyng Philip, Kyng of Spaine, to whome he was sworne, and had in fee of him one-hundred pound by the yere; therfore said he I am not bound to answere vnto that indictment, neyther will I answere unto it.

And here he vsed many pretie tauntes as well to the iudges, as also pleasyng himselfe with giuinge of pretie nippes and girdes.

And verye stowtlye he maintayned his former plea, affirming also, that they were not his lawfull judges, neither that they had law to procede against him, being none of the Queenes subiectes.

And then, beyng demaunded where he was borne; he answered in England.

Then sayd they it followeth that you are subiect to the lawes of thys realme, and should be so to our Queene.

Whereunto he replyed and sayd, 'That God commaunded Abraham to go foorth from the lande and countrey where he was borne, from his friendes and kynsfolke, into an other countrey.' And so he followynge his exaample, for conscience sake in religion, did forsake his countrye, and the lawes of this realme, and the prince also, and had wholy geuen hymself to the seruice of a foreyne gouernour Kyng Philip, Kyng of Spayne.

And herevpon he stood very stoutlye, but to small purpose.

Then, when he perceaved that they would proceed in iudgement against him, he sayde, they had no lawe so to do. And with that he turned him about to the people, and sayd: 'Good people, I trust ye see, howe violently I am vsed, and howe vniustly and contrary to al iustice and equitie they vse mee.

And he added, that he had good hope, that he was not destitute of some friendes there, that would geue notice and knowlege to the most Catholycke Prynce hys maister how cruelly they dealt with him.

And then, again beyng called upon to answere, one said vnto him, 'Maister Storye, because you thynke it violence that is shewed vnto you instead of lawe and justice, you shall knowe that we do nothyng but that wee maye do doth by lawe and equitie.

And then one of the judges said: This is Scarborowes case. Nay, said Story, my case is not Scarborowes case; but indeede I had Scarborowes warnynge to come to this arraignement, for I knew nothynge therof vntyll vij. of the clocke in the mornynge.

Then there was a booke delyuered hym to read, wherin he might see what they might doo by lawe; and, after he had read it, the iudge demaunded of him how he liked it? And he answered, God haue mercie vpon mee. Then the Lorde Chief Justice gaue him iudgement to be drawen, hanged, and quartred, and so was he agayne sent vnto the Tower.

And as he went, by the way, certayne persons in seuerall places met with him, and one said: 'Oh Story, Story, thou art a strange Story: Remember Mayster Bradford, that godly man, his blood asketh vengeaunce on thee, Story, repent in tyme.' Another cryed on hym and said, Story, call to mynde the rigour that thou shewedest vpon Maister Read, a gentleman, whom thou diddest vtterly destroy, aske God forgeuenesse, Story, for that wicked deede.'

Another cryed unto hym and saide: 'Blessed be God, Story, that hath made thee partaker of suche breade, as thou wast wont to deale to the innocent membres of Iesus Christe.'

Another also cryed out vpon him, and saide: 'Story, Story, the abhominable cup of fornication and filthynes, that thou hast giuen other to drinke, be heaped vp topfull, that thy plagues maye be the greater at the terrible daye of Gods wrath and vengeaunce, vnlesse thou aske mercy for thy filthy, corrupte, and stinkyng lyfe.' And yet again, another cryed out vnto hym and said: 'I pray God that thy hart be not hardened, as was Pharaos, and made harder then the adamant stone, or the steele, that, when he woulde, he could not repent and call for grace.'

And, among al the rest, one came to him at London Stone, and saluted him with this meeter, saying,

Maister Doctor Story,
For you they are right sory
The Court of Louaine and Rome,
Your holy father, the Pope,
Cannot saue you from the rope,
The hangman must haue your gowne.

To which he answered not one word.

THE first daye of June, the saide Story was drawn npon an herdell from the Tower of London vnto Tiborn, wher was prepared for him a newe payre of gallowes made in triangular maner. And, by the way as he went, many people spake vnto hym, and called vpon hym to repent his tirrannie and wickednes, and wylled him to call vpon God for mercy: But he lay as though he had ben asleepe, and would not speake to any person.

And, when he was taken from the herdell and set in a carte, he made there a solempne protestation, and said:

'I am come hither to die; and truely, if this death were ten times more fierce and sharp then it is, I haue deserued it.

I haue lyved the space of threescore and vij. yeres, and now my body must abyde this temporall payne and punishment prouyded for mee here in this lyfe, by meane whereof, my daies shall be cut off. But, where at the first I stoode in feare of death, I thanke God, this night passed I haue ben comforted with good and godly men, that the feare of death is taken from my sight. And now I appeale to God the Father, trustyng in the passion of his Sonne Christ Iesus, and hopynge, by the shedding of his blood only, to be saued. And althoughe of a long tyme I could not applie the vertue of his passion and death to the vse and benefite of my soule, because of my longe houerynge in feare; yet nowe, I thanke God, I know how to applye this medicyne, as for example.

A pothecarye maye haue a medicine liyng in his shop vij. yeres, that maye helpe a sicke or diseased man by the counsayle of a physicion; but, if this medicyne be not applyed to the pacient, but styl remaineth in the pothecaries shop, it profiteth nothyng; no more, said he, coulde the benefite of Christes death healpe mee; because, though I knew the medicyne good, I did not applie it vnto my soules helth; but now that it hath pleaseth Almightye God to call mee to accompt of my lxvij. yeres, which now must haue an end, and this corrupt body must feele a temporall punishement, for my sinnes haue deserued it (as I sayd before) I am now come to the proofe of this medicine.

Dauid, when he had committed adulterie with Barsabe, the wife of Urias (whose husband also he caused to be put in the front of the battell, and so was he murthered) he for that trespasse felt a temporall punishment by the losse of the lyfe of his son, which he loued tenderly.

Also, when he nombred his people, he greatly displeased God; and, for his offence and transgression, he felt a temporall payne; and choyce was geuen vnto him from aboue, to choose one of these iij temporall and bodily punishments: That is to saye, three daies pestilence; the sworde, that is to say, bloodie battel vij yeres; or famyne vij yeres.

And he thought to choose the least; and he chose three daies pestilence. But this scourge tooke away an infinite nombre of his subiectes. So nowe as my sinnes deserue a temporall payne, whiche here haue an ende, euen in this flesh; I am of the same minde that the prophet Dauid was; and with him I agree saying: *Inuoco te Domine, &c.* 'Lord, I call vpon thee in this day of my trouble, heare mee, O Lorde, out of hy dwelling place,' &c.

But nowe to speake a little of my arraignment; when I was at Westminster, I alleaged in my plea that I was no subiect of this realme, as I

did likewise before the Queenes commissioners, Sir Thomas Wrath, Maister Thomas Wilbraham, late Recorder of the citie of London, Maister Peter Osborne, Maister Marshe, and Maister Doctor Wattes; where the Recorder of London made lyke demaunde as was demaunded of me at Westminster; and that was, Whether I was borne in Englande, or no? Whervnto I aunswered, I was.

Then sayde he, it followeth that you are and ought to continue the Queenes faithfull subiect. Wherunto I replied then as I do nowe, saying, I am sworne to the noble kyng, defendour of the auncient catholique faith, Kyng Philip, Kyng of Spaine; and he is sworne again by a solempne and corporall othe, to maintayne and defende the Uniuersitie of Louaine, whereof I am a member, and therefore no subiect of this realme, ne yet subiect to any lawes therof.

For it is well known, that I departed this realme beynge freelye licensed therunto by the Queene, who accompted me an abiect and castawaye, and I came not hether agayne of myne owne accorde; but I was betrayed.

And although I had an inckelyng given mee before of such a thing pretended towardes mee, yet I coulde not shun nor escape it. For fure it was God that made dym myne vnderstandyng, and blynded myne eyes, so that I could not perceyve it. But holye writ commandeth mee to loue my enemies, and here I forgeue them freely with all my hart, beseechyng God that they take no harme for me in another countrey; I would be right sorye they should, although they betrayed me.

I trauayled with them from shyp to shyp, by the space of eight yeres, and mistrusted no perill to be at hand, vntyll I was clapt fast under the hatches.

But sure, sure, it was God that wrought it; yea, and although I was accompted a poller of the Englyshmen of yourcountrey; I stand nowe here before God, and by the death I shall die, I had neuer out of any shyp more then two peeces of golde, and forty dallers that was laid in my hand.

But once agayne, to my arraignment, where there were certain letters laid to my charge, wherin I should go about to prouoke the Nortons, the Neuilles, and others to rebell, I neuer meant it; yet will I discharge my conscience freely and frankly and tell you trueth. There was a commission for a lyke matter sent into Scotland, which I wrote with myne owne hande; but it conteyned a prouiso, wherin the Queene of England and her dominions were excepted.

There are yet two thinges that I purpose to talke of; namely, for that ther are here present a great nombre of youth; and I would to God I might saye or speke that which might bring all men to the vnitie of the church; for there is but one church, one flocke, and one shepherde; if I could this do, I would think myselfe to haue wrought a good worke.

The first poynct toucheth my crueltie, wherwith I am sore burdened; and the second concerneth my religion.

As touchyng the first, there were three in commission, of the whiche I was one that might do least, for I was the last of the three. And

thoughe I might by perswasion assaye to cause them to reuoke the articles that they had maintayned, and to confesse the presence, wherin I stande; ye knowe that he, that chydeth, is not worthy to be condemned for fighting; no more am I worthy to be condemned for fighting; no more am I worthy to be counted cruell for chydynge; it was the Bishop that pronounced the sentence *excommunicamus*, and against that I could not do, for I was one of the layetie.

Yet oftentimes the Bishop, to whom I was servant, was bold with mee when he had so many prisoners that he could not well bestow them. For at one tyme the Lorde Riche sent him out of Essex xxviij, and at another tyme xxiiij, also at another tyme xvi, and xiiij. and some of them were sent to mee, whiche I kept in my house with suche fare as I had prouided for myselfe and my famylie, at myne owne cost and charge.

And, to proue that I was not so cruell as I am reported to bee, let this one tale suffice; there were at one tyme xxviij condempned to the fire, and I moued the deane of Paules to tender and pitie their estate, whiche after was abbot of Westminster, a very pitiful minded man; I thincke the moste parte of you know him, it is Mr. Fecknam, and we went up and perswaded with them, and we found them very tractable. And Mr. Fecknam and I laboured to the Lorde Cardinal Poole, shewynge that they were

Nescientes quid fecerunt.

The Cardinall and we did sue together to the Queene, and layd both the swordes together, and so we obteyned pardon for them al, sauynge an olde woman that dwelt aboute Paules Churchyard; shee would not conuert, and therfore she was burned. The rest of them receyved absolution, and that with al reverence; serch the Register, and you shall finde it.

Yea, and it was my procurement that there should be no more burnt in London, for I saw well that it woulde not preuaile, and therfore we sent them into odde corners into the countrey.

Wherfore I pray you, name me not cruell, I would be loth to haue any suche slaunder to ron on mee. But, sith I dye in charitie, I pray you al of charitie to pray for mee, that God may strengthen mee with patience to suffer my death; to the whiche I yelde most wyllyngly.

And here I make a peticion to you my frendes that woulde haue bestowed any thyng on mee, I beseeche you, for charitie sake, bestow it yerely on my wife, who hath foure small children, and God hath nowe taken mee away, that was her staffe and stay; and nowe my doughter Weston and her three chyldren are gone ouer vnto her, and I know not how they shal do for foode, vnlesse they go a beggynge from door to door for it; although indede no English persons do begge but of English, beyng helped by the lady Dorm. and Sir Francisco; I haue good hope that you wyll be good vnto her, for she is the faythfullest wife, the louyngest and constantest that euer man had. And twise we haue lost all that euer we had, and nowe she hath lost mee to her great griefe I knowe.

The second poynct, that I thought to speke of, is concerning my religion, for that I know manie are desirous to know what faith I will dye in, the whiche I will briefely touch; I saye with Sainct Iherome, that auncient father and piller of the old auncient, catholique, and apostolicke churche, grounded vpon the patriarkes, prophetes, and apostles, that, in the same faith that I was borne in, I purpose to dye. And as the arcke, that Noe and his family did possesse, figured the ship of Christes Church, out of which ship whosoeuer is cannot be saued. In that ship am I; example: A ship, that is tossed on the floods, is often in daunger of losse on the sandes, and sometimes on the rocke. But, when the men that are in the ship espye present peryll at hande, there is a cockboat, at the tayle of the ship, wherunto they flye for succour: so likewise, I, beynge in the ship of Christ, once fell out of the same ship, and was in present peryl and great danger. But then I, followynge the example of a good maryner, tooke the cockboat, thinkynge to driue to lande, and at the last, beynge in the boat, I espied three oares, that is to wit, contricion, confession, and absolution; and I held al these fast, and euer sence I haue continued in the ship of Christ, of whiche, the Apostle Peter is the guide and principall, and in the faith catholike of my kynge I dye.

Then sayde the Earle of Bedford, Are you not the Queenes subiect? No, sayde Story, and yet I do not exclude the Queene, but I pray for her, her counsaile, and the nobilitie of this realme longe to continue.

Then sayde the Lorde Honsdon: Are you not the Queenes subiect, you were borne in England? Then sayde Story, euery man is free borne, and he hath the whole face of the earth before him to dwell and abyde in, where he liketh best; and, if he can not lyue here, he may go els where. Then was there (as I thinke one of the ministers) hearyng him to make so light of our noble Queene and countrey, demaunded of him, whether she was not, next and immediatelye vnder God, supreme head of the churches of Englande and Irelande? whereunto he answered: I come not hither to dispute, but, if shee bee, shee is; my nay wyll not preuayle to proue it otherwise.

And then they cryed, Awaye with the carte; and so he was hanged according to his iudgement.

An Epilogue, or a briefe Conclusion, of the Lyfe of the aforesaid Iohn Story.

THE aforesaid John Story, beside that he was an obstinat Papist and a rancke traitour, he was also, in Queene Maryes time, the cruellest tirant and persecutor of the innocent membres and blessed professors of Christ, that euer was to his power, sithen that cruell tirant Nero. For his whole delectacion and pleasure was, in rackyng, stockyng, whippyng, manaklyng, and burnyng of innocents, without respect either of age, vertue, learnyng, weakenes of wyt, or of a simple boy, or childish wenche; and all was fish that came to the net.

And he often and openlie sayde (in the herynge of manie) in the time of Queene Mary, that the burnynge of heretiques (as he termed them) was to gentle a death, for they had too muche scope to prate and talke what they lust; but, sayde he, if I lyue, I wyll haue a close cage of iron made for them, with a doore in the side, lyke to the brasen bull of Perillus, where they shall be enclosed, and the doore made fast, and the fire to be made vnder them. And then (sayde he) they shall know what frying is, and their mouthes shall be stopped from blowying out their pestilent doctrine. So that, by the premisses, it maye manifestly appeere, that there hath not ben a wickeder man towarde God, his prince and countrey, then he hath ben.

God saue the Queene, and confound her enemies.

Seen and allowed, &c.

ANE

ADMONITIOUN,

DIRECT TO THE

TREW LORDIS

MANTENARIS OF THE KINGIS GRACES AUTHORITIE. M.D.G. B.

Imprentit at Striviling by Robert Lekprevik. Anno Dom. 1571.

Octavo, containing thirty pages in the Scotish tongue.

This pamphlet came out at a time when Scotland was in the greatest fermentation: religion was then just reforming, and the Queen Regent was not only a prisoner in England, but there was a secret faction ready to join with every designing malecontent to destroy the reigning family.

The Author, who, I apprehend, was the learned and truly Protestant Buchanan, that wrote the detection of Mary Queen of Scots, was very well apprised of the danger of his country, to which it was liable, not only from foreign, but especially from the policy of the domestick foes; and, in a true regard to the real welfare of the same, writes these particulars, addresses them to the governing part of the nation, and by way of caution, as well as proof of what he advanceth, plainly shews the origin of all their present troubles and future dangers, to be owing to the ambition of the Hamilton-family, who, tired of subjection, were not content to share the government, but aspired to the crown of Scotland: and, perhaps, contains a piece of the best and most secret history of those times.

IT may seme to your Lordschippis, that I, mellyng with heigh materis of gouerning of commoun welthis, do pas myne estait, beyng of sa meane qualitie, and forgettis my dewtie, geuyng counsall to the

wysest of this realme: not the les seyng the miserie sa greit appéryng, and the calamitie sa neir approchyng, I thoght it les fault to incur the crime of surmountyng my priuate estate, then the blame of neglecting the publik danger: thairfor I chesid rather to vnderly the opinion of presumptioun in speiking, then of treson in silence; and specially of sic thingis, as euin seme presently to redound to the perpetuall schame of your Lordschippis, distructioun of this royall estate, and ruyne of the hole commoun welth of Scotland. On this consideratioun I haue takin in hand, at this tyme, to aduertise your honours of sic thingis, as I thoght to appertene, baith to your Lordschippis, in speciall, and in generall to the hole communitie of this realme, in punitioun of tratouris, pacificatioun of troublis amongis your selfis, and continuatioun of peace with our nighbouris. Of the quhilk I haue takin the trauell to write, and do remit the iudgement to your discretioun, hopying, at leist, that, althogh my wit and forsight shall not satisfie yow, yit my gud will shall not displeis yow, of quhilk aduertisement the summe is this.

First, To consider how godly the actioun is quhilk yow haue in hand, to wit, the defence of your King, an innocent pupill, the stablisching of religioun, punitioun of thiefis and tratouris, and mantenance of peace and quietnes amongis your selfis, and with forrane natiounis.

Item, Remember how yow have vindicat this realme from the thraldome of strangeris, out of domestik tyrannie, and out of a publik dishonour, in the sight of all forrane natiounis, we beyng altogidder estemid a pepill-murtherars of Kingis, and impacient of lawis and ingrait, in respect of the murther of the late King Henry, within the wallis of the principall towne, the greatest of the nobilitie beyng present with the Quene for the tyme: and by your power, one part of the chief tratouris tried from amongis the trew subjectis, quhairby strangers wer constranid afterwart as mekle to praise your iustice, as of befoire they wrangfully condempnid your injustice.

Item, Remember how far, in doing the same, ye haue obliged your selfis befoir the hole warld, to continew in the same vertew of iustice, and quhat blame ye shall incur, if ye be inconstant: for all men can belief na vtherwise, if the tyme following be not conforme to the tyme past, that nouther honour nor commoun welth stirrid yow vp then, but rather sum particulair tending to your priuate commoditie.

Also remember how many gentill and honest meanis yow haue socht, in tymes past, to caus the King be acknawledgid, and the countrarie put at rest; and how vnprofitabill hath been your honestie in treityng; your vailyeant curage in werr; your mercyfulnes in victorie; your clemencie in punisching, and facilitie in reconsiliatioun.

Quhilk thingis witnessis sufficiently, that ye estemit na man an enemie that wald liue in peace, vnder the Kingis authoritie; that ye wer neuer desirous of blude, geir, nor honour of sic as wald not, rather, in making of troubill and seditioun, declair thame selfis enemeis to God, and the Kingis Maiestie, than liue in concord and amitie with thair nichbouris vnder the correctioun of iustice.

And sen ye can nouther bow thair obstinate hight with pacience,

nor mease thair stubburne hartis with gentilnes, nor satisfie thair inordinate desyris, vtherwyse then with the Kingis blude and youris, the distructioun of religioun, banisching of iustice, and fre permissioun of crueltie and misordour, your wisdomes may easily considder quhat kind of medicine is not only mete, but alswa necessair, for mending of sic a maladie.

And, to the effect that ye may the better considder this necessitie of medicine, remember quhat kynd of pepill they ar, that professis thame selfis in deid, and dissemblis in worde, to be enémeis to God, to iustice, and to yow, becaus ye maintene the Kingis actioun.

Sum of them ar counseillaris of the King his fatheris slauchter, sum conueyaris of him to the schambles, that slew his grandschir, banisched his father; and, not satisfyid to haue slayne him self, murtherit the Kingis regent, and now seikes his awin blude, that thay may fulfill thair crueltie and auarice, being Kingis, quhilk they begonne to exercise, the tyme of thair gouerning.

Vthers ar, that, being alliat nor neir of kyn to the Hamiltounis, thinkis to be participant of all thair prosperitie and succes.

Vthers, being gyltie of King Henryis death, in the first parliament halden in the Kingis regne that now is, could well accord, that the Quéne should haue béne put to deith also.

And, seing they could not obtene that point, the next schift of thair impietie was, to put downe the King, that he should not rest to reuenge his fatheris deith; quhilk, thay thocht, could not be mair easilie done, then by bringing hame the Quene with sic a husband, that, other for auld haitred, or for new couatice, wald desire the first degre of succession to be of his awin blude.

Sum vthers ar practisid in casting of courtis, and reuoluing of estatis, by raising of ciuile werr, and ar becum richer than euer thay hopid; and, becaus thay haue found the practise sa gude in tyme past, now thay seik all wayis to continew it; and, hauing ones gustid how gude fisching it is in drumly waters, they can, by no maner, leaue the craft.

Vthers of that faction ar, sum Papistis, sum feined Protestantis, that hes na God bot Geir; and desiris agane the Papistrie, not for luif they beir to it (for they ar scorners of all religioun) but hoping to haue promotioun of idle bellies to benefices; and lamentis the present estait, quhair (as they say) ministeris gettis all, and leifis nathing to gude fellowis; and to this intent thay wald set vp the Quenis authoritie, say thay.

Sum thair be also, that, vnder colour of seiking the Quenis authoritie, thinkis to eschaip the punischement of auld faultis, and haue licence, in tyme to cum, to oppres thair nichbouris that be febiller then they.

Now haue I to schew yow, by coniecture, quhat frute is to be hopid of an assembly of sic men, as for the maist pairt ar of insatiabill gredines, intollerabill arrogance, without faith in promeis, measure in couatice, pietie to the inferiour, obedience to the superiour, in peace desirous of troubill, in werr thirstie of blude, nuryshers of theft, raisers of rebellioun, counsallours of tritouris, inuenters of tressoun,

with hand reddie to murther, mynd to deceiue, hart voyde of treuth and full of fellonie, toung trampid in dissait, and worde tending to fals practise without veritie; by quhilk properteis, and many vthers thairunto ioynid, as is knawin to all men, ye, that vnderstandis thair beginning, progres and hole lyfe, may easilie remember, to quhome thys general speiking appertenis in speciall; and it is not unknawin to sic as knawis the personis, how they ar mellid with godles persons, Papistes, harlot Protestantis, commoun brybouris, holy in worde, hypocrites in hart, proude contempners or Machiauill mockers of all religioun and vertew, bludie boucheris, and open oppressouris, fortifieris of theiffis, and manteneris of tratouris.

It is also necessarie to your Lordschippis to vnderstand thair pretence, that, if it be a thing quhilk may stand with the tranquillitie of the commoun-welth, your Lordschippis may, in sum pairt, rather condiscend to thair inordinate lust, then put the hole estate in ieopardie of battell.

First, It is not honour, riches, nor authoritie that thay desire; for thay haue had, and als haue presentlie, and may haue, in tyme to cum, sic pairt of all thay thingis, as a priuait man may haue in this realme, not being chargeabil to the countrie, or not suspectit to ane King, as vnassurit of his awin estait.

It is not the delyuerance of the Quene that thay seik, as thair doingis contrair to thair worde testifeis manifestlie; for, if they wald haue her deliuerit, they wald haue procurit, by all menis possibill, the Quene of Inglandis fauour and support, in quhais power the hole recouerance stode only, and not offendid hir sa heichly as thay haue done, and daylie dois, in participatioun of the conspirit tressoun, to put hir Maiestie, not only out of hir stait, bot out of this lyfe present; nor in receiting and mantening of hir rebellis contrair to promeis and solempne contract of pacificatioun betuix this two realmes, nouther yet haue houndit furth proude and vncircumspect young men, to hery, burne, and slay, and take presoneris in her realme, and vse all misordour and crueltie, not only vsed in werr, but detestabill to all barbar and vile Tartaris, in slaying of presoneris, and, contrair to all humanitie and iustice, keip na promeis to miserabill catiues, receiued once to thair mercy; and all this was done by commandiment of sic as sayis thay seik the Quenes deliuerance, and reprochit to thame, by the doaris of the mischeifis, saying, That they enterit thame in danger, and supportit thame, not in mister, so mekle as to cum to lawder and luik from thame; in quhilk deserting of thair collegis, thay schew crueltie ioyned with falsheid, and maist heich tressoun against the Quene, pretending, in worde, hir delyuerance, and stopping, in warke, hir recouerance; the quhilk, as euery man may cleirlie se, thay socht, as he that socht his wyfe drowned in the riuer againis the streime.

It is not the Quenis authoritie that thay wald set vp, in hir absence; for, if that war thair intention, quhome can they place in it mair friendly to hir then hir onlie sone; or quhat gouernour may they put to him, les suspect, than sic men as haue na pretence of succession to the crowne, or any hoip of proffeit to cum to tham after his deith; or thay that euer haue bene trew seruandis to Kingis before him, should

thay not be preferrit to his paternall enemeis, yea, and slayeris of his father, and sollicitaris of strangeris to seik his innocent blude?

Quhat then shall we think that these men seikis vnder pretence of the Queenis authoritie, seing they can not bring hame the Quene to set vp hir, nor will not suffer the King lawfully inaugurat and confirmed, by decreit of parliament, to bruik it, with sa many of his tutoris chosin by his mother, as ar not to be suspectit to will him harme? I traist it is not vneasie to perceiue, by thair hole progres, now presently, and in tyme by past, that they desire na other thing but the deith of the King and Quene of Scotland, to set up the Hamiltounis in authoritie; to the quhilk they haue aspyrit, by craftie meanis, these fyftie yeires ago: and, seing thair purpois succedit not by craftie and secreit meanis, now thay follow the same traide, conioynyng to falsheid opin wickitnes.

And, that ye may see quhat meanis they haue vsid, thir fyftie yeiris by past, to set vp by craft this authoritie, quhilk now they seik by violence, force, and tresoun, I will call to your memorie sum of thair practisis, quhilk many of you may remember asweill as I.

First, After the deith of King Iames the Fourth, Iohn, Duke of Albany, chosin by the nobilitie to gouerne in the Kingis les age, the Hamiltounis, thinking that he had bene als wicked as thay, and should, to his awin aduancement, put downe the King, being of tender age, for the tyme, and by the deceis of his brother left alone; and that thay wald easilie get thair hand beyond the Duke, being an stranger, and without successioun of his body, held thame quyet for a season, thinking that vther mens actioun should be thair promotioun; but seing that the Duke, as a prince baith wyse and verteous, to bring him selfe out of sic suspitioun, put four Lordis estemid of the maist trew and verteous in Scotland, in that tyme, to attend on the Kingis grace, to wit, the Erle Merchell, the Lordis Erskyn, Ruthuen, and Borthick; the Hamiltounis being out of hope of the Kingis putting doune by the Duke of Albany, and out of credeit to do him any harme by thame selfis, maid one conspyracie, with certane Lordis, to put the sayd Duke out of authoritie and take it on thame selfis, that, all thinges put in thair power, thay might vse the King and the realme at thair awn plesure. To that effect thay tuik the castell of Glasgow, and there maid an assembly of thair factioun, the quhilk was dissoluit by the haistie cummyng of the Duke of Albany, with an armie; for feir of the quhilk, the Erle of Arrane, cheif of that cumpany, fled to his wifis brother, the Lord Hume, being then out of court.

The second conspiracie was, after the Dukis last departyng (the foresayd Lordis separate from attending on the king) deuysit be Schir Iames Hamiltoun, bastard sone to the sayd Erle of Arrane, quha conspyrit the kingis deith, then being in his hous, in the abbay of Halyruidhous; quhilk conspyracie, after mony yeiris, reueillit, the Schir Iames sufferit deith for it. This conspyracie not beyng execute, Schir Iames perseuerid in his euill intentioun; and, by secreit meanis in court, soght alwais that the king should not mary, that, for lack of his successioun, the Hamiltounis might cum to thair intentis: For the King was young, lusty, and redy to auenture his persoun to all hasardis, baith by sea and land,

in doune putting of theifis, and vpsetting of iustice. The Hamiltounis luiked on, quhen seiknes, throw excesse of trauell, or sum vther rakles auenture, should cut him of without children; and, destitute of this hope, first he stoppid the Kingis metyng with his vncle the King of Ingland, quha, at that tyme, hauing but one doughter, was willing to haif marryid with the King of Scotland, and maid him King of the hole ile after him; and to haue enterid him, at that present tyme, in possession of the duchy of Yorke; but the said Schir Iames, euer hauing eye to his awn scope, hinderid this purpois by sum of the Kingis familiaris, that he had practised with by giftis, and speciallie by the Bischop of Sanctandros, Iames Betoun, vncle to the Erle of Arranis mother, and greit vncle to Schir Iames wyfe, and raised sic suspitioun betuix the twa Kingis, that broght baith the realmes in greit besynes.

This purpois as sayd is put abak; the King, seing that his ambassadouris furtherit not at his plesure, deliuered him selfe in persoun to ga be sey in France; and Schir Iames Hamiltoun, perseuering in his former intentioun, went with him to hinder his mariage, by all meanis that he might; and, to that effect, the King sleiping in the schip, without any necessitie of wynde and wedder, Schir Iames causid the marineris to turn saill of the west coist of Ingland bakwart, and land in Galloway, quhair the King was verray miscontent with Schir Iames and Maister Dauid Panter, principall causeris of his returnyng, as diuers that was in the schip, yit liuyng, can report: And, fra that time furth, the King, hauing tryid out his pretence, and persaiuing his vnfaithfull dealing euer disfauourid him, and, to his greit displesure, fauoured opinlie the Erl of Lennox and his friendis in his absence; the quhilk Erle pretended a right and tytill to the hole Erldome of Arrane, the present Erle for that tyme being knawin to be bastard; as also, it was in mens recent memorie how Schir Iames Hamiltoun had cruellie slayne the Erle of Lennox at Linlythgow, euin to the greit displesure of the Erle of Arrane, father to Schir Iames, and vncle to the Erle of Lennox, cumming by the Kingis commandiment to Linlythgow: Sa the King, as said is, vnderstanding the priuate practick of Schir Iames, in keiping him vnmaryid, haistit him the mair eirnestlie to mary, to the effect that his successioun might put the Hamiltounis out of hope of thair intent, and him out of danger by the Hamiltounis. And albeit that Schir Iames, to make him selfe clene of that suspitioun, soght many diueris wayes to the distructioun of the Erle of Arrane his brother; yit he could neuer conqueis the Kingis fauour, vntill finallie he was executid for tresoun, and tooke ane miserabill end, conforme to his vngodly lyfe.

The King at last deceissit, and leuing a doughter of sex dayis auld, the Hamiltounis thoght all to be thairis. For then the Erle of Arrane, a young man of small wit and greit inconstancie, was set up by sum of the nobilitie, and sum familiar seruandis of the Kingis, lately deceissit; for thay thoght him mair tollerabill then the Cardinall Beton, quha, by ane fals instrument, had takin the supreme authoritie to him selfe.

The Erle of Arrane namid gouernour, by a priuait factioun, and fauourid by sa many as professit the trew religioun of Christ, becaus he was beleift then to be of the same; howbeit he was gentill of nature, yit his friendis, for the maist pairt, wer gredie baith of geir and blude, and

geuin to iniustice quhair gayne followid. Thair was, in his tyme, nothing ellis but werr, oppressioun, and brybing of his callid brother, the Bischop of Sanctandrois, sa that all the estatis wer werie of hym, and dischargid hym of hys office, and charged with it an woman strangear.

In the beynnyng of hys gouernement, the Quene and hir mother wer keipit by hym, rather lyke presoneris then princessis; but yit that incommoditie was caus of preseruyng of the Quenis lyfe, he beleifing to mary hir on his sone. But after the Erle of Lennox had delyuerid tham out of hys handis, and the nobilitie had refusid to mary hir on hys sone, howbeit he left hys ferme friendis, and, come to the Quene, abiurid hys religioun in the Gray-freiris of Striuiling, yit he could neuer cum agane to hys pretendid clymming to the crowne, quhilk he had lang soght, partly by fauour of sic of the nobilitie as wer alliat with hym, and partly by distructioun of the ancient housis that might haue put impediment to hys vnreasonabill ambition. For, hauing banished the Erle of Lennox, he thoght the Erle of Angous to be the principall that might resist hym; and, hauing enterid in waird Schir George Dowglas, to be yit mair assurid, he sent for the said Erle of Angous in freindly maner, and put hym in presoun, without any iust occasioun, and wold haue beheidid tham baith, if the arryuing of the Inglis army had not stayit hys purpois, by the quhilk and fear of the murmour of the pepill, he was constranit to delyuer tham. And, seing he durst not at sic a tyme put tham down by tyrannie, he offerit tham to the sword of the enemy to be slaine by tham. And, to the effect that thay and thair freindes, hauing put abak the Inglis horsemen, and receiuyng an vther charge, might be the mair easely slayne, thay standing in battell and fighting for hym, he, in the battell behind, fled to Tynetham, and sa these nobillmen, sa far as lay in hym, was slayne, and preseruid by the prouidence of God.

The young Quene, quhilk, being in hir motheris keiping, he might not put doune, nor mary at hys plesure, he consentid to offer hir to the stormes of the sea, and danger of enemeis, and sauld hir as a slaue in France, for the duchy of Chastellarault; the quhilk he bruikis in name onlie, as the crowne of Scotland in fantasie, and receauit sic price for hir, as tresoun, periurie, and the sellyng of fre persounis should be recompensit with. But yit the couatise of the crowne that he had sold cessid not heir, for befoir hir returning hame out of France, at the troubillis quhilk began anent the repressing of the Frenchemen, and tyrannie agains the religioun, how many meanis soght the Hamiltounis to haue depryuit hir of all right, and translatit the crowne to tham selfis, is knawin baith in Scotland and Ingland.

Also after the Quenis arryuing in Scotland, sche seiking a querrell against the sayd Duike and sum vther Lordis, vnder pretence that thay had conspyrit against hir, for the religionis caus, the Duikis freindis left hym all, becaus that the rest of the Lordis wald not consent to destroy the Quene, or derogat hir authoritie by any maner of way. A lytill befoir the quhilk tyme, the occasioun of the Dukis conspyracie with the Erle Bothwell, to slay the Erle of Murray in Falkland, was na vther, but becaus, the sayd Erle of Murray liuyng, thay could nouther do the sayd Quene harme in her persoun, nor diminische her authoritie, nor constrane her to mary at thair plesure, and to her vtter displesure.

After that the Quene had maryit with hym, quhom thay estemid thair auld enemie, and was with child, the gude Bischop of Sanctondrois, first callid Cuningham, estemit Cowane, and at last Abbot Hamiltoun, not onlie conspyrit with the Erle Bothwell, but come with the Quene to Glasgow, and convoyit the King to the place of his murther, the Bischop being lodged, as he seildom of befoir, quhar he might persaif the plesure of that crueltie with all hys sensis, and helpe the murtheraris, if mister had bene, and send four of his familiar seruandis to the executioun of the murther, watching all the night, and thinking lang to haue the ioy of the cumming of the crowne a degree neirer to the hous of Hamiltoun; and sa greit hope mellit with ambition inflamit his hart for the Kingis deceis, that within schort tyme he beleuid firmlie hys callid brother to be King, and he (the sayd Bischop) to be to him as curatour, duryng the hole tyme of his non-wit, quhilk had been a langer teirme than Witsonday or Martymes; for he thoght vndoubtidlie, that the Erle Bothwell should distroy the young prince, and not suffer hym to prosper, to reuenge hys fatheris deith, and precede the Erlis children in successioun of the crowne; and, the young prince onis cut of, the Bischop maid hys rekning, that the Quene and the Erle Bothwell, hated alredy for the slaughter of the King hir husband, and mair for the innocent, wer easie to be destroyit with consent of all estatis, and the cryme easie to the Bischop to be proued, quha knew all the secretis of the hole disseigne: Or, if they wald slay the Erle Bothwell, and spair the Quene, thay wer in hope sche should mary Iohn Hamiltoun, the Dukis son, quhome with merie luikis and gentill countenance (as sche could weill do) sche had enterid in the pastyme of the glaikis, and causit the rest of the Hamiltounis to fond for fainnes. But, after that the Erle Bothwell had refusit battell, at Carbarry-Hill, and the Quene, befoir the cumming of the Hamiltounis, come to the Lordis, the Hamiltounis as at that tyme disapoint, fosterid thair vane hope with a merie dreame, that the Quene should be punischit after hir demeritis, and wer a tyme in dowbill ioy; the one that, beyng rid of the Quene, sche should not beir ma children to debar tham from the crowne; and the vther, that thay might haue ane easie way to calumniat the regent for destroying of the Quene; but, seyng hir kept, thay blamit openlie the regent, quha kept hir in stoir in dispite of tham (as thay sayd) to be a stud to cast ma foillis, to hinder tham of the successioun of the crowne; yit, for all that, there would nane of tham cum to parliament to further thair desyre with ane anerlie vote, but lay bake to keip tham selfis at libertie, to reproif all that should be done in that conuentioun; and to fenze fauour towardis the Quene quhome thay hated, sa as, if by consent of the Lordis, or vtherwise, sche wer delyuerit, thay might helpe hir to put downe the Lordis, that wold not put hir downe in fauour of tham.

This thair intentioun was opinlie schawit, quhen the Quene beyng kept in Lochleuin, by commaundement of the hole parliament, was delyuerit by conspyracie of sum priuate men, especiallie of the Hamiltounis, for thay assemblit all thair forces to put downe the young Kyng and Lordis obedient to hym. Quhilk euill will thay schew towardis the Lordis at the Langsyde, brynging with tham great stoir of cordis, to murther and hang tham, if thay had been takin prisoneris, and the victorie fallen to the Hamiltounis; and the same euill will towardis the

King, in keiping the watter of Forthe, that he should not eschaip thair cruell handis, beyng assurit, if he come in the Quene of Inglandis power, that sche, of hir accustomate clemencie and kyndnes of blude, wald not abandoun hym to thair vnmercyfull crueltie, experimentit alredy in hys father. And, seyng that the prouidence of God had closit the dore to all thair wicitnes at that tyme, thay haue neuer ceisit since to seike enemeis to his Grace in all strange natiounis; and perceiuing that thay had faire wordis of all vtheris, except of the Quenis Maiestie of Ingland, quha vnderstode thair fals and tressonabill dealing, thay turnit thair hatred agaynst hir, and enterid in conspyracie with sum tratouris of Ingland, that wer als euil mindit towardis the Quenis Maiestie thair Souerane, as the Hamiltounis wer to the Kingis Hienes of Scotland. This is nouther dremid in wardrop, nor hard throw a boir, but a trew narratiue, of which the memorie is ludged in menis hartis, baith Scottis and strangeris, and the veritie knawin. By the quhilk ye may vnderstand the Hamiltounis pretence, this fifty yeiris and mair.

After sa many wayis sought by tham to distroy the right successioun, and place tham in the kinglie rowme, seyng all thair practisis could not auaill, and thair forces wer not sufficient, thay sought to augment thair factioun, adioyning to tham all that wer participant of the Kingis slaughter, and had aspyrit to slay the Quene of Ingland. And, to the effect thay might cum to thair wickit purpois, thay in a maner displayit a baner, to assemble togider all kynd of wickid men, as Papistes, renegat Protestantis, theifis, tratouris, murtherais, and opin oppressouris. As for thair adherentis in Scotland, I neid not to expreme their namis, nor the qualitcis of the conspyratouris of Ingland, for thay ar weill enough knowin to your lordschippis. Yit one I can not ouerpass, beyng the cheif conspyratour choisin by tham to be King of Scotland and Ingland, I mene the Duike of Norfolk; in quhilk act ye may see how the thirst of your blude blindit tham agaynst thair awin utilitie. First, thay chose the principall enemie of the religioun of Christ in this ile, accompanyit with vther fylthie idolateris, to change the stait of the kirk in baith realmes, by cuttyng of the twa princes, seyng that, thair authoritie standyng, the conspiratouris could not cum to thair intent. Next thay respectit, in that proude tyranne, the vertewis that wer commoun to him and tham, as arrogancie, crueltie, dissimulatioun, and tresoun; for euin as thay had, this lang tyme in Scotland, sought the deith of thair righteous prince; sa he in Ingland, followyng the traide of his antecessouris, diveris tymes attemptyng tresoun, wald haue put downe the Quene of Ingland. Heir also appeiris the Hamiltounis crueltie agaynst the nobilitie of thair awin natioun, in seiking thair professit and perpetuall enemie of Scotland (as his bage beiris witness) quha should haue spilt the rest of the noble blude of Scotland in peace, that his antecessouris could not spill in werr; by quhilk electioun, beyng assurit that na Scottis hart can loue tham, sa can they loue nane of you, agaynst quhome thay haue vsit so many tresounabill actis. Thay do schaw also how crueltie and auarice haue blindit tham, thay can not se, in bringyng a tyrane to haue power ouer tham, seyng thay, pretending neirest clame to the crowne, should be neirest the danger. And yit, for all this, could these men be weill contentit, if by any meanis thay

could attene to thair intent, by spoyle and rubberie, as they did quhen as thay wer placid in supreme authoritie; or by makyng of you slaues, as they did, in selling of thair quene, begyn that practise, quhairin howbeit the inhumanitie was great, yit was it not in supreme degre of cruelteis; but it is na moderat, tollerable, nor accustomat thyng that thay seike: it is the blude, first, of our innocent kyng, euen sic as hath bene preservit by wyld beastis, nixt the blude of all his trew seruandis and trew subiectis indifferentlie. For quhat defence can be in nobilitie, or quhat suirtie agaynst tham that haue murtherit a kyng, and seikis strangeris to murther ane vther knyg? Quhome sall thay spare for vertew and innocencie, that latelie executit, and yit defendis the murther of the regent: or quha will be ouersene for law, degre, or base estait, in respect of thay that conductit out of Tuidaill to slay maister Iohn Wood, for na vther cause, but for beyng a gude servand to the crowne, and to the regent his maister, and had espyit out sum of thair practisis?

If this thirst of blude of these Lochlechis might be impute to haistie hounger, or any sudane motioun, quhilk causis men sum times to forget thair dewtie, there might yit be sum hope that, sic a passioun ouerpast, thay wald with tyme remember thame selfis, and after power amend faultis past, or at leist abstene in tyme to cum; but thair is na sic hnmanitie in thair nature, nor na sic pietie in thair hartis; for, not content with a kyngis blude, thay gaip for his sonnis murther; nor satisfiyit to haue slayne the regent, they keipit the murtherar in the Duikis hous in Arrane. Maist like thinkyng, as, if thay honourit not the doar, thay should not be knawin as counsallouris of the deid, and wald tyne the glorie of that nobill act. And, besydes all this, thay ar not onlie contentit to mantene Scottis tratouris, but alswa receifis Inglis tratouris, and settis vp a sanctuarie of tresoun, a refuge of idolatrie, a receptacle of theifis and murtheraris.

And howbeit the bullerant blude of a king and a regent about thair hartis, quhair of the lust in thair appetite geuis tham litil rest, daily and hourlie makyng new prouocation; yit the small space of rest quhilk thay haue, beside the executioun of thair crueltie, thay spend in deuysing of generall vnquyetnes throw the hole countrie; for, not content of it that thay tham selfis may steale, brybe, and reif, thay set out ratches on euery side, to gnaw the pepillis bonis, after they haue consumit the flesche, and houndis out; one of tham, the Clangregour, ane vther the Grantie, and Clauchattan, an vther Balcleuch and Fairnyherst, ane vther the Johnstounis and Armestrangis; and sic, as wald be hald in the halyest amangis tham, schew playnlie the affectioun thay had to banish peace and steir up troublis, quhen thay bendit ail thair fyue wittis, to stop the regent to go first north, and syne south, to punish thift and oppressioun; and, quhen they saw that their counsall was not authorisit, in geuyng imp unitie toall misordour, thay spend it in puttyng downe of hym that wald haue put all in gude ordour.

Thair is a kynd of these theifis euin odious to mair gentill theifis, quhilk, callyng tham selfis great gentilmen, spoyllis trauellaris, cadgearis, and chapmen by the way, and ransounis pure men about Edinburgh for xx. schillyng the heid; quhilk vice can not procede of

vengeance of enemeis, but rather of loue and plesure in wickitnes. This kynd of men dois not onlie dishonour to nobilitie in steillyng, and to theifis in purspyking, but also to the whole natioun of Scotland, geuing opinioun to strangeris, that sum of the Scottis be of sa law courage, that men amangis tham, aspiring to the hiest estait of a kingdome, haue crouchit tham selfis in the mayst law ordour of knaifis.

Now, my lordis, ye may consider, how thay, that slayis sa cruellie kyngis and thair lieutennentis, will be mercyfull to you; and, quhen thay fall haue put you downe, that craifis reuenge of the Kyngis blude, ye may vnderstand how few dar craif iustice of your slaughter. Ye may se how cruell thay will be in oppressioun of the poore, hauing cut of you, quhilk, beyng of the mayst nobill and potent housis of this realme, sufferis throw your sleuthfulnes euery pairt of this countrie to be maid worse then Liddisdaill, ane Annanderdaill; and not onlie sufferis the purspykaris of Cliddisdaill to exercise thift and reif as a craft, but nurisis and authorisis, amangis you, the chief counsellaris of all misordour, as ane edder in your bosum. Of all this ye may lay the wyte on na vther, but vpon your selfis, that haue sufficient power to repres thair insolencie and proudnes, hauying in your hand the same wand that ye have chastisit tham with of befoir; for ye haue your protectour the same God this yeir, that was the yeiris past, unchangeabill in his eternall counsellis, constant in promeis, potent in punising, and liberall in rewarding; ye haue your trew freindis and seruandis, that wer with you of befoir; ye ar delyuerit of dissimulat brethren, that had thair bodyis with you, and thair hartis with your enemeis; that subscribit with you, and tuik remissioun of your aduersaris; that stuide with you in battell, luikyng for occasioun to betray you, had not God bene your protectour. Ye haue a great number of new freindis alienat from tham, for their manifest iniquitie in deid, wickednes in worde, and treasoun in hart; ye haue of the same enemeis that ye had then sa many, as hes thair hartis herdinnit, and thair myndis bent agaynst God and lawfull ingraitis; ye haue the same actioun that ye had then, accumulat with recent murther and tresoun, to prouoke the ire of the eternall agaynst tham. How far God hath blindid tham, blind men may se, that, hauying sa euill ane actioun, and so many enemeis at hame, yit be houndyng out of small tratouris of thair wickid conspyracie, men execrable to thair awin parentis, quhome amangis vtheris thay haue diueris tymes spoylit; be houndyng out, I say, of sic persounis, to burne, murther, reif, and steill. Thay prouoke the Quenis Majestie of Ingland, to seik vengeance of thair oppressioun agaynst hir realme and subiectis; quhilk vengeance iustice and honour craifis of hir sa instantlie, that sche can not ceis but persew tham, thair ressettaris and mantenaris, vntill sche git sic exempill to vtheris, that, althoght thay will not respect vertew, yet, for fear of punitioun, thay sall be content to lyue in peace with nichbouris; quhairin her heighnes hath alredy renewit the memorie of hir experimentit liberalitie, and tender loue to this natioun, seiking, on hir proper charges and trauell of hir subjectis, the punitioun of sic, as we on our charges should haue punished; I mene not onlie of our tratouris, but also ressettaris of hir

maiesteis tratouris, and in doing of this seikis pacificatioun amangis tham that violatid peace with hir without prouocatioun; seueryng the punischement of sic ar giltie in offendyng, from the subjectis that hes not violatid the peace. And, as sche kepis peace and iustice amangis hir awin subjectis in Ingland, sa vnrequyrit sche offerid support to the same end in Scotland, and not onlie geuis remedie to our present calamiteis, but cuttis the roote of troublis to cum, and preuenis the wickid counsall of sic, as prouokis Inglismen, and solistis Frenchmen to cum in this realme, to the end that, these twa nationis enterit in barres, the ane agains the vther, thay may saciat thair cruell hartis of blude, thair obstinat will of vengeance, thair bottomles couatise of spoyle and thift.

Thairfoir, seyng God haue so blindit your enemeis wittis, my lordis, be in gude hope that he sall also cast the spreit of fear and disperatioun in thair indurat hartis, and prosper your gude actioun, to the quhilk he comfortis you with his redy helpe, exhortis you by his worde, and constrainis you by the dewtie of your estait, and necessitie of preseruying of your lyfis and honouris. For, promeis beyng neglectit, faith violatid, subscriptioun set at noght, thair is na meane way left but outher to do or suffer: and, seyng that baith ar miserabill, amangis sic as should be freindis, yit better it is to slay iustlie, then to be slayne wrangfullie. For the executioun of iustice, in punising the wickid, is approuid by God and man; and sleuthfulnes, in defence of iustice, can not be excused of tresoun. And, besides that God schawis him sa mercyfull and liberall to you, in sending you freindis, by procuiring of your enemeis, also the persounis maist recommendit of God craifis the same; for saikles blude, oppressioun of the pure, and of the fatherles, cryis continually to the heuin for auengeance, quhilk God committis to your handis, as his lieutennentis and speciall officiaris in that pairt; and, euin as he rewairdis faith and diligence in obedience of his eternall will, sa he will not neglect to punische sleuthfulnes in iust executioun of his commandementis.

Thairfoir, my lordis, as ye wald that God should remember on you and your posteritie, quhen they sall call on him in their necessitie, remember on your king our souerane, and on my lord regentis pupillis, committit to you in tutorie, by the reason of your office and estait, anent persounis that ar not in age nor power to helpe tham selfis, and ar recommendit speciallie to all Christianis by God in his holy scripture; and defend sic innocent creaturis, as may nouther do nor speike for tham selfis, from the crueltie of vnmercyfull wolfis; neglect not the occasioun, nor refuse not the helpe send to you by God, but recognose thankfullie his fauour towardis you, that causis your enemeis to procure your helpe; neglect not the offer of friendis. In cais gif ye lat slip this occasioun, ye sall craif it in vane in your necessitie. Think it na les prouidence in your heuinlie father, then if he had send you ane legioun of angellis in your defence; and remember that he schew him selfe neuer mari freindfull and succurable to na pepill, than he hath done to you; and traist weill, if ye will perseueir in obedience and recognoscence of his grace, he will multiplie his benefitis to you and your posteritie, and sall neuer leif you, vntill ye forget him first.

A

*TRUE AND PLAIN REPORT**

OF THE

FURIOUS OUTRAGES OF FRANCE,

And the horrible and shameful slaughter of

CHASTILLION THE ADMIRAL,

AND

DIVERS OTHER NOBLE AND EXCELLENT MEN,

AND OF THE

WICKED AND STRANGE MURDER OF GODLY PERSONS,

Committed in many Cities of France, without any respect of sort, kind, age, or degree.

BY ERNEST VARAMUND OF FRIESELAND.

Printed at Stirling in Scotland, 1573. Duodecimo, containing one hundred and forty-three pages.

YOU must cease to marvel, my good countrymen of Scotland, that I have caused this book printed in our country of Scotland to be published altogether in the English phrase and orthography. For the language is well enough known to our countrymen: and the chief cause of my translating it was for our good neighbours the Englishmen, to whom we are so highly bound, and upon whose good Queen, at this present, in policy dependeth the chief stay of God's church in Christendom. I know not what respects have stayed the learned of that land from setting out this history: therefore, supposing the causes to be such as I conceive them, I have been bold to set it forth in their language in our country. And you, good countrymen, that have received so honourable succours from England, and from whence all Christendom hopeth for charitable assistance, must be content to yield that this is framed to serve their understanding. Ye Englishmen our good neighbours, friends, brethren, and patrons, I pray you to construe rightly of my labour, that my purpose is not here to offend any amity, nor violate any honour, nor prejudice any truth, but to set before you a story, as I found it, referring the confirmation thereof to truth, and proof, as in all historical cases is lawfully used. How many histories written in Latin, Italian, and French, by Jovius, Paradine, Belleforest, and others, are printed in Italy, France, and Flan-

* Vide the 176th article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

ders, and published and freely had and read in your land, although they contain matter expressly to the slander of your state and princes? Matters of that nature are published, the burden of proving resteth upon the author, the judgment pertaineth to the reader, there is no prejudice to any part, books are extant on both parts. The very treatises of divinity are not all warranted that be printed; you must take it as it is, only for matter of report on the one part, so far to bind credit as it carrieth evidence to furnish your understandings, as other books do that make rehearsals of the acts and states of princes, commonwealths, and peoples. But, howsoever it be, good Englishmen, thank God that you have such a sovereign, under whom you suffer no such things; and, by the noble and sincere aid that your Queen hath given us in Scotland, I pray you gather a comfortable confidence, that, in respect of such honourable charity to his church in Scotland, God will not suffer you at your need to be succourless in England, as by daily miracles in preserving your Queen he hath plainly shewed: and the rather ye may trust hereof, if ye be thankful and faithful to God and her, and that ye pray heartily to God, either by mediate operation of your Queen's justice, or by his own immediate hand-working, to deliver his church and people from the common peril to both these realms, and to the state of all true religion in Christendom. Farewel, and God long preserve both your good and our hopeful Sovereign to his glory. Amen.

IT were to be wished, that the memory of the fresh slaughters, and of that butcherly murdering, that hath lately been committed, in a manner, in all the towns of France, were utterly put out of the minds of men; for so great dishonour, and so great infamy, hath thereby stained the whole French nation, that the most part of them are now ashamed of their own country, defiled with two most filthy spots, falshood and cruelty; of the which, whether hath been the greater, it is hard to say. But, forasmuch as there flee every-where abroad pamphlets, written by flatterers of the court, and men corruptly hired for reward, which do most shamefully set out things feigned and falsly imagined, instead of truth; I thought myself bound to do this service to posterity, to put the matter in writing, as it was truly done in deed, being well inabled to have knowledge thereof, both by my own calamity, and by those that, with their own eyes, beheld a great part of the same slaughters.

In the year of our Lord 1561, when there seemed to be some peril of troubles to arise, by reason of the multitude of such as embraced the religion which they call reformed (for, before that time, the usual manner of punishing such, as durst profess that religion, was, besides the loss and forfeiture of all their goods to the King's use, to burn their bodies) at the request of the great lords, there was held an assembly of the estates in the King's house, at St. Germain's en Laye, near to the town of Paris; at which assembly, in the presence, and with the royal assent of King Charles the Ninth, who now reigneth, it was decreed, 'That, from thenceforth, it should not be prejudicial to any man to profess the said religion; and that it should be lawful for them to have

publick meetings and preachings for the exercise thereof, but in the suburbs of towns only.

At this assembly, Francis Duke of Guise, being descended of the house of Lorrain, and at that time grand-master of the King's household, was not present; but, when he was informed of this decree, he boiled with incredible sorrow and anger, and, within a few days after, at a little town in Champaigne, called Vassey, while the professors of the said religion were there at a sermon, he, accompanied with a band of soldiers, set upon them, and slew men and women, to the number of two hundred.

There was among these of the religion (for so hereafter, according to the usual phrase of the French tongue, we intend to call them) Lewis of Bourbon, of the blood royal, commonly called Prince of Conde, after the name of a certain town, a man of great power, by reason of his kindred to the King; therefore, when the Duke of Guise most vehemently strove against that law, and, as much as in him lay, did utterly overthrow it, and troubled the common quiet thereby established, Gaspar de Coligni, Admiral of France, and Francis d'Andelot his brother, captain of the infantry, and other princes, noblemen, and gentlemen of the same religion, come daily by heaps to the Prince of Conde, to complain of the outrageous boldness, and intemperate violence of the Duke of Guise.

At that time, Catharine de Medicis, Pope Clement's brother's daughter, and mother of King Charles, born in Florence, a city of Italy, had the governance of the realm in the King's minority; for, though, by the law of France, neither the inheritance, nor the administration of the realm, is granted to women, yet, through the cowardly negligence of Anthony, King of Navarre, the said Catharine de Medicis, the King's mother, against the custom of the realm, was joined with him in that office of protectorship. She, fearing the presumption and fierce pride of the Guisians, wrote to the Prince of Conde, with her own hand; which letters are yet remaining, and, at the assembly of the Princes of Germany at Francfort, held under Ferdinand the Emperor, were produced and openly read about ten years past; wherein she earnestly besought him, in so great hardness and distress, not to forsake her, but to account both the mother and the children, that is, both herself and the King, and the King's brethren, committed to his faith and natural kindness, and that he should with all speed provide for their common safety; assuring him, that she would so imprint in the King's mind his pains taken in that behalf, that he should never be a loser by it.

Within a few days after, the Duke of Guise, well knowing how great authority the name of the King would carry in France, and to the intent that he would not seem to attempt any thing rather of his own head, than by the privity of the King, and having attained fit partners to join with him in these enterprises, he got the King into his power. Which thing being known abroad, and many hard incumbrances thereupon suddenly rising, and a great part of the nobility of France marvellously troubled with it, the Prince of Conde, by advice of his friends, thought it best for him to take certain towns, and fur-

nish them with garisons; which was the beginning of the first civil war. For the Prince of Conde alledged the cause of his taking armour to be the defence of the King's edict, wherein consisted the safety of the commonwealth; and that it could not be repealed without most assured undoing of the nation of France, and destruction of the nobility, by reason of the exceeding great multitude of those that daily joined themselves to that religion; of which number such, as, being of noble birth, were in power, dignity, wealth, and credit above the rest, thought it not meet for them to suffer the punishments and cruelties accustomed to be exercised upon the professors thereof: besides that, they held them discontented, that the Duke of Guise, a new comer, a stranger translated from the forests of Lorrain into France, did take upon him, in France, so great courage, and so high dominion and power. Thereto was added the Queen-mother's singular care (as was reported) for conservation of peace, and repressing the rage of the Guisians. Upon which opinion, it is certain, that above twenty thousand men, having regard only to the Queen's inclination, joined themselves to the side of those of the religion, and to the defence of their profession, which at that time had besieged the force of the King's power.

After certain battles, and many losses on both parties, and the Duke of Guise slain, within a year peace was made, with this condition, 'That they of the religion should have free liberty thereof, and should have assemblies and preachings for the exercise of the same in certain places.'

This peace continued in force, but not in all places, during five years; for, in the most towns and jurisdictions, the officers that were affectionate to the Romish side, whom they commonly call Catholicks, did all the displeasure they could to those of the religion. Therefore, when Ferdinando Alvares de Toledo, commonly called Duke of Alva, was leading an army not far from the frontiers of France, against those of the Low-countries, which embraced the reformed religion; against the will of the King of Spain, the Queen-mother caused to be levied, and brought into France, six thousand Switzers for a defence, as she caused it to be bruited; but, as the success hath proved, for this intent, that the Prince of Conde, the admiral, and other noblemen of the religion, if they escaped the treasons prepared for them, and listed to defend themselves by force, and try it by battle, might be suddenly oppressed before they were provided. For the courtiers, which then had the managing of these matters, did not, at that time, well trust the soldiers of France. Many things pertaining to the course of that time, and the renewing of the war, must here, for haste to our present purpose, be necessarily omitted.

When the war had endured about six months, peace was made with the same condition that we have above rehearsed, That all men should have free liberty to follow and profess the reformed religion. For this was ever one and the last condition upon all the wars. But, within a few days or months after, it was plainly understood, that the same peace was full of guile and treason; and finally, That it was no peace, but most cruel war, cloaked under the name of peace. For, forth-

with, all those towns, which they of the religion had yielded up, were possessed and strengthened with garrisons of soldiers on the contrary side, saving only one town on the sea coasts in the parts of Xantoigne, commonly called Rochelle. For the men of that town, about two hundred years past, had yielded themselves to the King's power and allegiance, with this condition, That they should never be constrained, against their will, to receive any garrison soldiers.

Also the Prince of Conde, and the admiral, were advertised, that there was treason again prepared to intrap them, by Tavaignes, a man given to murther and mischief, who had lately been made Marshal of France; and that, if they did not speedily avoid the same, it should shortly come to pass, that they should be deceived and taken by him, and delivered up to the cruelty of their adversaries.

Upon the receipt of these advertisements, they immediately make haste to Rochelle, carrying with them their wives and young children, which was the beginning of the third civil war, the most sharp and miserable of all the rest.

There was, at that time in the court, Charles, Cardinal of Lorrain, brother to the Duke of Guise, who, as is abovesaid, was slain in the first war; one accounted most subtle and crafty of all the rest, but of a terrible, cruel, and troublesome disposition, so that he was thought intolerable, even at Rome itself. This man they of the reformed religion reported to be the most sharp and hateful enemy of their profession, and him they abhorred above all others, for the cruelty of his nature, and named him the firebrand of all civil flames. He, at the beginning of the third civil war, persuaded the King to publish an edict, That no man profess any religion but the Romish or Popish, and that whosoever would embrace any other, should be counted as traitors. In that same edict, printed at Paris, this sentence was expressly contained; and, for the strangeness of the matter, and for that it stained the King's name with the most dishonourable spot of perjury and breach of faith, it was, in other impressions afterwards, omitted. And it was further then declared, that, albeit the King had, in many edicts before that time, permitted the freedom of religion, yet his meaning ever was to retain, and cause to be retained of all men, the only Romish or Popish religion within his realm.

After many overthrows on both parts given and received, whereas the end of this third war was thought likely to be the harder, by reason of the breach of faith in the years before; and, on the other side, the state of the realm, by reason of the waste that the cities were brought unto, and the extreme poverty of the mean people and husbandmen, did require some treaty of composition; the King sent messengers to the Admiral, to signify unto him, in the King's name, that the King himself had at length found out a most sure way of peace and concord, namely, That the armies of both parts joined together should go into the Low Countries against the Duke of Alva, who had been the author of the late calamities in France. He signified further, That he had great causes of quarrel against the King of Spain, and this principally, that he had invaded, and held by force, suddenly slaying all the soldiers there, an island of the new found world, called

Florida, which had been taken by the French, and kept under his dominion; and likewise the Marquisdom of Final, the inhabitants whereof had but a little time before yielded themselves to the King's subjection and allegiance. He said, that the most stedfast band of concord should be that foreign war, and that there could no other better means be devised to drown the memory of the former dissensions, in eternal forgetfulness.

To the performance hereof, he said, It was a matter of most apt opportunity, that Lodovick, Count of Nassau, brother to the Prince of Orange, had been now two years in the admiral's camp, to whom the admiral gave principal credit in all things; and that by him and his fellows of the Low-Countries, and others whom he understood to favour his part, it might be easily brought to pass that certain cities might be surprised, and thereby great advantage be attained to the atchieving of the war.

The admiral, hearing these things, was marvellously troubled. For, albeit he doubted not of the King's fidelity, yet, therewithal, many things fell into his mind to be considered; as the power of the cardinal, and the rest of the Guisians, who were well known to have been at all times most affectionate to the King of Spain: for the Duke of Guise had left a son, a very young man, called Henry, to whom the Queen had given all the offices and places of honour that his father had borne before, being unfit thereto by age, and against the ancient laws and customs; and also through the traitorous infidelity of certain of the King's counsellors, whom she knew, for their affection to the Popish religion, to be most addicted to the Spanish King, and that divers of them had great yearly pensions of him, and did disclose unto him the affairs of the realm. He remembered how hereby it came to pass, that the same King's ambassador (which, amongst strange nations, seemed utterly incredible) was admitted into the privy council of France; and that one Biragio, a Lombard, and, as it is reported, a traitor to his own country, otherwise altogether unlearned, and especially ignorant of the civil law, was yet, for the subtlety of his wit, advanced to so great honour, that he executed the chancellor's office, Michael Hospitall being displaced, a man known to be such a one, as there was not, in all degrees of men, any either more wise, or more learned, or more zealously loving his country. Herewithal he considered the slanderous cavillations of his adversaries, to whom, hereby, might seem an occasion given, as if the admiral were of a troublesome nature, and could not abide any quietness, nor could long rest at home without some tumultuous stir. Hereupon the messengers replied as they were able, and therewithal alledged this cause of so sudden hatred against the Spanish King, that one Albeny, late returned out of Spain, had informed the King, and the Queen-mother, for certainty, that King Philip, a few months before, had poisoned his wife, the French King's sister, and had spread rumours of her throughout all Spain, such as, for the honour of many persons, are not meet to be disclosed. But nothing moved the admiral so much as the chearful earnestness of Lodovick of Nassau, who, as soon as he was adver-

tised of that purpose of the King, omitted nothing that he thought might serve to encourage the admiral thereunto.

The admiral, persuaded hereby, nothing fearing the infidelity of those of the court, gave his mind to hearken to composition. And so was the third civil war ended, and the peace concluded with the same conditions that were before, that every man should have free liberty to use and profess the religion.

Within few months after this, divers princes of Germany, that favoured the reformed religion, and, amongst those, the three Electors, the Palsgrave, the Duke of Saxony, and the Marquis of Brandenburgh, sent their ambassadors into France to the King, to congratulate him for the new reconciliation of his subjects. And, because they accounted it greatly to behove themselves, that the same concord should remain stedfast, and of long continuance, they promised, that, if any would for that cause procure trouble, or make war upon him, either within his own dominions, or without, they and their followers should be ready to defend him. To this ambassage, the King first, by words, and afterwards by a book, subscribed with his own hands, answered, and gave his faith, that he would for ever most sacredly and faithfully observe his edict of pacification.

Hereby so much the more willingly the admiral suffered himself to be drawn to the said purposes for the Low-countries, although oftentimes, calling to mind the nature of the Queen-mother, he used to say to divers, and especially to Theligny, to whom he afterwards married his daughter, that he greatly suspected the rolling wit of that woman. For, said he, so soon as she hath brought us into that preparation against the Low-countries, she will leave us in the midst.

Nevertheless, the Count of Nassau writeth to his brother, and they, conferring their advices together, send messengers to the King, that, if it please him to deal with the Low-countries, they will shortly so do, that he shall, by their many and great services, well perceive their affection and devotion towards him. The King writeth again to them in most loving terms, saying, That their message most highly pleased him, and he gave to them both his hearty thanks.

About the same time Maximilian the Emperor, pitying the estate of the Prince of Orange, as he said, treated, by his ambassadors, with the King of Spain, and had, in a manner, obtained, that the Prince should have all his goods restored unto him, but with this condition, that he should have no house within the territory of the Low-countries; but, settling his residence and dwelling elsewhere, he should freely enjoy all his revenues. Which matter being reported to the French King, he immediately sent messengers to the Prince of Orange, willing him to look for nothing by that dealing of the Emperor; saying, that it was but a fraud and guileful device, intended for this purpose, only to break up his levying of soldiers that he had begun in Germany; and assuring him, that, if he would credit and follow him, he would give him aid sufficient to recover his estate.

The Prince of Orange, persuaded by these promises of King Charles, continued his musters, and determined a while to bear the charges, though they were heavy to him, while such things, as were necessary

for the war, were preparing. In the mean time Lodovick, in disguised apparel, went to Paris to the King: forasmuch as the season of the year, by this time, seemed not commodious to levy an army, for the winter was at hand, by assent they deferred the matter till the next summer.

These things thus hanging, the Prince of Orange's captains by sea did oftentimes set upon the Spaniards and Portuguese, and such ships as they took they brought into the haven of Rochelle, which then was in the power of the Prince of Conde's party; and there they openly uttered and sold their prizes to the men of the town, and other merchants of France; whereupon the ambassador of Spain made often complaints to the King's privy-council.

And, forasmuch as they thought it very available to this enterprise, that Elisabeth, Queen of England, might be brought into league with them, the King committed the dealing in that matter to the admiral. For, a few months before, the King had, with most sweet alluring letters, gotten him to the court, where he was most honourably entertained: and, to take from him all occasion of distrust upon his adversaries, or of otherwise suspecting the King's or Queen-mother's affection towards him, first, all the Guisians of a set purpose departed the court. Then the King gave the admiral free liberty to take with him what company, and with what furniture he would: and because it was thought that he had more confidence in the Marshal Cosse, than in the rest, therefore the King commanded the said marshal to be ever at hand with the admiral, and to assist him in the King's name, if any need were.

The matter of the league with England the admiral so diligently and industriously handled, that, within short space after, by ambassadors sent, and by faith given and received, and oaths solemnly taken on both parts, it was confirmed. Concerning the procurement of other leagues and amities, such as might seem to further the enterprise of the Low-countries, the admiral also travelled in the King's name, and by his commandment, and had, in a manner, brought all these things to an end. And, of all those leagues, the first and principal condition was, That the liberty of religion should continue, and that the King should most diligently and sincerely observe this edict of pacification.

Though these things seemed to be handled secretly, yet, by the letters both of Biragio the vice-chancellor, of whom we made mention before, and of Morvilliers, whom, for his hypocritical leanness, children commonly called the chimera, or bug of the court, and by advertisements of Cardinal de Pelve, a man most fit either to invent or execute any treason, they were carried to the bishop of Rome, who, by advice of his cardinals, sent by one of their number, called Alexandrine, in the midst of a most sharp winter, into France, with these instructions: To persuade the King to enter into the society of the league of Trent, whereof the first and principal article was, That the confederates should join their powers, and make war upon the Turks and Hereticks, meaning, by the name of hereticks, all those princes that did permit the use of the reformed religion within their dominions.

The Cardinal Alexandrine was honourably received in the court, but yet dismissed without atchieving his purpose; for so was it bruited among the people, and commonly believed throughout France, albeit he himself secretly seemed to return very merry and chearful to the Pope; and, as it is reported, did sometimes say, that he received such answer of the King as was needful not to be published, and that the King and Queen-mother had largely satisfied him.

Forasmuch as it was thought a matter greatly availing to the enterprise of the Low-Countries, to send certain ships into the English seas, that, if any aid should be sent into the Low-Countries to the Duke of Alva out of Spain, it might so be stopped: Strozzi, and the Baron de la Guarde, were appointed for that purpose, to whom the King gave in commandment to rig forth certain ships of Bourdeaux and Rochelle, well armed and well appointed, and to provide with all speed all things needful for those ships. The ambassador of Spain, somewhat moved with this preparation, made divers complaints to the King's council on the behalf of the King his master; and yet never received any other answer, but that the King thought it not likely, and that he would send commissioners to Bourdeaux and to Rochelle, with letters and commandment that there should be no preparation made to the sea, and, if any had been made, it should be enquired of. What instructions were secretly and closely underhand given to these two captains of that navy, we do not certainly know; but this no man can doubt of, but that they had commission to distress all such ships wherein any Spanish soldiers should be transported into the Low-Countries, and that all this preparation to the sea was ordained against the Spanish King and the duke of Alva.

And, moreover, that the admiral, at the same time, received commandment from the King, to send spies into Peru, an island of the New-found World, most plentiful of gold above all others, now being in the Spaniards dominion, to learn if there were any good enterprise to be attempted or atchieved for the getting of it. Which matter was committed to a certain gentleman, one of the admiral's train, who went thither, accompanied with a certain Portuguese, a man most skilful in those navigations, whom the admiral had joined with him by the King's commandment, and is not yet returned.

Now it cannot be expressed, how many, and how great tokens of most loving mind, the king at that time shewed to the admiral, and to the count Rochefoucault, and to Theligny, and to the rest of the chief noblemen of the religion. First, all such things as in the former wars had been taken away in the towns, ferms, and castles of the admiral, and d' Andelot, the King caused to be sought out and restored. If there were any other whom the king understood to be beloved and esteemed of the admiral, or to have attained any special honour in the said late wars, those he liberally benefited and rewarded. To the admiral himself, he commanded one day to be given a hundred-thousand pounds of his own treasure, in recompence of his former losses. When his brother, the Cardinal Castillion, endowed with many great and wealthy benefices, departed this life, the King gave him the fruits of one whole year. Also the King wrote to Philibert Duke of Savoy, that he should do him

a most acceptable pleasure, if he did not only deal more gently with those that in the former wars had aided those of the religion, but also would use clemency and mildness towards all others that professed the same religion within his dominions.

And for that there was old enmity between the Guisians and the admiral, whereby it was to be doubted, that perilous contentions would arise in the realm of France, the King willed it to be signified to them both in his name, that they should, for his sake, and the commonwealth's, give over those displeasures; and he prescribed them a certain form of reconciliation and agreement, the same whereof the foundations had been laid almost six years before in the town of Molins, where the King calling to him the greatest estates of his realm, after consultation and deliberation had upon the matter, pronounced the admiral not guilty of the death of the Duke of Guise, wherewith he was charged by the young Duke of Guise, and his kinsmen: and so the King, by the advice of his council, had ended that controversy.

Furthermore, the cardinal of Lorrain, who, as we have said, was the very forger of all the former wars, to take away all jealousy of new practices, was departed to Rome, and took with him his familiar friend, the late created Cardinal Pelvey, one reputed a most subtle and crafty person, under pretence of going to the election of a new pope, in place of the old pope, then lately deceased.

But there was no greater and more assured token of publick peace and quietness than this, that the King purposed to give his sister Margaret in marriage to Prince Henry, the Son of the Queen of Navarre, which prince had in the last war defended the cause of the religion, and been sovereign of their army. Which marriage the King declared, that it should be the most streight bond of civil concord, and the most assured testimony of his good-will to those of the religion.

Yea, and also, because it was alledged that the said Prince Henry was restrained in conscience, so as he might not marry the lady Margaret, being of a contrary religion, a catholick, and given to the rites of the Romish Church, the King for answer said, that he would discharge her of the Pope's laws; and, notwithstanding the crying out of all his courtiers to the contrary, he permitted him, that, without all ceremonies, in the porch of the great church of Paris, the marriage should be celebrated in such a form, as the ministers of the reformed church misliked not.

Which thing being by report and letters spread through the world, it cannot be expressed how much it made the hearts of those of the religion assured, and out of care, and how it cast out all fear and jealousy out of their minds; what a confidence it brought them of the King's good-will towards them: Finally, how much it rejoiced foreign princes and states, that favoured the same religion. But the admiral's mind was much more established, by a letter, which about the same time Theligny brought him, with the King's own hand and seal, wherein was contained, that whatsoever the admiral should do for the matter of the intended war of the Low-Countries, the King would allow and ratify the same, as done by his own commandment. About that time, Lodovick of Nassau, with the Queen of Navarre, a lady

most zealously affected to the religion, came to the French court. The league was made between King Charles and the prince of Orange, and the articles thereof put in writing. The marriage was appointed to be held in the town of Paris: for which cause, the Queen of Navarre, during those few days, repaired thither, to provide things for the solemnity of the wedding. For the same cause, the king sent to the admiral one Cavaignes, a man of an excellent sharp wit, whom, for the admiral's sake, the King had advanced to great honour, requiring the admiral to go before to Paris, as well for the said preparation, as also for the matter of the war of the Low-Countries, promising, that he himself would, within few days, follow after him; assuring him, that there was now no cause to fear the threatenings and mad outrages of the Parisians. For, inasmuch as the same town is above all others given to superstitions, and is with seditious preachings of monks and friars daily inflamed to cruelty, it is hard to express how bitterly they hated the admiral, and the professors of that religion. Whereto was added a grief of their mind, conceived certain days before, by reason of a certain stone cross, gilt, and built after the manner of a spire steeple, commonly called Gastigne's Cross, which the admiral, with great earnest sute, obtained of the King to be overthrown; for he alledged, that, being erected in the midst of the rage of the civil war, as it were, in triumph to the reproach of one of the religion, it was a monument of civil dissension, and so a matter offensive to peace and concord.

The King, well knowing this deadly hate of the Parisians to the admiral, wrote his letters to Marcell, the provost of the merchants, which is the highest dignity in Paris, with sharp threatenings, if there should be raised any stir of trouble, by reason of the admiral's coming. To the same effect, also, the Duke of Anjou, the King's brother, and the Queen-mother, wrote to the same Marcell, and the rest of the Magistrates of Paris, so that now there seemed utterly no occasion left for the admiral to fear or distrust. And, within few days after, the King sent Briquemault, a man of great virtue and estimation, to the admiral, with the same instructions, saying, that the matter of the Low-Countries could not well be dealed in, without his presence.

The Admiral, persuaded by these many means, and filled with good hope and courage, determined to go to Paris, where, so soon as he was arrived, and had been honourably and lovingly entertained of the King and his brethren, and the Queen-mother, and consultation entered among them, about the preparation for the Low-Countries, he declared to the King at large, how the Duke of Alva was levying of great power, and preparing an army, and that, if the King should dissemble his purpose, it would come to pass, that many thereby would shew themselves slower and slacker to the enterprise; and that now were offered great means to do good, which, if he let slip, he should not so easily recover the like again hereafter; and, therefore, it was best to take the advantage of this opportunity.

A few days before, Lodowick of Nassau went secretly into the frontiers of the Low-Countries, and took with him, as partners of his journey, and privy to his council, three Frenchmen of great credit

with the admiral, namely, Savcourt, la Nove, and Genlis, to whom the King had given in charge, to see if they could by any means attempt and possess any towns bordering upon his realm. They, gathering divers other gentlemen into their company, went speedily into the Low-Countries, the admiral not knowing of it; who, as soon he understood of their going thither, wrote unto them, that he much marvelled what they meaned, saying, that he well knew there could be no power gotten ready before forty days end, and that they should be well advised to do nothing rashly, nor to overthrow with haste their devices, that seemed not ripe to be executed.

The Count of Nassau, inflamed with the sight and desire of his country, and fearing the mutableness of the King, did first, at the sudden, set upon Valenciennes; but, being repulsed by the Spanish soldiers that were in garison in the castle, he hastily departed to Mons, and took the town, being a place very strong by nature, and well furnished with all things necessary for the war. Which thing being by report and messengers spread about in the Low-Countries, and carried into France and Germany, both encouraged all them of the religion with great hope, and also seemed to have now plainly and openly decyphered and disclosed the mind of the French King. Moreover, Genlis returning to Paris, when he had made report to the King of all the matter as it had proceeded, easily obtained of him, that, by his assent, he might levy certain bands of footmen and horsemen of France, and carry them to succour Mons. But, by the way, when he was entered into the bounds of the Low-Countries, having with him to the number of four-thousand footmen, and about four-hundred horsemen, they were beset by the Duke of Alva, and the most part of them distressed; which thing was well known to have been wrought by the means of the Guisians, which, by daily messages and letters, advertised the Duke of Alva of their purposes and preparation: which falshood of theirs many, most affectionate to the Romish religion, were highly offended with, because a great number, addicted to the same Romish religion, were in that company.

With this loss, and with the rescue of the town of Valenciennes, the King seemed to be much troubled; for he feared, lest his counsels, being disclosed to the Spanish King, would, at length, breed some cause of quarrel and war. Howbeit, when he began to remember, that a great part of his secrets were already revealed to the Duke of Alva, he oftentimes resolved to utter his mind plainly, and to make open war. But he was withdrawn from that purpose by certain men, which the admiral had long before conceived, that they would so do. Howbeit, he gave the admiral liberty to send whatsoever he thought meet, to further the Prince of Orange's enterprise, and as great supply, either of footmen, or of horsemen, as he could, to the army which the Prince of Orange had levied in Germany. When the admiral, for that cause, had made request, that he might levy thirty troops of horsemen, and as many ensigns of footmen, he easily obtained it.

For the entertainment of these footmen, it behoved to have money; wherefore, at the request of the admiral, the King called for his treasurer, and commanded him to deliver to the admiral so much money,

as the admiral should think meet; and charged him, that he should not in any wise, after the usual manner of the accounts of finances, write the causes of the receipt, but only set it down, in this form: This sum of money was paid to the admiral such a day, by the King's commandment, for certain causes, which the King hath commanded not to be written: And to this warrant the King subscribed with his own hand.

Also the King wrote to Monducet, his ambassador in the Low-Countries, to travel as earnestly as he could, for their deliverance, that were taken at the overthrow of Genlis; which commandment, it is said, that Monducet did most faithfully and diligently execute.

Not long before this, Joan, Queen of Navarre abovementioned, died in the court, at Paris, of a sudden sickness, being about the age of forty and three years, where, as the suspicion was great, that she died of poison, and her body was, for that cause, opened by the physicans, there were no tokens of poison espied. But, shortly after, by the detection of one A. P. it hath been found, that she was poisoned with a venomed smell of a pair of perfumed gloves, dressed by one Renat, the King's apothecary, an Italian, that hath a shop at Paris, upon Saint Michael's Bridge, near unto the palace; which could not be espied by the physicians, who did not open the head, nor look into the brain. It is well known, that the same man, about certain years past, for the same intent, gave to Lewis, Prince of Conti, a poisoned pomander, which the Prince left with one Le Grosse, his surgeon; Le Grosse, delighted with the same, was by little and little poisoned therewith, and so swelled, that he hardly escaped with his life.

By her death, the kingdom came to the Prince Henry her son, to whom, as is abovesaid, the King's sister was promised and contracted.

Things being, as it seemed, throughout all France, in most peaceable estate, and the concord of all degrees well established, the day was appointed for the marriage of the King of Navarre; which day all they, that fancied the religion, esteemed so much the more joyful to them, because they saw the King wonderfully bent thereunto, and all good men judged the same a most assured pledge and establishment of civil concord; whereas, on the contrary part, the Guisians, and other enemies of common quietness, greatly abhorred the same marriage.

When the day came, the marriage was, with royal pomp, solemnised before the great church at Paris, and a certain form of words so framed, as disagreed with the religion of neither side, was, by the King's commandment, pronounced by the cardinal of Bourbon, the King of Navarre's uncle; and so the matrimony celebrated with great joy of the King, and all good men; the bride was, with great train and pomp, led into the church, to hear mass, and in the mean time the bridegroom, who misliked these ceremonies, together with Henry Prince of Conde, son of Lewis, and the admiral, and other noblemen of the same religion, walked without the church-door, waiting for the bride's return.

While these things were doing at Paris, Strozzi, who, as we have said, had the charge of the King's power at sea, hovering upon the coast of Rochelle, did now and then send of his captains and soldiers into the town, under colour of buying things necessary, and sometimes he came thither also himself. The like was done at the same time, in another part of France, by the horsemen of Gonzague, duke of Nivers, near to the town of la Charite, which hath a bridge over the river of Loyre, and remained, till that time, in the power of those of the religion, by reason of the great number of them there inhabiting. This troop was of those horsemen, which the King hath accustomed to keep in ordinary wages, in every country, whereof the most part were Italians, countrymen to their captain, Lewis Gonzague, to whom the Queen-mother had given the daughter and heir of the duke of Nivers in marriage. They requested of the townsmen, that they might make their musters within the town, saying, that they had received warrant from the King so to do, and shewed the king's letters therefore. At Lyons, the governor of the town commanded a view to be taken of all those, that professed the religion, and their names to be written in a book, and brought unto him; which book shortly after, according to the success, was called, The bloody Book.

After the marriage, ended at Paris, which was the time, that the admiral had appointed to return to his own house, he moved the King, concerning his departure. But so great was the preparation of plays; so great was the magnificence of banquets and shews; and the King so earnestly bent to those matters; that he had no leisure, not only for weighty affairs, but also, not so much as to take his natural sleep. For, in the French court, dancings, maskings, and stage plays (wherein the King exceedingly delighteth) are commonly used in the night-time: and so the time, that is fittest for counsel and matters of governance, is, by reason of nightly riotous sitting up, of necessity consumed in sleep. So great also is the familiarity of men and women of the Queen-mother's train, and so great the liberty of sporting, entertainment, and talking together, as to foreign nations may seem incredible, and be thought, of all honest persons, a matter not very convenient for preservation of noble young ladies' chastity. Moreover, if there come any pander or bawd, out of Italy, or any schoolmaster of shameful and filthy lust, he winneth, in a short time, marvellous favour and credit. And such a multitude is there begun to be of Italians, commonly throughout all France, especially in the court, since the administration of the realm was committed to the Queen-mother, that many do commonly call it France Italian; and some term it a colony, and some, a common sink of Italy.

These madnesses of the court were the cause, that the admiral could not have access to the King's speech, nor entrance to deal in weighty matters. But when they that were sent from the reformed churches, to complain of injuries commonly done to those of the religion, understood of the admiral's purpose to depart, they did, with all speed, deliver to him their books and petitions, and besought him, not to depart from the court, till he had dealed in the cause of the churches, and delivered their petitions to the King, and his coun-

cil. For this cause, the admiral resolved to defer his going for a while, till he might treat with the King's council, concerning those requests; for the King had promised him, that he would shortly inquire into those matters, and be present with the council himself.

Besides this delay, there was another matter that stayed him. There were owing to the Rutters of Germany, which had served on the part of the religion in the last war, great sums of money, for their wages, in which matter the admiral travelled with incredible earnestness and care.

Concerning all these affairs, the admiral, as he determined before, having access and opportunity for that purpose, moved the King's privy council, the twenty second day of August, which was the fifth day after the King of Navarre's marriage, and spent much time in that treaty. About noon, when he was returning home from the council, with a great company of noblemen and gentlemen, behold a harquebuzier, out of a window of a house, near adjoining, shot the admiral, with two bullets of lead, through both the arms. When the admiral felt himself wounded, nothing at all amazed, but with the same countenance, that he was accustomed, he said, through yonder window it was done: go, see who are in the house: what manner of treachery is this? Then, he sent a certain gentlemen of his company to the King, to declare it unto him. The King at that time was playing at tennis, with the Duke of Guise. Assoon as he heard of the admiral's hurt, he was marvellously moved, as it seemed, and threw away his racket, that he played with, on the ground, and, taking with him his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre, he retired into his castle.

The gentlemen that were with the admiral broke into the house, from whence he received his hurt. There they found only one woman, the keeper of the house, and shortly after, also a boy, his lacquey, that had done the deed; and, therewithal, they found the harquebuz lying upon the table, in that chamber, from whence the noise was heard; him that shot they found not; for he, in great haste, was run away out at the back gate, and getting on horseback, which he had waiting for him, ready saddled at the door, he rode a great pace to Saint Anthony's gate, where he had a fresh horse tarrying for him, if need were, and another at Marcelles gate. Then, by the King's commandment, a great number rode out in post into all parts, to pursue him; but, for that he was slipped into by-ways, and received into a certain castle, they could not overtake him.

At the suit of the King of Navarre, and the prince of Conde and others, the King by and by gave commission for inquiry to be made of the matter, and committed the examining thereof to three chosen persons of the parliament of Paris, Thuan, Morsant, and Viol, a counsellor.

First it was found that the same house belonged to a priest, a canon of Saint Germain, whose name is Villemure, which had been the Duke of Guise's schoolmaster, in his youth, and still continued a retainer towards him. Then the woman which we said was found in the house, being taken and brought before them, confessed, that a few days before, there came to her one Challey, sometime a master d'Hostel

of the Duke of Guise's house, and now of the King's court, and commanded her to make much of the man that had done this deed, and to lodge him in the same bed and chamber where Villemure was wont to lie, for that he was his friend and very familiar acquaintance, and that Villemure would be very glad of it. The name of him that shot was very diligently kept secret. Some say it was Manrevet, who, in the third civil war, traiterously slew his Captain Monsieur de Moovy, a most valiant and noble gentleman, and straightway fled into the enemies camp. Some say it was Bondot, one of the archers of the King's guard. When the woman's confession was brought to the King, he immediately called Monsieur de Nance, captain of his guard, and commanded him to apprehend Challey, and bring him to him. Challey, as soon as he heard the stroke of the piece, fled into the King's castle called the Louvre, and hid him in the Duke of Guise's chamber, from whence he conveyed himself away as soon as he had heard of the King's commandment. When de Nance was informed of his departure, he answered that Challey was a gentleman of good worship, and there was no doubt, but, when need were, he would appear before the King and the magistrates.

While these things were doing, and the admiral's wound dressing, Theligny went by his commandment to the King, and most humbly besought him in the name of his father-in-law, that his Majesty would vouchfase to come unto him, for that his life seemed to be in peril, and that he had certain things to say, greatly importing to the King's safety, which he well knew that none in this realm durst declare to his Majesty. The King courteously answered, that he would willingly go to him, and within a little while after he set forward. The Queen-mother went with him, and the Duke of Anjou, the Duke of Monpensier, a most affectionate subject to the church of Rome; the Count de Rhetz, the Queen-mother's great familiar; Chavigny and Entragny, which afterwards were chief ringleaders in the butchery of Paris.

When the King had lovingly saluted the admiral as he was wont to do, and had gently asked him some questions concerning his hurt and the state of his health, and the admiral had answered with such a mild and quiet countenance, that all they that were present wondered at his temperance and patience, the King being much moved, as it seemed, said, The hurt, my admiral, is done to thee, but the dishonour to me: but by the death of God, said he, I swear I will so severely revenge both the hurt and the dishonour, that it shall never be forgotten. He asked him also how he liked of the judges that he had chosen, to whom he had given commission for examining the matter. The admiral answered, that he could not but very well like of those that his Majesty had allowed of, yet he besought him, if he thought it good, that Cavagnes might be called to counsel with them: albeit that it was no hard matter to find out, for it was no doubt, said he, that this good turn was done him by the duke of Guise, the revenge whereof he referred to God. This only he most heartily and humbly besought of his Royal Majesty, that the fact might be duly inquired into. The King answered that he would take earnest care of it, and revenge that injury with no less severity than if it had been done to himself. Then, the King's brethren and

their mother withdrawing themselves a while, the admiral, as it was afterwards known by his own report, began to advise the king to have in memory those things that he had often told him, of the dangerous intentions of certain persons: And he told him, that, though he himself had received a great wound, yet there was no less hanging over the King's head: And that long ago there was treason practising against his life, which, if he would do wisely, he should avoid betimes. Further he said, that tho' as soon as God should take him to himself out of this life, he doubted not but that his fame should be brought into sundry slanders by envious persons, and such as sought him ill-will by reason of the late wars, nevertheless he had oftentimes disclosed unto the King the authors of the dissensions, and opened the causes thereof; and that God was his witness of his most faithful heart to the King and the common-wealth, and that he had never holden any thing dearer than his country and the publick safety.

The King, after such answer made hereunto as he thought best, spoke aloud, and heartily intreated the admiral to suffer himself to be removed into his castle of the Louvre; for that he thought some peril, lest there should arise some sedition among the commons already in disorder, or any stir in that mad and troublesome city. Whereto this speech of the King tended could not then be understood. For, though the commonalty of Paris had ever been accounted the most foolish and mad of all others, yet is it ever most easily appeased, not only with the coming and presence of the King, but also with the very sound of his name. The admiral most humbly and largely thanked the King, and made his excuse upon the counsel of the physicans, who feared that shaking would increase his pain, and therefore had taken order that he should not be stirred out of his place. Then the Count de Rhetz, turning to certain gentlemen of the admiral's friends, said, I wish the admiral would follow the King's counsel; for it is to be feared that some such stir may arise in the town, as the King shall not easily be able to appease: Which speech being uttered, although no man did yet suspect whereto that advice tended, yet the admiral and his friends thought it good to request of the King to assign unto him certain of the soldiers of the guard for his safety. The King answered that he very well liked of that device, and that he was fully determined to provide as well for the admiral's safety as for his own; and that he would preserve the admiral as the ball of his eye; and that he had in admiration the constancy and fortitude of the man; and that he never before that time believed that there could be so great valiantness or courage in any mortal person.

Therewith, the Duke of Anjou, the King's brother, commanded Cossin captain of the King's guard, to place a certain band of soldiers to ward before the admiral's gate. There could hardly a man be found more hateful against the admiral's party, nor more affected to the Guisians, than this Cossin, which the success plainly proved, as hereafter shall appear. The Duke of Anjou further added that he thought it should be good for the admiral, if more of his friends and familiars, that lodged in the suburbs, did draw nearer about him; and forthwith he commanded the King's harbingers to warn those, to whom they had before assigned lodgings in that street, to remove from thence, and to place the

admiral's friends in their rooms: Which counsel was such, as none could possibly be devised more fit for those things that followed. For those, who might have by flight escaped out of the suburbs, were now held fast enough, being inclosed not only within the walls of the town, but also within the compass of one narrow street. The next day after the undermasters of the streets, commonly called Quartermen, surveyed all the victualling-houses and inns from house to house, and all the names of those of the religion, together with the place of every of their lodgings, they put in books, and with speed delivered over the same books to those of whom they had received that commandment.

After noon, the Queen mother led out the King, the Duke of Anjou, Gonzague, Tavaignes, and the Count de Rhetz called Gondin, into her garden called Tegliers. This place, because it was somewhat far from resort, she thought most fit for this their last consultation. There she shewed them, how those, whom they had long been in wait for, were now sure in hold, and the admiral lay in his bed maimed of both his arms and could not stir; the King of Navarre and Prince of Conde were fast lodged in the castle; the gates were kept shut all night, and watches placed, so as they were so snared that they could no way escape; and, the captains thus taken, it was not to be feared that any of the religion would from thenceforth stir any more. Now was a notable opportunity, said she, offered to dispatch the matter. For all the chief captains were fast closed up in Paris, and the rest in other towns were all unarmed and unprepared, and that there were scarcely to be found ten enemies to a thousand Catholicks: That the Parisians were in armour, and were able to make threescore thousand chosen fighting men; and that, within the space of one hour, all the enemies may be slain, and the whole name and race of those wicked men be utterly rooted out. On the other side, saith she, if the King do not take the advantage of the fitness of this time, it is no doubt, but that, if the admiral recover his health, all France will shortly be on fire with the fourth civil war.

The Queen's opinion was allowed. Howbeit it was thought best, partly for his age, and partly for his affinity's sake, that the King of Navarre's life should be saved. As for the Prince of Conde, it was doubted, whether it were best to spare him for his age, or to put him to death for hatred of his father's name. But herein the opinion of Gonzague took place, that he should, with fear of death and torment, be drawn from the religion. So that council broke up, with appointment that the matter should be put in execution the next night early before day, and that the ordering and doing of all should be committed to the Duke of Guise.

The admiral, being informed of a stir and noise of armour, and threatenings heard every where throughout the town, and preparation of many things pertaining to tumult, sent word thereof to the King: Who answered, that there was no cause for the admiral to fear, for all was done by his commandment, and not every where, but in certain places; and that there were certain appointed by him to be in armour, lest the people should rise and make any stir in the town.

When the Duke of Guise thought all things ready enough, he called to him the abovesaid Marcell, and charged him that he should a little after midnight assemble together the masters of the streets, whom they

call Diziners into the town-house, for he had certain strange and special matters in charge from the King, which his pleasure was to have declared unto them. They all assembled at the time. Carron, the new provost of merchants, guarded with certain Guisians, and amongst the rest Entragne and Puygallart, made the declaration: He said that the King's meaning was to destroy all the rebels which had in these late years borne arms against his Majesty, and to root out the race of those wicked men; it was now very fitly happened that the chieftans and ringleaders of them were fast inclosed within the walls of the town, as in a prison; and that the same night they should first begin with them, and afterwards for the rest, as soon as possible might be, throughout all parts of the realm, the King would take order: And the token, to set upon them, should be given, not with a trumpet, but with a tocksein or ringing of the great bell of the palace, which they knew to be accustomed only in great cases: And the mark, for them to be known from others, should be a white linnen cloth hanged about their left arm, and a white cross pinned upon their caps. In the mean time the Duke of Guise made privy thereunto the captains of the King's guard, both Gascoigns, Frenchmen, and Switzers, and bade them to be ready to go to it with good courage. Shortly after, the Duke of Guise and the bastard son of King Henry, commonly called the Chevalier, with a great band of armed men following them, went to the admiral's house, which Cossin kept besieged with harquebuziers, placed in order on both sides of the street.

The admiral, advertised of the stir and the noise of the armour, although he had scarcely ten persons in his house able to bear harness, and in his chamber only two surgeons, one preacher, and one or two servitors, yet could not be made afraid, trusting, as he often rehearsed, to the King's good-will towards him, approved by so many and so great means of assurance; having also confidence that the commonalty of Paris, if they once understood the King to mislike of their mad fury, how much soever they were in outrage, yet, so soon as they saw Cossin warding the gate, they would be appeased. He repeated also the oath for keeping of the peace, so often openly sworn by the King and his brethren and their mother, and entered in publick records; the league lately made with the Queen of England for the same cause, the articles of treaty covenanted with the Prince of Orange, the King's faith given to the Princes of Germany, some towns attempted and some taken in the Low-Countries by the King's commandment; the marriage of the King's sister solemnised but six days before, which it was not like that he would suffer to be defiled with blood; finally, the judgment of foreign nations and of posterity, shame and the honour and constancy of a prince, publick faith, and the sacred respect of the law of nations, by all which it seemed monstrous and incredible that the King could assent to be stained with so outrageous and cruel a deed.

Cossin, when he saw the noblemen draw near, knocked at the gate, which, as is above said, he was commanded by the Duke of Anjou to keep. Whereupon many applied the old proverb, A goodly guard to make the wolf keeper of the sheep. When he was entered without any manner of difficulty, he carried in with him a great company of armed men, and after those followed the great Lords. Such as Cossin found

at the entry of, and within the porch of the house, he slew with a partisan that he had in his hand: Which when the admiral understood, he caused those that were about him to lift him out of his bed, and, casting on a nightgown upon him, he rose upright on his feet; he bade his friends and servants to flee and make shift for themselves, and to take no more care for him, for he said that he was most ready, with most willing heart, to render into the hands of God, now calling for it again, the spirit that he had lent him to use for a time: And said that this violent cruelty was prepared, not so much for his destruction, as for the dishonouring of Christ, and the tormenting of so many churches, the defence of which churches he had, at the petition of all godly men, with his many dangers and calamities sustained.

In the mean time there came up the stairs, into the higher part of the house, one Benuese a German, brought up in the house of the Duke of Guise, and to whom it is said, that the Cardinal of Lorrain had given one of his bastard daughters in marriage: And with him came Cossin the Gascoign, Attin a Picard, a retainer and familiar of the Duke d'Aumale, one that a few years before sought to murder d'Andelot by treason; and also one Hanfort an Avernois, all weaponed with swords and targets, and armed with shirts of mail.

When they were broken into the admiral's chamber, Benuese came to him, and, bending his drawn sword upon him, said, 'Art not thou the admiral?' He, with a quiet and constant countenance, as we have since understood by themselves, answered, 'I am so called.' And then, seeing the sword drawn upon him, he said, 'Young man, consider my age and the weak case that I am now in.' But the fellow, after blaspheming God, first thrust his sword into the admiral's breast, and then also struck him upon the head, and Attin shot him through the breast with a pistol. When the admiral was with this wound not yet thoroughly dead, Benuese gave him the third wound upon the thigh, and so he fell down for dead. When the Duke of Guise, who stayed in the court with the other noblemen, heard this, he cried out aloud, Hast thou done, Benuese? He answered, I have done. Then said the Duke of Guise, our Chevalier, meaning King Henry's bastard abovesaid, unless he see it with his eyes, will not believe it: Throw him down at the window. Then Benuese, with the help of his fellows took up the admiral's body and threw it down through the window. When, by reason of the wound in his head, and his face covered with blood, they could not well discern him, the Duke of Guise kneeled down on the ground, and wiped him with a napkin, and said, Now I know him, it is he. And, therewithal going out at the gate with the rest of the Lords, he cried out to the multitude in armour, saying: My companions, we have had a good lucky beginning: Now let us go forward to the rest, for it is the King's commandment: Which words he did often repeat aloud, saying, Thus the King commandeth: This is the King's will, this is his pleasure. And then he commanded the token to be given by ringing tocksein with the great bell of the palace, an alarm to be raised; and he caused it to be published, that the conspirators were in armour, and about to kill the King. Then a certain Italian of Gonzague's band, cut off the admiral's head, and sent it preserved with spices to Rome to the Pope, and the Cardinal of Lorrain.

Others cut off his hands, and others his secret parts. Then the common labourers and rascals, three days together, dragged the dead body thus mangled and bewrayed with blood and filth, through the streets, and afterwards drew it out of the town to the common gallows, and hanged it up with a rope by the feet.

In the mean time, those of the noblemen's bands broke into all the chambers of the admiral's house, and such as they found, either in their beds, or hidden, they mangled them with many wounds, and so slaughtered them. Of that number were two young children, pages, of honourable birth. There was also the Count Rochefoucault, who, for the excellent pleasantness of his wit, and for his valiantness, was highly beloved of King Henry, and so seemed, for the same cause also, to be beloved of the King. Him was De Nance, abovesaid, commanded to kill; but, he refusing it, for their old acquaintance and familiarity, one Laberge, an Avernois, offered himself to the King to do it; but with this condition, That the King should give him the captainship of horsemen, which Count Rochefoucault had. There was also slain Theligny, the admiral's son in law, a young man of singular towardness, both of wit and courage, to whom the King, these many years, had, in words and countenance, made shew of so great goodwill, as that no man was thought to be more highly in his favour: He crying out, That it was more grievous to him to live, for that he had ever commended to his father-in-law the faithfulness of the King, refused not the death offered him. And many other most flourishing young noblemen and gentlemen were every where butcherly murthered in that street. Then the noblemen's bands, and Cossin's soldiers, went ransacking from house to house; and the admiral's house, and all the other houses, were all sacked and spoiled, even in like manner as is used to be done by soldiers greedy of prey in a town taken by assault; and many, by this robbery, were, of beggars, suddenly become rich men. For the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Monpensier, the Chevalier, King Henry's bastard, Gonzague, Tavaignes, and the other great Lords, did, with reward of the spoil and booty, encourage the multitude to the slaughter; and cried out aloud, that this was the King's will. So all the rest of the day, from morning to evening, the rascal multitude, encouraged by spoil and robbery, ran with their bloody swords raging throughout all the town; they spared not the aged, nor women, nor the very babes. In joy and triumph they threw the slain bodies out at the windows, so that there was not, in a manner, any one street or lane, that seemed not strewed with murdered carcasses.

While these things were thus a doing in the town, the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde, whom the King had lodged in his own castle of the Louvre, were, by the King's commandment, sent for, and conveyed unto him. But their company, their servitors of their chambers, their friends retaining to them, their schoolmasters, and those that had the bringing up of them, crying out aloud to the King's fidelity for succour, were thrust out of the chambers, and, by the King's guard of Switzers, hewed in pieces, and slaughtered in the King's own sight. But, of that number of persons slain, no man's case was so much lamented of many, as Monsieur De Pilles, in whom it is hard to express, whether there were more godly zeal in religion, or prowess in war. Whereby having in the

late years, especially by the defence of the town of Saint John d'Angeli, which the King then besieged, gotten great honour of chivalry, he was thought very well beloved, and highly esteemed of the King. Him and Leranne, the son of Odou, by the French King's commandment (which was not then understood whereto it tended) the King of Navarre had stayed in a wardrobe adjoining to his own chamber, and caused them to lodge there all night. A little before day, hearing of the running of men, and noise of armour, and cries, and killings, they rose in haste, and immediately De Nance, whom we have before spoken of, came to them, and commanded them, in the King's name, to come down into the court, and to leave their weapons behind them, and lastly, to depart out of the castle. When De Pilles saw himself thrust out amongst the multitude of the murdering soldiers, and beheld the bodies of them that were slain, he cried out with a very loud voice that the King might well hear him, protesting against the King's fidelity, and detesting his traitorous infidelity; and therewith he took off a rich cloke which he wore, and gave it to one of his acquaintance, saying, Take here this token of Pilles, and hereafter remember Pilles most unworthily and shamefully slain. Oh! my good Monsieur De Pilles, said the other, I am none of them; I thank you for your cloke, but I will not receive it with that condition; and so refused to take the cloke, and immediately De Pilles was thrust through by one of the guard, with a partisan, and died. And this end had this most valiant and noble gentleman. And then his body was thrown into the quarry with the rest, which, when they that passed by did behold, the soldiers cried out, There they be that made assault upon us, and would have killed the King. Leranne, being thrust through with a sword, escaped, and ran into the Queen of Navarre's chamber, and was, by her, kept and preserved from the violence of those that pursued him. Shortly after she obtained his pardon of her brother, and, committing him to her own physicians, restored him both to life and health.

While these things were doing at Paris, Strozzi, who, as we have aforesaid, was come with all his power to Rochelle, sent a great number of his soldiers into the town, under colour of a banquet to be made to his friends in the castle called la Cheine; but, by reason of the jealousy and watches of the townsmen, by whom he saw his treason was espied, he went away without his purpose. But they of la Charite, which, as we have before shewed, were trapped by the Italian horsemen, taking less heed to the safe keeping of their town, were, a little before night, surprised, and, within few days after, put to the sword.

The next day following, where any, that had hidden themselves in corners of Paris, could be found out, the slaughter was renewed; also common labourers and porters, and others of the merest rascals of the people, and desperate villains, to have the spoil of their clothes, stripped the dead bodies stark naked, and threw them into the river of Seine. The profit of all the robberies and spoils came all, for the most part, to the hands of these labourers and the soldiers, and, to the King's treasure, came very little or nothing. The only gain, that came to him, was that which might be made of the vacations, as they term them, of offices, and of places of magistrates, captains, and other rooms of charge,

whereof yet he gave a great part freely away to divers of the court. For the admiral's office he gave to the Marquis de Villars; the chancellorship of Navarre, after the murder of Francourt, he, by and by, gave to Henry Memne de Malassise who had been the truchman and messenger in the treaty of the last peace; the office of the master of the finances, after the slaughter of Prunes, he gave to Villequier; the office of president des aides, when Plateau was slain, he gave to De Nully; the other offices he sold, as his manner is, to such as gave ready money for them. For it hath been the custom now lately of certain Kings of France (such as amongst foreign nations hath not been heard of) to put to sale all the profits, rights, and benefits of the crown, and to keep an open market for money of all judicial offices, and of all the rooms belonging to his treasure and finances, according to a rate of price set upon every one of them; and there is not, in a manner, one in all France, that doth not openly justify, that he bought his office for ready money, and that no man ought to marvel, if he desire to fill up the empty hole of his stock again. And, therefore, justice is, through all France, usually bought for money; and, though there be never so many murders committed, yet is there no process awarded to inquire thereof, till present coin be paid to the rakehells and scribes.

This butcherly slaughter of Paris thus performed, and four hundred houses, as is abovesaid, sacked, immediately messengers were sent in post into all the parts of the realm, with often shifting their horses for haste, to command all other cities, in the King's name, to follow the example of Paris, and to cause to be killed as many as they had amongst them of the reformed religion.

These commandments it is wonderful to tell how readily and chearfully the greatest part of the cities of France did obey and execute; but the King, fearing (as it was likely) the dishonour of false treachery and perjury, sent letters to the governors of his provinces, and also special messengers into England, Germany, and Switzerland, to declare, in his name, That there was a great commotion and seditious stir happened at Paris, which he was very sorry for; that the Duke of Guise had raised the people, and, with armed men, made assault upon the band that was assigned to the admiral for his guard, and had broken into the house, and slain the admiral, and all his company and household servants; and that the King had hardly kept safe from those dangers his own castle of the Louvre, where he kept himself close with his mother and his brethren: The true copy of which letters is hereafter inserted. But the same most mighty, and, by the consent of all nations, commonly called the most Christian King, within two days after, came into the parliament, accompanied with a great train of his brethren and other princes. The council being assembled, he, sitting on his throne, began to speak to them. He declared, that he was certified, That the admiral, with certain of his accomplices, had conspired his death, and had intended the like purpose against his brethren, the Queen his mother, and the King of Navarre; and that, for this cause, he had commanded his friends to slay the said admiral and all his confederates, and so to prevent the treason of his enemies.

This his testification and declaration the King commanded to be

written and entered in the records of parliament, and that it should be proclaimed by the heralds, and published by printers: And he willed a book to be set forth to this effect, That the slaughter of the admiral, and his adherents, was done by the King's commandment (for so was his Majesty's express pleasure) because they had conspired to kill him and his brethren, and the Queen his mother, and the King of Navarre; and further, that the King did forbid, That, from thenceforth, there should be any more assemblies holden, or preachings used of the religion.

After the King's oration ended, Christopher Thuane, president of that parliament, a man very notable for his light brain and his cruel heart, did, with very large words, congratulate the King, that he had now, with guile and subtlety, overcome these his enemies, whom he could never vanquish by arms and battle; saying, That therein the King had most fully verified the old saying of Lewis the Eleventh, his progenitor, King of France, who was wont to say, that he knew never a Latin sentence, but this one: *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare:* 'He, that cannot skill to dissemble, cannot skill to be a King.' But Pibrace, the advocate of the finances, made a short oration, the sum whereof was to this effect: That, although the King had just and great cause to be displeased, yet he thought it more agreeable with his Majesty's clemency and goodness to make an end of the slaughters and common spoil, and not to suffer such outrages to be any longer committed, without judicial proceeding in the cause; and besought his Majesty, that from thenceforth it would please him to use the law, which is well known to be the only establishment of kingdoms and empires; and that there had been already given to the commonalty too perilous an example to follow. An arret of parliament, with the King's royal assent, being made to that effect, there were immediately heralds and trumpeters sent round about all the town, and an edict proclaimed, in the King's name, That, from thenceforth, the slaughters and common butcherly murderings should cease, and that all persons should abstain from pillage and robbery.

This being known, there were divers speeches used of this matter throughout the town, and especially of learned men; the most part said, That they had read many histories, but, in the memory of all ages, they never heard of any such thing as this. They compared this case with the horrible doings of King Mithridates, who, with one messenger, and with the advertisement of one letter, caused an hundred and fifty thousand Romans to be slain. Some compared it with the doing of Peter of Arragon, who slew eight thousand Frenchmen in Sicily, which isle they had surprised in his absence. But yet this difference appeared between those cases and this, That those Kings had exercised their cruelty upon foreigners and strangers, but this King had done his outrage upon his own subjects, being yielded not so much to his power, as to his faith and credit. Those Kings were bound by no promise, but such as was given to the strangers themselves; this King was, with a new-made league, bound to the Kings and Princes his neighbours, to keep the peace that he had sworn. Those Kings used no guileful means, unworthy of the Majesty of a King, to deceive; this King, for a bait and allurement, abused the marriage of his own sister, and, in a manner,

besprinkled her wedding robe with blood; which dishonour and indignity no posterity of all ages can forget. Some, again, discoursed, That, though this cruel advice seemed to many courtiers to have been profitable, yet not only the honour of a King, but also the estimation and good fame of the whole nation was against that shew of profit. They alledged, how Aristides did openly, in the audience of all the people, reject the council of Themistocles, concerning the burning of the Lacedemonians navy, although it must needs have followed, that the power of the Lacedemonians, their enemies, should thereby have been utterly weakened. Furius Camillus received not the children of the chief lords of the Phalisci, betrayed to him by their schoolmaster, but stripped him naked, and delivered him to be whipped home with rods by the same children. Pausanias hath left it reported, that the posterity of Philip of Macedonia fell into most great calamities for this cause, that he was wont to set light by the reverend conscience of an oath, and his faith given in leagues. Some cited the law of the twelve tables: *Si patronus clienti fraudem facit, sacer esto:* 'If the patron or Sovereign defraud his client or vassal, be he out of protection.' They disputed also, that like faith, as the vassal oweth to his lord, the lord oweth also to his vassal; and for what causes, and for what felonies, the vassal loseth his tenancy, for the same causes and felonies, the lord loseth his seigniory. Some said, that the right-hand, in ancient time, was called the pledge of the faith of a King, and that, this if a King shall despise, there is no communion of right with him, and he is no more to be accounted a King, neither of his own subjects, nor of strangers. Kingly virtues, in times past, have been reported to be these, justice, gentleness, and clemency; but cruelty and outrage have ever been dispraised, both in all persons, and especially in princes. Scipio hath, in all ages, been praised, who was wont to say, that he had rather save one citizen, than kill a thousand enemies; which sentence Antoninus the Emperor, sirnamed Pius, the Kind, or Virtuous, did often repeat. It was a most shameful by-word of young Tiberius to be called Clay tempered with blood. They said also, that kings have power of life and death over their subjects, but not without hearing the cause, and judicial proceeding; that there cannot be alledged a greater authority, than the dictators had at Rome, in whom was the sovereign power of peace and war, of life and death, and without appeal; yet was it not lawful for them to execute a citizen, his cause unheard. Only thieves and murderers take away men's lives without order of law, and hearing their cause. Who can doubt, said they, but that this so great outrage, and so great shedding of Christian blood, is the fruit of the cursed life of the courtiers? For, said they, now, throughout all France, whoredom and loose lewdness of life are so free and usual, that the most part of the women of France seem to be in a manner common; and the wicked blasphemies, and continual execrations and dishonourings of God's most holy name and Majesty are such, as God cannot longer bear: and true it is, though incredible among foreign nations, that the Catholicks of France have prescribed themselves this for a special mark to be known from other men, that, at every third word, they blasphemously swear by the head,

death, blood, and belly of God: and wonderful it is, that the King himself is so much delighted in this custom of swearing and blaspheming; and this, as it were a pestilent infection, is spread abroad and common among the very ploughmen and peasants, so that none among them now speaketh three words, without most filthy blaspheming, and horrible execration of God. Who can longer bear the vile unchastities, the bawds, and ruffians of the court? Finally, Very nature itself doth now, as it were, expostulate with God for his so long sufferance and forbearing, and the very earth can no longer bear these monsters.

Now as touching the admiral's supposed conspiracy, Who can think it likely, that he should enterprise any such thing within the walls of Paris? For, in the court, there is continually watching and warding a garrison of the King's: and, at the entry of his castle, the guards of Gascoigns, Scots, and Switzers, are continually attending; and the King himself, both always before, and especially at that time, by reason of his sister's marriage, had a great train of princes, great lords, noblemen and gentlemen about him. Moreover, it was well known, that in Paris, within three hours space, might be assembled and put in armour, threescore-thousand chosen armed men, especially against the admiral, whom no man is ignorant that the Parisians most deadly hated: besides that, the noble young men that came thither with the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde, by reason of the marriage, and brought with them their wives, their sisters, and their kinswomen, thought, at that time, upon nothing but triumph and exercises of pastime, and gay furniture of apparel and ornaments: finally, at which of these two times can it be likely that the admiral attempted this conspiracy? Was it before he was hurt? Why? at that time he found the King his most loving, or, at least, his most liberal and bountiful good lord, neither could he hope ever to have a more favourable Sovereign in France. Was it then after he was hurt, as though, forsooth, he, lying sore of two so great wounds, aged, maimed of both arms, the one whereof the physicians consulted whether it were to be cut off, accompanied by three hundred young men, would set upon threescore-thousand armed men, or in so small a time could lay the plot for so great, and so long, and so heinous a fact, for he lived scarce forty hours after his hurt, in which time he was enjoined by the physicians to forbear talk. Again, if he had been detected of any such crime, was he not committed to Cossin, and to his keeping, and so environed, all the ways beset about him, and so in the King's power, that, if it had pleased the King, he might at all times, in a moment, be carried to prison? Why was not orderly inquiry, and judicial proceeding used, according to the custom, and laws, and general right of nations, and witnesses produced, according to the form of law? But be it, that the admiral, and a few others of his confederates and followers, had conspired; why yet proceeded the outrageous cruelty upon the rest that were innocent? why upon ancient matrons, why upon noble ladies, and young gentlewomen, and virgins that came thither for the honour of the wedding? Why were so many women great with child, against the laws of all nations and of nature, before their delivery, thrown into

the river? Why were so many aged persons, many that lay sick in their beds, many gownmen, many counsellors, advocates, proctors, physicians, many singularly learned professors and teachers of good arts, and among the rest Petrus Ramus, that renowned man throughout the world; many young students, executed without hearing, without pleading their cause, without sentence of condemnation? Moreover, if the admiral had slain the three brethren, who doubteth, but that all countries, all cities, all parliaments, finally, all sorts and degrees of men would have speedily taken armour, and easily have destroyed all of the religion, having them inclosed within their towns, and having just cause to render to all foreign nations for their common slaughters, and killing of them? As to that which toucheth the King of Navarre, What can be imagined more absurd and unlikely? Had not the admiral him four years in his power? Did not he profess the same religion that the admiral did? Which of those of the religion, which of them, I say, (as Cassius was wont to reason) should have gained, or received profit, by the killing of the King of Navarre? Did not the Catholicks hate him? And the admiral could not hope to have any man more friendly to him, nor by any other man's means to have revenge of his injury. Lastly, in their houses that were slain, what armour, what weapons were found, by which conjectures judges use to be led to trace out a fact? These matters wise men, throughout the town of Paris, commonly muttered.

But now to return to our purpose: at such time as the King's prohibition abovesaid was proclaimed at Paris, not only in other towns, as at Orleans, Angiers, Viarod, Troyes, and Auxerre, the like butcheries and slaughters were used, but also in the town of Paris itself. In the very jails, that are ordained for the keeping of prisoners, if any had escaped the cruelty of the day before, they were now tumultuously slain by the raging and outraging multitude; in which number were three gentlemen of great reputation; Captain Monins, a man very famous in martial prowess; Lomen, the King's secretary, a man of great estimation for his long service in the court; and Chappes, a lawyer, near fourscore years old, a man of great renown in the court of Paris. And, because we have made mention of Angiers, we think it good not to omit the case of Masson de Rivers: this man was a pastor of the church, and esteemed a singular man, both in virtuousness of life, and in excellence of wit and learning, and was the first that had laid the foundation of the church at Paris. As soon as the slaughter was begun at Paris, Monsorel, a most cruel enemy of the religion, was sent to Angiers in post, to prevent all others, that might carry tidings of the murdering. As soon as he came into the town, he caused himself to be brought to Masson's house; there he met Masson's wife in the entry, and gently saluted her, and, after the manner of France, especially of the court, he kissed her, and asked her, Where her husband was? She answered, That he was walking in the garden; and by and by she brought Monsorel to her husband, who gently embraced Masson, and said unto him, Canst thou tell why I am come hither? It is to kill thee, by the King's commandment, at this very instant time, for so hath the King commanded, as thou mayest perceive by these

letters; and therewith he shewed his dag ready charged. Masson answered, That he was not guilty of any crime; howbeit, this one thing only he besought him, To give him space to call to the mercy of God, and to commend his spirit into God's hand. Which prayer as soon as he had ended in a few words, he meekly received the death offered by the other, and was shot through with a pellet, and died.

Now to return to Paris: the admiral's body being hanged up by the heels upon the common gallows of Paris, as is aforesaid, the Parisians went thither by heaps to see it; and the Queen-mother, to feed her eyes with that spectacle, had a mind also to go thither; and she carried with her the King, and both her other sons; but, the next night following, the body was conveyed away, and, as it is thought, buried. About that time, whereas many of the court secretly muttered, that the King should, by this fact, incur dishonour, not only among foreign nations, but also with all posterity in time to come for ever, Morvillier, of whom we have made mention before, one that is accounted the principal lewd practiser and wicked sycophant of all France, and the first author and chief means of bringing the Jesuits into France, came to the Queen-mother and told her, that it was best that some of those that were lately taken fleeing and hiding themselves, should, for form's sake, be brought to open judgment, and, after the accustomed manner, should be inquired into, that they might be condemned by certain judges picked out for that purpose, and so openly executed in the sight of the people. There were called to council hereupon, Birage, Limege, Thuane, and Belleure: they not only allowed Morvillier's opinion, but also gave advice, that a man of hay, made in figure of the admiral (for his body, as we have said, could not be found) should be dragged by the boureau through the streets, his arms and ensigns of honour broken, his memory condemned, his castles and farms razed, his children pronounced infamous, ignoble, and detestable, and all the trees in his woods to be hewn down, to the height of six feet. There was, among those that were apprehended, one Cavaignes, master of requests to the King, and Briquemault, of whom we have before spoken. This Briquemault had spent his time in service in the old wars in the time of King Francis and King Henry, and was, for the war, accounted a man of great experience among the best now living, and was near about threescore and ten years old. As soon as they were carried into prison, there were presented unto them all the tormentor and the hangman, and they were threatened with torture and tearing their bodies in pieces, unless they would presently subscribe with their own hand, That they were of council with the admiral to kill the King and his brethren, and the Queen-mother, and the King of Navarre. They all cried out, That they were ready to suffer death most willingly, forasmuch as the King's pleasure was it should be so; but so great torture they could not bear, and therefore humbly besought his Royal goodness and clemency to pardon them that torment; and yet, trusting unto the mercy of God, they hoped, that they should suffer exceeding great pains, rather than stain themselves with so great shame, or confess an untrue crime against themselves. They, that were first assigned their judges, hearing their cries and de-

fences, and fearing the judgment of the world, said plainly, That they would not draw upon themselves most assured infamy for condemning them; therefore there were new judges appointed in their places: to whom were adjoined such a tormentor and notary, as were thought fittest for the purpose; and so Briquemault and Cavaignes were quickly condemned by a shadowed form of law, and led to the gibbet, standing in the principal street of the town, and in sight of many thousands of men gazing at them. To this spectacle the Queen-mother led the King, and her other sons, and her son-in-law, the King of Navarre.

It was thought commodious, for playing of this last act, that Briquemault should, in hearing of all the people, ask pardon of the King; and, for that purpose, there were some suborned to put him in mind, that, if he would, he might easily purchase his life, for the King was by nature full of clemency and mercy; and, if he would ask pardon of his Majesty, with confessing his offence, he should easily obtain it. He answered, with a valiant and bold courage, that it was not his part but the King's, to ask pardon of God for this fault; and that he would never crave forgiveness of that offence whereof he well knew himself, and had God to witness, that he was clear and innocent: nevertheless, he besought God to forgive the King this fault. So were these two excellent and famous men, with halters fastened about their necks, thrown by the hangman from the ladder and hanged; and therewithal also the man of straw, made in figure of the admiral, was tied fast and hanged with them, after a preposterous order of law, whereby the admiral was first slain, and then condemned.

But whereas, in a manner, in all towns there were great slaughters committed, yet was there none more horrible nor more outrageous than the butcherly murder at Lyons. So soon as the letters from the court were brought to Mandelot, governor of the town, first by a cryer and trumpet he caused to be proclaimed, that all the professors of the religion should appear presently before him at his house. They, without any delay, repaired to him: as soon as they were come, he commanded them all to suffer themselves to be led to prison by such officers as should be assigned them: they obeyed his word, and followed the officers that led them. By reason of the great multitude, they sorted them into sundry prisons: then Mandelot willed the common executioner to be commanded in his name, to take some to help him, and to kill those that were in prison. The executioner answered, that he used not to execute the law upon any but such as were condemned, and in publick and open places, and therefore willed him to seek another slaughterman, if he would. Mandelot, thus refused by the executioner, commanded the garrison soldiers of the castle to do it: The soldiers answered, that it was against their honour, to use weapons upon men bound, and lying suppliant before them: if they had raised any rebellion, or had offended or provoked them, they said they would most readily have fought with them. Being thus refused by them also, at last he committed the matter to the watermen, and butchers. These fellows, being let into the prisons, went to it with chopping knives and butchers axes: such as they found prostrate at their feet, piteously holding up their hands to Heaven, crying upon the mercy of God and

men, they did, for sport, cut off their fingers and the tops of their hands; and throughout the whole town was heard such a cry, and lamentable howling, of women and children, that innumerable people, even such as were zealously given to the Popish religion, did detest that cruelty, and judged, that not men, but outrageous savage beasts, in the shape of men, were entered into the prisons. It is well known, that a great number of honest women in the town, great with child, were so frighted with the horror of it, that they were delivered before their time. And, out of the court of the gaol, called the Archbishop's Prison, the blood was seen in the broad day-light, to the great abhorring and fear of many that beheld it, run warm and smoaking into the next streets of the town, and so down into the river Seine. There was, in that same archbishop's prison, an aged man called Francis Collut, a merchant of caps, and two young men his sons, whom he had ever caused diligently to be taught and instructed in religion: when he saw the butchers come towards him with their axes, he began to exhort his children not to refuse the death offered by God; for, said he, it is the perpetual destiny of religion, and that often such sacrifices do happen in Christian churches, and Christians in all ages have ever been, and, for ever to the world's end so, shall be as sheep among wolves, doves among hawks, and sacrifices among priests. Then the old father embraced his two young sons, and lying flat on the ground with them, crying aloud upon the mercy of God, was, with many wounds, both he and his sons, slaughtered by those butchers; and long time afterwards their three bodies had, knit together, yielded a piteous spectacle to many that beheld them. In the mean time Mandelot, in jest and scorn, as it seemed, caused to be proclaimed by the cryer, that no man should commit any slaughter in the town; and that, if any would detect the doers of any such slaughter, he would give him an hundred crowns in reward for his information; and from that time they ceased not to kill, to rob, and to spoil. The next day after, which was the first day of September, the greatest part of the dead bodies were thrown into the river Seine; and the rest of them Mandelot, to feed and glut his eyes and heart with blood, caused to be carried by boat to the other side of the water, and there to be thrown down upon the green grass, near unto the abbey called Esne. There the people of Lyons, especially the Italians, of whom, by reason of the mart, there is great store in the town, satisfied their eyes a while; and did such spights as they could to these heaps of carcases, and so exercised their cruelty not upon the living only, but also upon the dead. And there happened one thing, which, for the abominable cruelty, is not to be omitted: there came to that spectacle certain apothecaries, and among those bodies they perceived some very fat ones; whereupon they went to the butchers, and told them, that they did use to make certain special medicines of man's grease, and that they might make some profit thereof; which, as soon as the butchers understood, they ran to the heaps, and chose out the fattest, and lanced them with their knives, and pulled out the fat, and sold it for money to the apothecaries.

While these things were doing at Lyons, the King being informed,

that divers of the religion had left their wives and children, and were fled out of the other towns, and lurked some in the woods, and some among their friends, such as took pity on them, he practised with fair words, to allure and call them home again. He sent to every part messengers and letters, affirming, that he was highly displeased with those slaughters, and horrible butcheries, and that he would that such cruelty should be severely punished; and, if the admiral, with a few of his confederates, had entered into any secret practice, it was no reason, that so many innocents should bear the punishment due to a few. Many, sweetly beguiled with these words of the King, and with the letters of the governors, retired home again to their dwellings and houses, especially they of Roan, Dieppe, and Tholouse. There were scarcely two days past, when they were again commanded to prison, where they were all shut up. Then were murderers a-new appointed of the most base and rascally of the people, to torment them with all kinds of torture, and then to slay them. And throughout the whole realm of France, for thirty days together, there was no end of killing, slaying, and robbing; so that, at this day, there are about a hundred thousand little babes, widows and children, that were well born, that are now fatherless and motherless, live wandering, and in beggary. About this time, the King caused to be proclaimed, that such as had any office or place of charge, unless they would speedily return to the Catholick, Apostolick and Romish church, should give over those their temporal rooms. There was no town, nor any so small a village or hamlet, wherein all the professors of the religion were not compelled either to go to mass, or presently to take the sword into their bosoms; and, in many places, it happened that such as, being amazed with the suddenness of the matter, had abjured their religion, yet, notwithstanding, were afterwards slain.

And, while these things were still doing, yet the King, in the mean while, sent abroad his letters and messages into all parts, and caused to be proclaimed with trumpet, that his pleasure was, that the edicts of pacification should be observed; and, although they could not have freedom to use and exercise their religion in open places, yet they should have liberty permitted them to retain and profess it within their own houses, and that no man should meddle with, or disturb the goods and possessions of those of the religion.

And the same King, who, but few days before, had, by letters directed to all the governors of his provinces, signified, that his cousin, the admiral, was slain by the Duke of Guise, to his great sorrow, and that himself was in great danger; the same King, I say, now caused it, with sound of trumpet, to be proclaimed, that the traiterous and wicked admiral was slain by his will and commandment. He, that, a few days before, had, by new authority, confirmed the liberty of religion, permitted by his edicts of pacification, the same King did now not only take, from the professors thereof, their offices and honours, but also prescribed them, in a precise form of words, a form of abjuring and detesting their religion: which things, lest any man should doubt of, we shall hereafter set down the very true copies of the said letters, edicts, and abjuration.

The King's Letters to the Governors of Burgundy, whereby he chargeth those of the House of Guise, for the murder committed upon the Admiral's Person, and for the sedition which happened at Paris, and commandeth, that the Edict of Pacification should be kept and retained.

COUSIN,

YOU have perceived what I wrote unto you yesterday, concerning my cousin the admiral's wounding, and how ready I was to do my endeavour to search out the truth of the deed, and to punish it, wherein nothing was left undone or forgotten. But it happened since, that they of the house of Guise and other lords and gentlemen, their adherents, whereof there is no small number in this city, when they certainly knew, that the admiral's friends would proceed to the revenge of his hurt, and because they were suspected to have been the authors thereof, were so stirred up this last night, that a great and lamentable sedition arose thereon, insomuch that the guard by me appointed for his defence, about his house, was set upon, and he himself, with certain of his gentlemen slain, and havock of others made in divers places of the city; which was handled with such a rage, that I could not use the remedy, that I would, but had much ado to employ my guards, and other defence, for the safety of myself and my brethren, within the castle of Louvre, to give order hereafter for the appeasing of this sedition, which is, at this hour, well appeased, thanks be to God; and it came to pass, by a particular and private quarrel, of long time fostered betwixt those two houses; whereof, when I foresaw, that there would succeed some mischievous purpose, I did what I could possibly to appease it, as all men know. And yet, hereby, the edict of pacification is not broken, which I will to be kept as streightly as ever it was, as I have given to understand in all places, throughout my realm. And, because it is greatly to be feared, that such an execution might stir up my subjects, one against another, and cause great murders through the cities of my realm, whereby I should be greatly grieved, I pray you cause to be published and understood in all places of your government, that every person abide and continue in the safe-guard of his own house, and to take no weapons in hand, nor one to hurt another, upon pain of death; commanding them to keep and diligently to observe our edict of pacification. And, to make the offenders and resisters, and such as would disobey and break our will, to be punished, you shall assemble out of hand as great force, as you can, as well of your friends, as of them that be appointed by me and of others, advertising the captains of castles and cities in your government, to take heed to the safe-guard and preservation of the said places, so that no fault ensue on their behalf, advertising me also, as soon as you can, what order you have given herein, and how all things have passed within the circuit of your government. Hereupon, I pray God to keep you, cousin, in his holy safe-guard. At Paris, the twenty-fourth of August.

Signed CHARLES, and underneath, BRULARD.

Another Letter from the King to the Lord of Prie, his Lieutenant-General in Touraine, upon the same Matter that the former Letter was.

MONSIEUR DE PRIE,

YOU have understood how my cousin the admiral was hurt the last day, and in what readiness I was to do as much, as in me lay, for the trial of the fact, and to cause so great and speedy justice to be done, as should be an example throughout all my realm, wherein nothing was omitted. Since it is so happened, that my cousins of the house of Guise, and other lords and gentlemen, their adherents, which are no small party in this town, as all men know, having gotten certain intelligence, that the friends of my said cousin, the admiral, intended to pursue and execute upon them the revenge of this hurt, for that they had them in suspicion to be the cause and occasion thereof, have made such a stir this night past, that, among them on both parts, hath been raised a great and lamentable tumult; the guard that was set about the lord admiral's house was distressed, himself slain in his house, with divers other gentlemen; as also great slaughter hath been made of others in sundry places and quarters of this town; which hath been done with such fury, that it was impossible for me to give such remedy as was to be wished, I having enough to do to employ my guard and other forces, to keep myself in safety, in the castle of Louvre, to the end to give order for the appeasing of the whole uproar, which, at this hour (thanks be to God) is well quenched, for that the same happened by the particular quarrel that hath of long time been between those two houses; whereof always having some doubt, that some unhappy effect would ensue, I have (as is well known to all men) before this time done all that I could to appease it, nothing in the last fact tending to the breach of my edict of pacification, which contrawise I will in all things to be maintained, as at any time heretofore, as I do give it to understand throughout my realm. And, forasmuch as it is greatly to be feared, that this may stir up and cause my subjects to rise one against another, and to commit great slaughters in the towns of my realm, whereof I would be marvellously sorry, I pray you, that, immediately upon the receipt thereof, you cause to be published and done to understand in all places of your charge, that every man, as well in town as in country, remain in rest and surety in his house, and do not take arms one against another, on pain of death: and that, more diligently than at any time heretofore, you cause the last edict of pacification to be kept and carefully maintained and observed. To the intent abovesaid, and to punish such as shall do the contrary, and to distress all such as shall rise and disobey our pleasure, ye shall immediately assemble all the strength that you are able, as well of your friends being of our allowance as others, advertising the governors and captains of towns and castles within your charge, that they take good heed to the surety and safekeeping of their places, in such sort as there insueth no default, informing me with speed of such order as you shall take therein, and

how all things shall proceed within the compass of your authority. I have here with me my brother, the King of Navarre, and my cousin the prince of Conde, to take such chance as myself. I pray the Creator, Monsieur de Prye, to hold you in his holy safeguard. From Paris, this twenty-fourth of August. Thus signed, CHARLES, and underneath, PINART. These letters are all of one argument as the former, and written all in one form, and all one day, to Monsieur de Prye, lieutenant of Touraine.

The King's Letters to the Officers of Bourges, upon the same Matter that the former were.

OUR loving and faithful, we doubt not but by this time you know of the sedition, which, to our great grief, happened in Paris, a few days since, wherein my cousin, the admiral, and certain others of his side were slain, and a great murder committed upon divers, in many places of this city. And, lest the news thereof should change the quiet estate, wherein Bourges hath hitherto been maintained since the edict of pacification, if remedy were not foreseen, it is the cause that we writ this letter presently unto you, whereby we command and expresly ordain, that every one of you, according to his charge, do see that no commotion or insurrection be against the inhabitants of the said city, nor that no murder be committed, as it is to be feared, by those which pretend to break the edict of pacification, and thereby would execute a revenge of their long and private grudge, to our incredible vexation and anguish of mind. For this cause it is your part to give to understand and publish throughout that city of ours, and other places pertaining to it, that every one should quietly and peaceably keep their houses, without taking weapons in hand, and offending one another, upon pain of death, and well and diligently to keep our edict of pacification. And, if any go about to contradict this our intent and mind, to cause them to be punished, and rigorously chastised by penalties imposed on such offenders in our ordinances, having a watchful and diligent eye to the safeguard of that our city, in such sort, that no inconvenience arise in your service towards us, as you would have us to know, that you are our loyal and obedient subjects. Given at Paris, the twenty-seventh day of August, 1572. Thus signed, CHARLES, and below, DE NEUFVILLE.

A Letter of the Treasurer of the Leagues of the Switzers, written by the King's Commandment unto the said Leagues, of the same Argument that the former Letters were.

NOBLE seignours, Monsieur de la Fontaine, ambassador for the King, your assured and perfect friend and confederate, and I, his

treasurer in this country, having commandment of his Majesty to communicate with you, as with them whom he accounteth his chief and sure friends, of a chance which lately happened in the city of Paris, his own person and court then being there, whereof he received so much more grief and displeasure, because it befel on such a time as he least feared, or looked for such a thing. The matter is this: On the twenty seventh day of August last, the admiral, as he went from Louvre, was, with an harquebuz shot, hurt in the hand and arm, whereof, when his majesty was advertised, he commanded forthwith, that search and punishment were had of the offender, and the authors of such a mischief; whereinto, when he had readily laid his hand by his officers, and committed the inhabitants of the house, where the harquebuz was shot, to prison, they which were the cause first of the mischief (as it may easily be presupposed) because they would prevent the inquisition thereof, heaping one transgression upon another, on the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of the said month, assembled a great troop of people in the night, and moved the people of Paris to a very great sedition, who, in a rage, set upon the admiral's lodging, and, forcing the guard which his Majesty had set for the admiral's surety and keeping, slew him, with other certain gentlemen in his company, as the like also was committed upon others in the city; the matter growing, in the very same instant, to such an outrage and commotion, that, whereas his Majesty had thought to provide remedy for appeasing thereof, he had much ado, with all his guards, to keep his house at Louvre, where he lodged with the two queens, his mother and the spouse, the lords, his brethren, the King of Navarre, and other princes. Think therefore, ye noble seignours, in what a perplexity this young and courageous king now standeth, who, as a man may say, hath held in his hands thorns, instead of a scepter, ever since his coming to the crown, for the great troubles which have almost ever since been in his realm; and therefore, by the good and wise counsel and assistance of the Queen his mother, and the lords his brethren, thought to enjoy and establish a more sure repose in his realm, and a more happy government for himself and his subjects, after he had taken away (as he thought) all occasions of dissensions amongst his subjects, by the means of his edicts of pacification, and of the marriage of the King of Navarre to the lady his sister, and the Prince of Conde to Madam de Nevers: besides all this, to the intent nothing should be left undone that might serve for the quieting of all things, and especially for the admiral's safeguard, his Majesty, as every man knoweth, hath done his endeavour to the uttermost, to appease and reconcile his principal and most dangerous enemies unto him. And so God, the true judge of the King's Majesty's good and pure intent, brought to pass, that, the people's rage being quieted within a few hours, every one went home to his house, and the king had special regard to nothing more than to see nothing attempted or innovated contrary to his edicts of pacification, and the repose of his subjects, as well of the one religion as of the other. And for that purpose hath sent to divers of his governors and officers in his provinces, to look diligently to the observing of his edicts, with express commandment to hold their hands there, that

every one might perceive that the chance at Paris happened for some private quarrel, and not for any purpose to alter his edicts, which his Majesty will in no respect suffer: Which is the principal thing, noble seignours, that his Majesty hath demanded us, on his part, to assure you, and to let you understand the dangers that depend over him and his neighbours, not so much for this sedition, for he trusteth in God, that it shall grow no further, and his Majesty will keep his realm in as good repose as it hath been since his last edict of pacification, but for the great mustering and assembling men of war in many places, especially in the Low-Countries, where it is yet uncertain on which side God will give the victory, nor whither the conqueror will employ his force after his conquest. Wherefore his Majesty prayeth you, continuing the good love and intelligence which hath always been between the crown of France and his allied and confederate friends, the seignours of the Leagues, to have good regard to him and his realm, in case that need shall require, as he will have to you and your prosperous estate, if it be requisite, employing, in the mean while, your great and singular wisdom to the preservation of the union of the nation in league, which is the only cause to make you not only able to send succour to your friends, but also maintain yourselves in estimation, that you may be a terror to your neighbours, how great soever they be, his Majesty promising you, in all occurrences, as much friendship, favour, and assistance, as you can desire, and to be as intire and perfect a friend as ever your nation had.

A Declaration of the King, concerning the Occasion of the Admiral's Death, and his Adherents and Accomplices, happened in the City of Paris, the twenty-fourth of August, 1572.

Printed at Paris, by John Dallier, Stationer, dwelling upon St. Michael's Bridge, at the Sign of the White Rose; by the King's Licence.

BY THE KING.

HIS Majesty desiring to have all seignours, gentlemen, and other his subjects, understand the cause of the murder of the admiral, and his adherents and accomplices, which lately happened in this city of Paris, the twenty-fourth day of this present month of August, lest the said deed should be otherwise disguised and reported than it was in deed: his Majesty therefore declareth, that which was done was by his express command, and for no cause of religion, nor breaking his edicts of pacification, which he always intended, and still mindeth and intendeth to observe and keep; yea, it was rather done to withstand and prevent a most detestable and cursed conspiracy begun by the said admiral, the chief captain thereof, and his said adherents and accomplices, against the King's person, his estate, the queen his mother, and the princes, his brethren, the King of Navarre, and other lords about him. Wherefore his Majesty, by this declaration and ordinance, giveth to understand to all gentlemen, and others of the religion which they

pretend reformed, that he mindeth and purposeth that they shall live under his protection, with their wives and children in their houses, in as much safeguard as they did before, following the benefit of the former edicts of pacification, most expresly commanding and ordaining, that all governors and lieutenants-general, in every of his countries and provinces, and other justices and officers to whom it appertaineth, do not attempt, nor suffer to be attempted, any thing in what sort soever, upon the persons and goods of them of the religion, their wives, children, and families, on pain of death, against the faulty and culpable in this behalf. And nevertheless, to withstand the troubles, slanders, suspicions, and defiances, that may come by sermons and assemblies, as well in the houses of the said gentlemen, as in other places, as it is suffered by the said edicts of pacification; it is expresly forbidden and inhibited by his Majesty, to all gentlemen, and others, of the said religion, to have no assemblies for any cause at all, until his Majesty hath provided and appointed otherwise, for the tranquility of his realm, upon pain of disobedience, and confication of body and goods. It is also expresly forbidden, under the pain aforesaid, that, for the foresaid occasions, none shall take or retain any prisoners, or take ransom of them, and that immediately they certify the governors of every province, and the lieutenants-general, of the name and quality of every such prisoner, whom his Majesty hath appointed shall be released and set at liberty, except they be of the chief of the late conspiracy, or such as have made some practice or device for them, or had intelligence thereof: And they shall advertise his Majesty of such, to know his further pleasure. It is also ordained, that from henceforth none shall take or arrest any prisoner for that cause, without his Majesty's command, or his officers, nor that none be suffered to roam abroad in the fields, to take up dogs, cattle, beef, kine, or other beasts, goods, fruits, grains, nor any thing else, nor to hurt the labourers, by word or deed, but to let them alone about their work and calling, in peace and safety. At Paris the twenty-eighth of August, 1572. Signed CHARLES, and underneath, FIZES.

The King's Letters to the Officers of Bourges, of the same Argument that the former Declaration was.

OUR trusty and well-beloved: We considering, that, under the colour of the death of the admiral, and his adherents and accomplices, certain gentlemen, and others our subjects, professing the religion called reformed, might rise and assemble together to the prejudice and hinderance of the tranquillity which we have always desired should be in our realm, the doing of the said murder being counterfeited, and given out otherwise than it was: we have, therefore, made a declaration and ordinance, which we send you, willing you to publish the same forthwith by sound of trumpet, and set the same up in such places of your jurisdiction, where cries and proclamations are usually made, to the end, that every one might know it. And, although we have always

been diligent observers of our edicts of pacification, yet, seeing the troubles and seditions which might arise amongst our subjects, by the occasion of the said murder, as well of the admiral, as of his companions, we command you, and ordain, that you particularly forbid the principals of the religion, pretended reformed, within your jurisdiction, that they have no sermons, nor assemblies, either in their houses, or in any other places, to take away all doubt and suspicion which might be conceived against them. And likewise, that you advertise such as dwell in the cities of your jurisdiction, what you judge meet to be done, to the intent they might, in this point, follow our mind, and keep them quiet in their houses, as they may do by the benefit of our edict of pacification, and there they shall be under our protection and safeguard; but, if they will not so retire themselves, after you have given them warning, then shall you set on them with all strength and force, as well by the provosts of the marshals, and their archers, as others which you can gather together by bell-ringing, or otherwise, so that you hew them all to pieces, as enemies to our crown. Besides, what commandments soever we have sent by word of mouth, either to you or others, in our realm, when we were in fear, upon just occasion, knowing the conspiracy that the admiral had begun of some mischance that might fall unto us, we have and do revoke, willing you and others that no such thing be executed, for such is our pleasure. Given at Paris, the thirtieth of August, 1572. Thus signed, CHARLES; and underneath, DE NAUFVILLE. Published in judgment.

Remembrances and Instructions sent by the King to the Count of Charnye, his General Lieutenant in Burgundy, on the same Argument.

THE King, considering the commotion lately happened in Paris, wherein the Lord Admiral Chastillion, with other gentlemen of his side, were slain, because they had mischievously conspired to set upon the King's Majesty's person, the Queen his mother, the Princes his brethren, the King of Navarre, and other princes and lords near about them, and upon his estate; and, lest they of the religion called reformed, not knowing the true causes of the said rebellion, should arise and put themselves in arms, as they have done in the troubles that are passed, and devise new practices and fetches against the weal of his Majesty, and tranquillity of his realm, if he should not cause the truth of the matter to be known to all gentlemen, and others, his subjects of the same religion, how it passed, and what his pleasure and mind is in their behalfs. And thinking, that, for remedy hereof, it is very needful for the governors of the provinces in his realm to go round about their governments; for this occasion, he willeth that the count of Charnye, great Esquire of France, and his Majesty's lieutenant-general for the government of Burgundy, shall go diligently through all cities and places of the said government; and, as he arriveth in every place, he shall devise the best ways that he can to make peace, union, and quietness, amongst the King's subjects, as well of the one religion, as of the other. And, to bring it the better about, he shall gently call before him, in an

open or private place, as he shall see best cause for his Majesty's service herein, the gentlemen of the places, and the burgesses of the cities of his government that be of the religion, and shall declare unto them, and cause them to understand the truth of the said commotion, lest any have misreported it unto them, otherwise than it was in deed; and shall tell them, that, under the colour of the lord admiral's hurt, whereof his Majesty would have caused justice to be done, according to the good order that he had appointed, the said admiral, and gentlemen of his religion which were in the city with him, without looking for the execution of the said justice, had made a mischievous, unhappy, and detestable conspiracy against the King's Majesty's person, the Queen his mother, the lords his brethren, the King of Navarre, and other princes and lords with them, and against the whole estate, even as certain of the chief and adherents of the said conspiracy, acknowledging their fault, have confessed. Wherefore his Majesty was constrained, to his great grief, to resist and prevent so mischievous, pernicious, and abominable a purpose. And that which he suffered to be done on Sunday, the twenty-fourth of August, upon the admiral and his accomplices, was not for any religion, nor to go against the edict of pacification; he intended, nevertheless, that they of the religion should still live and abide in all liberty and safety, with their wives, children, and families, in their houses, as he hath, and will maintain them, if they be content to live quietly under his obedience as he desireth. For the which cause he willeth, that the Count of Charnye shall offer and give to them his letters of safeguard in good and authentick form, which shall be of as good force and vertue, as if they should come or be taken from his own Majesty; and, by the authority of them, they shall be preserved from all wrongs, violences, and oppressions; enjoining and forbidding most expresly all his catholick subjects whatsoever they are, to attempt nothing upon the persons, goods, or families of any of the religion which keep themselves quietly in their houses, on pain of death. And if any be so rash, or evil advised, to act against this injunction, or to violate the safeguard promised, his Majesty willeth, that ready and rigorous punishment be done, to the intent, that their example may serve to hold in others not to do the like; which is the true and only means of assurance that his Majesty can give to them of the religion, with his word and promise, which he giveth them, to be their good and benign prince, protector and preserver of them, and of all that toucheth them, so long as they live and continue under his obedience, without doing or enterprising any thing against his will and service. And, because his Majesty hath often known that the enterprises and consultations, taken in hand by them of the religion against his service, have been concluded amongst them at assemblies at sermons, which gentlemen had liberty to cause to be made in their houses and lordships, therefore my lord of Charnye shall particularly give to understand to gentlemen, which were wont to have such sermons, that his Majesty, in consideration that nothing hath more moved, and set on the catholicks against those of the religion, than such preachings and assemblies; and, if they continue, it is certain, that it will be a cause to increase and maintain the said commotions; desireth, that they should cause them to cease,

until he hath otherwise provided and appointed, and that they apply themselves hereunto as a thing greatly serving the effect of his intention, which is, gently to bring his said subjects to a true and perfect amity, union, and concord one with another, committing all divisions and partialities to oblivion. And, because this may seem hard at the beginning, my lord of Charnye shall cause it to be fair and gently spoken to them, lest they enter into some strange conjecture or suspicion. For so his said Majesty would proceed in all true sincerity towards them which conform themselves to his will and obedience, wherein he exhorteth them to live, with all the best persuasions that he can, and shall assure them, in so doing, to be surely maintained and preserved as his other subjects, the catholicks, as his Majesty would that he should do. And, to the intent his said subjects, the catholicks, should know how to use and behave themselves herein, my lord of Charnye shall tell them, that his Majesty's pleasure neither is, nor hath been, that any wrong or oppression should be done to them of the said religion, which, like good and loyal subjects, will gently keep themselves under his obedience: declaring unto the said catholicks, that, if they forget themselves, and hurt those of the religion, who, in such sort, behave themselves towards his Majesty, and those also, which, for that end, have received of his Majesty, or of my lord of Charnye, letters of safe-conduct, he will cause them to be punished and chastised in the field, as transgressors of his commandments, without any hope of grace, pardon, or remission; which the said lord of Charnye shall express and declare unto them, with as plain words as is possible, and cause it also to be as strictly executed. And, after that, following his Majesty's intent, he hath pacified them by this means, which is the way that his Majesty best liketh of, and searched the direction to assure a tranquillity betwixt the subjects, and to set some assurance betwixt the one and the other, such, as shall conform themselves herein to his said Majesty's will, he will comfort, and make them the best and most gentle entertainment that he possibly can. But, if any of the religion become self-willed and stubborn to his Majesty, without having regard to his said warnings, and shall assemble in arms together, making practices and devices against the weal of his service, then the lord of Charnye shall run upon them, and hew them in pieces, before they have power to fortify themselves and join together: and therefore he shall assemble as much force as he can, as well of the ordinary, as of other men of war, soldiers, footmen of the garisons, and inhabitants of the catholicks within the cities of his government, and shall besiege them which hold and make themselves strong in cities about of his government, so that the victory and authority may remain in his Majesty. At Paris, the thirtieth of August, 1572. Signed CHARLES; and underneath, BRULARD.

The King's Letters to the Lord of Gwiche, whereby it may plainly be perceived, how they would search out all them of the Religion which had any charge in Hand during the Troubles.

MY Lord of Gwiche, I understand that the three brethren Daggonels, and one Porcher the host at the sign of the Adventure, Mossoner, Crispin, and Captain Grise, which were the principal of the faction in Burgundy, and were the cause of the taking and recovering of the city of Mascon in the late troubles, and of all the decay which happened in that country, be kept prisoners in Mascon. And, because I understand that they hope to escape out by ransom, which I would in no wise should be done, I ordain and command that you keep them safe, forasmuch as I hope by their means to discover a great many things, which greatly touch the weal of my service. And if there be any other prisoners of the new religion in Mascon, which have been factious, you shall likewise keep them, so that they escape not by paying ransom, for I would not, for any thing in the world, that there should be taking of ransom among my subjects. And thus, my lord of Gwiche, I pray God keep you in his holy tuition. Written at Paris, the 14th of September, 1572. signed, CHARLES, and underneath, BRULARD.

The King's Letters to Monsieur de Gordes, his Lieutenant-General in Daulphine, wherein he sendeth him word, that the best proof of his Doings is the Accusations and Complaints of them of the Religion against him, whereunto he should have Care to answer.

M. DE Gordes, by your letters of the first of this month, I perceived the order which you appointed in your government, since the advertisement which you had of the execution of the admiral and his adherents: and since I am sure you forgot nothing, which you thought might serve for your assurance of those places whereof you had occasion to doubt. And, to the intent you should have the more means to make yourself known, I have prepared that the soldiers of Corsica, which I had appointed to go into Provence, should return to you, and thereupon have written to my cousin the count of Tende, who will not fail to send them unto you, forasmuch as there is no need of them now in that country. He should also send you word of the time of their departing, to the end that you might have leisure to provide to receive them, and appoint their places, where they should be in garison. I have seen that which you writ to me concerning the continual payment in Daulphine, what is due for the last year, whereupon, I will advise of the state of my fines the means that may be, and according thereunto there shall be no fault, but they shall be provided for. For the reparation of the bridge of Grenoble, they of the same place must devise the means wherein they should best help themselves therein, and, when they have advertised me, I will appoint them necessary provision. Touching the soldiers appointed for the baron of Adresse, because the

occasion why I appointed them to be levied now ceaseth, I have written to him to send them back and dismiss them again: wherefore there is no need to make provision for their maintenance, nor likewise to tell you any thing else, concerning the answers which you have made to the remembrances, which they of the religion have presented against you. For your doings are well known, and plain unto me, and thereupon I will take no better proof than their accusation. Wherefore, you shall put yourself to no more pain on that side. Moreover, I have herewith sent you a copy of the declaration which I made of the admiral's death and his adherents, and made to be understood, that it should be observed and followed, and that all murders, sackings, and violences should cease. Nevertheless, I have heard complaints of divers places, that such extraordinary ways continue, which is a thing that doth much displease me. By the means whereof I advise you, in doing this charge once again put unto you, that you give order throughout your government to cause all hostility, force, and violence to cease, and that the said declaration be streightly observed and kept, with punishing those that withstand, so rigorously, that the demonstration thereof may serve for an example, seeing my intent is, that they should be punished as behoveth, and to mark them which wink or dissemble thereat. This present letter shall serve also for an advice of the receipt of those letters which you wrote the fifth of this present, whereby you send me word, that you received no message by word of mouth from me, but only letters of the twenty-second, twenty-fourth, and twenty-eighth of the month passed, whereof put yourself to no further pain, for that charge was only for such as then were near about me, which is all that I have at this time to say unto you. Praying hereupon the Creator to keep you in his holy and worthy tuition. Written at Paris, the fourth day of September. Signed CHARLES, and beneath, FIZES. And above. To M. de Gordes, Knight.

The King's Letters to the Duke of Guise, his Lieutenant-General in Champaigne and in Prye.

COUSIN, although in my former letters I have given you to understand well enough how much I desire all my subjects, as well of the nobility, as others which profess the new religion, and quietly use themselves in your government, should by you be maintained and preserved in all surety, under my protection and safeguard, without giving them any hinderance by trouble in their persons, goods, and families: yet, nevertheless, I have been advertised that, in certain places of my realm, there have been many sackings and pillagings done by such as dwell in the houses of them of the said new religion, as well in the fields as in the cities, under colour of the commotion, which happened in my city of Paris the twenty-fourth day of August last; a thing beyond all measure unpleasant and disagreeable unto me, and, for the which, I would have provision and remedy. Wherefore, I pray

you, cousin, that above all things as you desire, that I should know the good affection you bear to the good weal of my service, you take that matter next your heart to preserve and maintain within your government, according to that which I have so plainly told and written to you heretofore, that all such of the new religion, who behave themselves quietly, take no wrong or violence, whether it be for the preservation of their goods or persons, no more than to my Catholick subjects. And, where any wrong or outrage shall be offered them against my will, as I have before declared, so do I now by these presents declare, I will and intend that you shall make some evident and notorious punishment of such as are herein culpable, so that their correction may serve for an example of all others, that I may see myself thoroughly obeyed herein as I would be, and my commandments received amongst all my subjects in another sort than they have been heretofore: assuring you, cousin, that the best news, that I shall receive from you, shall be to hear say that you chastise those well, of whom I am disobeyed. And thus, cousin, I pray God to keep you in his holy tuition. Written from Paris, the 28th of September, 1572. Signed CHARLES, and underneath, BRULARD.

Remembrances sent by the King to all Governors, and Lieutenants of his Provinces, to put out and remove all those of the Religion from their Estates and Charges, although they would abjure the same; saving such as have but small Estates and Offices, to whom his Majesty permitteth Continuance, on Condition that they abjure the said Religion, according to the Form of Abjuration sent for that Purpose.

THE King, considering how much his officers and magistrates of justice, and such as have the administration and dealing of his fines and payments, which be of the new religion, are suspected and hated, and put his catholick subjects in great mistrust, if they should presently exercise their offices after these fresh commotions, because that the said offices are in their hands that now keep them: therefore, lest the people should thereby be brought to a new occasion of stir, and they of the new religion be in danger or hazard of their own persons, although they would abjure their said new religion, and profess the holy faith and catholick religion of Rome: His Majesty, desiring to avoid the new mischiefs and troubles which may come, hath advised to discharge the said officers from the exercise of the said offices, until he shall otherwise appoint. And yet, nevertheless, in the mean while, if the said officers be obedient unto his will, and live quietly in their houses, without attempting, practising, or taking any thing in hand against his service, they shall receive their wages; and they that will resign their said offices to catholick persons, and come to his Majesty, shall be very honourably provided for. And as touching other small offices without wages, which cannot be troublesome, as notaries, serjeants, and such where the officers have no authority, which cannot be

so odious nor mistrustful to the people, as the others; his Majesty is advised, that such small officers, which will abjure the said new religion, and profess the faith catholick, apostolick, and Romish, and therein live continually hereafter, shall continue in the exercise and enjoying of their estates: but they, that will continue in their new opinion, shall depart from their offices, until his Majesty hath otherwise provided. And this is for the great mischief and inconvenience that may befall them, if they should exercise their said estates, because of the great mistrust and suspicion which the catholicks have conceived of them of the new religion. Nevertheless, his Majesty well considering that the most part of the said officers have no other way to live, but the exercise of their said offices, willeth that they shall be in choice to resign to catholick and capable persons, and then to come to him for that effect, and he will grant them the greatest favour and moderation of his treasure that is possible. The which resolution and pleasure of his Majesty he willeth to be declared to the said officers of the new pretended opinion, as well by governors and lieutenants-general of his provinces, as by them of his courts of parliament, of the chamber of his accounts, of the court of his aids, them of his great council, of the treasury of France, the generals of his fines, his bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, judges, or their lieutenants, and every one of them, as shall appertain. And, to this intent, his Majesty willeth and intendeth, that every one of them, in their calling, shall send, particularly and apart, for every one of the said officers of the new religion, which be of their incorporation, charge, and jurisdiction, and shall admonish them, in this behalf, to conform themselves to his Majesty's mind: and, if any of them in authority, because of their said estates, will return to the bosom of the catholick and Romish church, it shall be said to them, that his Majesty liketh very well of it, and that he taketh a great and singular affection therein, and that it shall give him the greater assurance and credit of their good will; and that his Majesty will not bar them from his service hereafter, but will provide for them as their behaviour shall deserve: and, notwithstanding, for the reasons abovesaid, he willeth that they shall cease from the exercise of their estates and offices, until he otherwise appointeth. And because that, in many places of the realm, they have proceeded by way of seizing the goods of them of the new religion which be dead or absent, and hide themselves, and sometimes of those which be in their own houses, although his Majesty gave to understand, by his declaration of the twenty eighth of August last, that he would and intended that they of the new religion should enjoy their goods; nevertheless, to the intent there should be no doubt of his purpose, and that no mistrust might arise thereupon, he declareth, willeth, and intendeth again, that, according to his declaration of the twenty-eighth of August, they of the new religion which be living, whether they be present or absent, and be not culpable or charged with the last conspiracy, or to have attempted against his Majesty, or his estate, since his edict of pacification, shall be restored to their houses, and put in possession of all and singular their goods, moveable and unmoveable. And that the widows and heirs of them, that be dead, may and shall succeed them, and apprehend all and singular their goods,

and that they shall be maintained in them, and kept under the protection and safeguard of his Majesty, so that no hurt shall be done or said unto them in any manner, wise, or sort: willing, for this purpose, that all necessary surety shall be given them, and that all officers, magistrates, mayors, and others, which have publick charge, shall maintain them in all safety, forbidding all persons, of what estate, quality, or condition soever they be, not to hurt them in person or goods, upon pain of death. And, nevertheless, his Majesty willeth, that they of the new opinion shall submit themselves, and promise, upon pain to be declared rebels and traitors to his Majesty, that they shall hereafter live under his obedience, without attempting any thing to the contrary, or taking their parts that do attempt against his Majesty and estate, or things against his ordinances, and to acknowledge none but his Majesty, or such as he shall appoint under him, to have authority to command them. And, if they know any that shall enterprise against his Majesty and service, to reveal them immediately to him and his officers, as good and faithful subjects. And to take away all doubt and suspicion, as well from the nobility, as others, because that, in the declaration of the twenty-fourth of the last month, these words are contained: 'Except they be those of the chief, which had commandment for those of the new opinion, or those which made practices and devices for them, or those which might have had intelligence of the said conspracy.' His Majesty declareth, that he meaneth not of things done and past during the troubles which were before the edict of pacification, in August, 1570, and that there shall be no inquisition thereof, and none shall be troubled in goods or person therefore, but, for that respect, they shall enjoy the benefit of the edict of pacification; but that the said words extend only to those which be found to be guilty or accessary to the last conspiracy done against his Majesty and estate, and that others, who are imprisoned, shall be set at liberty. And as touching them which will make profession of their faith, and return to the catholick religion, his Majesty desireth that his governors and officers shall excite and comfort them as much as they can, to that effect, and execution of that good-will: and that their friends and kinsfolks should be also exhorted to do the like for their part. And, if any should hurt them in goods or body, his Majesty willeth ready and speedy execution to be done on them. And to the intent that they may follow the form which hath been kept, in professing the faith which they do make, that return to the apostolick and Romish church, there is sent herewith a memory thereof. From Paris, the twenty-second day of September, 1572. Signed CHARLES, and underneath, PINART.

The Form of Abjuration of Heresy, and Confession of Faith, which they which have swerved from the Faith, and pretend to be received into the Church, ought to make.

This is the Abjuration which they caused all of the Religion to make in France, so save their Lives. Printed at Paris, by Nicholas Roffet, dwelling in the New Street of our Lady, at the Sign of the Mower. With the King's Privilege.

FIRST, They which have swerved from the faith, and desire to return into the compass of our holy mother-church, ought to present themselves to their curates or vicars, to be instructed of that which they ought to do: that done, they shall be sent unto the reverend bishop of the diocese, or his chancellor, or official, to make the said abjuration and confession in manner and form following:

I, N. born at, &c. in the diocese of, &c. and dwelling, &c. acknowledging, by the grace of God, the true faith, Catholick and Apostolick, from which I have, through my own fault, gone astray, and separated myself since, &c. and desirous to return to the flock of Christ's true sheepfold, which is the Catholick, Apostolick, and Romish church, confess to have abjured and cursed all the errors and heresy of the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Hugonots, and all other heresy whatsoever, wherewith I have heretofore been defamed or touched; and I agree to the faith of our holy mother the church, and desire you, in the name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and of the glorious Virgin, his Mother Mary, and of all the saints in paradise, that it would please you to receive me into the flock and sheepfold of God's people, which live under the obedience of the Pope, ordained our Saviour Jesus Christ's vicar in the said church, submitting myself patiently to abide, and willingly to do the penance which it shall please you to enjoin me for the absolution of the faults committed, whilst I was in the foresaid sects, whereof I ask and require pardon of God, and of his said church, and of you (that be appointed my pastor by God the Creator) absolution, with such penance as you shall judge to be wholsome for the satisfaction of my sins and offences. And, to the intent you should know that I have and do make this abjuration from my heart, I confess, moreover, before God and you, that I believe that which is contained in the symbol or creed of the apostles, and Athanasius, and other confessions of faith made and approved by the whole councils of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Romish Church; that is, I believe in one only God, the Father Almighty, creator of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord, our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son, ingendered by God the Father, before the constitution of the world, God of God, light of light, true God of true God, ingendered, not created, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made, who for us men, and for our salvation, descended from heaven, &c. as in the Belief of Morning Prayer. I believe likewise, acknowledge and confess, all that which is contained in the books as well of the Old, as of the New Testament, approved by the said holy and apostolick church of Rome,

according to the sense and interpretation of the holy doctors, received by the same, rejecting all other interpretations as false and erroneous. I acknowledge the seven sacraments of the said Catholick, Apostolick, and Romish Church, that they were instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and that they be necessary for the salvation of mankind, although that all of them are not of necessity to be conferred to all; that is to say, I confess that the said seven sacraments are these, baptism, confirmation, eucharist, which is the sacrament of the altar, penance, extreme unction, orders, and marriage; and that the said sacraments confer grace, and that, of them, baptism, confirmation, and orders, cannot be reiterated without sacrilege. That the said sacraments have the effect which the said church teacheth, and that the form and usage, wherewith they be ministred to Christians, is holy and necessary. I acknowledge also, that the holy mass is a sacrifice and oblation of the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, under the form of bread and wine mingled with water, which substances of bread and wine under the said forms are in the mass, by the words which serve for consecration, said and pronounced by the priest, transubstantiated and transformed into the substance of the said body and blood of Jesus Christ, notwithstanding that the qualities and accidents remain in the said forms after the said consecration, and that the mass is wholsome and profitable, as well for the quick as the dead. I acknowledge and confess the concomitance, that is to say, that, in receiving the body of Jesus Christ under the form of bread alone, I likewise receive the blood of Jesus Christ. I confess, that prayer and intercession of saints for the quick and the dead is holy, good, and healthful for Christians, and is not contrary, in any respect, to the glory of God. That prayers made in the church for the faithful, which are dead, do profit them for the remission of their sins, and lessening of their pains incurred for the same. That there is a purgatory, where the souls abiding are succoured by the prayers of the faithful. I confess that we must honour and call upon the saints which reign with Jesus Christ, and that they make intercession for us to God, and that their reliques are to be worshiped. That the commandments and traditions of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Romish Church, as well they which pertain to the form and ceremonies of divine service, and to assist the same, which, I think, are to draw Christian people to piety, and turning to their God, as fasting, abstaining from meats, observation of holy days, and ecclesiastical policy, according to the tradition of the apostles and holy fathers, continued since the primitive church till this time, and afterwards brought into the church by the ordinances of councils received in the same of long and ancient time, or of late, be good and holy, to the which I will and ought to obey, as prescribed and appointed by the Holy Ghost, the author and director of that which serveth for the keeping of the Christian religion, and of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Church. I believe also, and accept, all the articles of original sin, and of justification. I affirm, assuredly, that we ought to have and keep the images of Jesus Christ, of his holy Mother, and all other saints, and do honour and reverence unto them. I confess the power of indulgence and pardons

to be left in the church by Jesus Christ, and the use of them to be very healthful; as also, I acknowledge and confess the church of Rome to be the mother and chief of all churches, and conducted by the Holy Ghost, and that other pretended particular inspirations, against the same, come of the suggestion of the Devil, the prince of dissension, which would separate the union of the mystical body of the Saviour of the world. Finally, I promise streightly to keep all that was ordained at the last general council of Trent, and promise to God and you, never more to depart from the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Church; and if I do, which God forbid, I submit myself to the penalties of the canons of the said church, made, ordained, and appointed against them which fall back into apostasy. The which abjuration and confession I have subscribed.

The King's Letter to Monsieur de Guise, and other Lieutenants and Governors of his Provinces, by which he wholly abolisheth and subverteth all the Edicts of Pacification, and willeth that only the Romish Religion should take Place in his Realm.

THE King, knowing that the declaration which he made upon the occasions which lately chanced in the city of Paris, the remembrances and instructions of his will, which he sent round about to all governors of his provinces, and lieutenants-general therein, and particular letters to the seneschals, and his courts of parliament, and other officers and ministers of justice, cannot hitherto stay the course of murders and robberies done in the most part of the cities of this realm, to his Majesty's great displeasure, hath advised, for a more singular remedy, to send all the said governors into every of their charges and governments, assuring himself, that, according to the quality and power which they have of his Majesty, they can well follow and observe his intent, the which more fully to declare, his Majesty hath caused his letters patents to be dispatched, which shall be delivered them. Besides the contents thereof, M. de Guise, the governor, and lieutenant-general for his Majesty in Champaigne and Brye, shall call before him the gentlemen of the new religion, abiding within his government, and shall tell them that the King's will and intent is to preserve them, their wives, children, and families, and to maintain them in possession of their goods, so that, on their part, they live quietly, and render to his Majesty obedience and fidelity as they ought; in which doing the King also will defend them, that they shall not be molested or troubled by way of justice, or otherwise, in their persons and goods, by reason of things done during the troubles, and before the edict of pacification of August, 1570. And afterwards he shall lovingly admonish them to continue no longer in the error of the new opinion, and to return to the Catholick religion, reconciling themselves to the Catholick Romish church, under the doctrine and obedience whereof Kings, his predecessors, and their subjects, have always holily lived, and this realm hath been carefully conducted and maintained;

shewing to them the mischiefs and calamities which have happened in this realm, since these new opinions have entered into men's spirits: how many murders have been caused by such which have fallen from the right way holden by their ancestors. First, they made them separate themselves from the church, then from their next of kindred, and also to be estranged from the service of their King, as a man may see since his reign. And, although the authors and heads of that side would have covered their doings under the title of religion and conscience, yet their deeds and works have shewn well enough, that the name of religion was but a vizard to cover their drifts and disobedience, and under that pretence to assemble and suborn people, and to make and compel them to swear in the cause, under the title of disobedience, and by such ways to turn them from the natural affection which they owe to the King, and consequently from his obedience, it being notorious that, what commandment so ever the King could make to them of the new religion, they have not since his reign obeyed him otherwise than pleased their heads. And contrariwise, when their said heads commanded them to arise and take to their weapons, to set upon cities, to burn churches, to sack and pillage, to trouble the realm, and fill it with blood and fire, they, which went so astray to follow them, forgot all trust and duty of good subjects, to execute and obey their commandments: which things, if the gentlemen will well consider, they shall easily judge how unhappy and miserable their condition shall be, if they continue longer therein. For they may well think of themselves that the King, being taught by experience of so great a danger, from which it hath pleased God to preserve him and his estate, and having proved the mischiefs and calamities which this realm hath suffered by the enterprises of the heads of this cause, their adherents and accomplices, that he will never willingly be served with any gentlemen of his subjects, that be of any other religion than the Catholick, in which also the King, following his predecessors, will live and die. He willeth also to take away all mistrust amongst his subjects, and to quench the rising of discords and seditions, that all they of whom he is served in honourable places, and especially the gentlemen which desire to be accounted his good and lawful subjects, and would obtain his favour, and be employed in charges of his service, according to their degrees and qualities, do make profession hereafter to live in the same religion that he doth, having tried that discords and civil wars will not cease in a state where there be many religions, and that it is not possible for a King to maintain in his realm diversities in religion, but that he shall lose the good-will and benevolence of his subjects, yea, and they, who are of a contrary religion to his, desire nothing in their heart more than the change of the King and his estate. For the reason abovesaid, the Duke of Guise, to bring the matter to this pass, shall take pains to persuade the nobility, and others, infected with the said new opinion, to return of themselves, and of their own free will, to the Catholick religion, and to abjure and renounce the new, without any more express command from the King. For, howsoever it be, his Majesty is resolved to make his subjects live

in his religion, and never to suffer, whatsoever may befall, that there shall be any other form or exercise of religion in his realm than the Catholick. The said Duke of Guise shall communicate with the principal officers and magistrates, having the principal charge and administration of justice in cities of his government, his Majesty's declaration, to the intent they should know his mind, and the good end whereunto he tendeth for the uniting and quietness of his subjects, to the intent the said Monsieur de Guise, and the said officers and magistrates, should, with one accord, intelligence, and correspondence, proceed to the effect abovesaid, so that fruit and quietness may thereof insue, such as his Majesty desireth, not only for himself, but for the whole realm. The bailiffs and stewards, which are not in religion accordingly qualified, shall, within one month, resign their offices to gentlemen capable, and of the quality required by the edict, which may keep and exercise the same. And to the intent this shall be done, his Majesty doth now presently declare them deprived after the said month, if they do not then resign, that they shall have no occasion or colour of excuse to delay their resignations, and yet permitteth them, in the mean while, to resign without paying any fine. All bailiffs and stewards shall be resident at their offices, upon pain of loss of the same; and, if they cannot so be, then they shall be bound to resign. All archbishops and bishops shall likewise be resident in their diocese, and such as for age and other disposition of person cannot preach the word of God, nor edify the people, and do other functions appertaining to their charge and dignity, shall be bound to take a conductor to comfort them, and to employ themselves in the duty of their charge. To which conductor they shall appoint an honest and reasonable pension, according to the fruits and revenue of their living. Also parsons and vicars shall be resident at their benefices, or else shall be admonished to resign them to such as will be resident, and do their duty. Archbishops and bishops shall take information of them which hold abbies, priories, and other benefices in their diocese, of what quality soever they are, and how they do their duty in the administration of them, whereupon they shall make process by word unto the governors, which shall send them to the King to provide therein as reason shall move them. They shall compel the curates actually to abide at the places of their benefices, or else shall appoint others in their stead, according to the disposition of the canons. At Paris, the third day of November, 1572. Signed, CHARLES.

Letters of Monsieur De Gordes, the King's Lieutenant in Dauphiny, to certain of the Religion in his Government; whereby he exhorteth them to come back again to the Religion of Rome; and how the King is determined to suffer no other.

SIR,

I AM sufficiently advertised of your behaviour. but you should remember what advertisements I have before sent you to return to the

Catholick religion of yourself, which is the best hold and stay that you can chuse for your preservation and health, putting from you all those which persuade you to the contrary, who would abide to see any commotion or disorder, rather than abate any point of their opinion; and, by this means, you shall make evident to the King the will which, you say, you have to obey his Majesty; counselling you, forasmuch as I desire your well-doing, that this is the best for you to do, without looking for any more open commandment; otherwise, assure yourself, there can but evil come of it, and that his Majesty would be obeyed: and thus I pray God to advise you, and give you his holy grace. Your intire good friend,

GORDES.

From Grenoble, December 6, 1572.

The Answer of the Gentlemen, Captains, Burgesses, and others, being in the Town of Rochelle, to the Commandments, that have been given them in the Name of the King, to receive Garisons.

'WE the gentlemen, captains, burgesses, and others, now being in this town of Rochelle, do give answer to you, Monsieur N. and to such commandments, as you give us in the name of his Majesty, that we cannot acknowledge, that that which is signified unto us, and the proclamation, which you require that we should cause to be published, do proceed from his Majesty; and thereof we call to witness his Majesty himself, his letters of the twenty-second and twenty-fourth of August, his own signet, and the publishing of the same letters, by the which his said Majesty layeth all the fault of all the trouble lately happened, and of the cruel slaughter done at Paris, upon those of the house of Guise, protesting, that he had enough to do to keep himself safe within his castle of Louvre with those of his guard. And we shall never suffer ourselves to be persuaded, that so foul an enterprise, and so barbarous a slaughter, hath at any time entered into the mind of his Majesty; much less, that the same hath been done by his express commandment, as the paper importeth, which you have exhibited unto us; nor that his Majesty hath been so ill advised, as himself to cut off his own arms, or to defile the sacred wedding of Madame, his own sister, with the shedding of so much noble and innocent blood, and with the shame of so cruel a fact to stain the nation of France, and the blood royal, which hath heretofore ever, among all nations, borne the name of Frank and Courteous; nor that he hath had a mind to deliver matter to writers to set forth a tragical history, such as antiquity hath never heard speak of the like, and such as posterity cannot report without horror; but that it was first laid at Rome, and afterwards hatched at Paris, by the authors of all the troubles of France. And, howsoever it be, we are ready to maintain, That out of the mouth of his Majesty doth not proceed hot and cold, white and black; and that he doth not now say one thing, and by and by another, as he should do, if the paper, that you present unto us, had passed from him; protesting, that he will inviolably keep his edict,

and immediately breaking the same, in declaring, that he commanded those murders to be committed; having also made protestation before, that it is to his great grief, and done by the outrage and violence of those of Guise, against whom he was not able to make speedy resistance in time, as his Majesty desired. And, in this quarrel, we the gentlemen, captains, and others, that make you this answer, are ready to try it by combate, man to man, or, otherwise, to maintain the honour of our King against all those that so profane holy things, and, as much as in them lieth, do, by such words and titles, villainously defile the excellence of his Majesty, and of the noble Princes of his blood: Which we may right well conjecture and estimate by the slaughters, that are yet doing, as well in the town of Paris, as elsewhere, upon so many noblemen, gentlemen, and others, men, women, and children; and upon a great number of young scholars, the maintenance, under God, of realms and commonwealths in time to come; and by many other barbarous, unnatural, and unmanly acts, generally committed. We think, therefore, and judge, that herein treason is enterprised against the person of his Majesty, and of my Lords his brethren, and that the Guisians mean to invade the crown of the realm, as they have of a long time practised; and, howsoever it be, we say, that his Majesty is forced by the power, that they have taken upon them, and usurped, by means of the rebellious stir of the commons of Paris. As for that which they say, That the admiral, and those of the religion, had conspired against the King's Majesty and his brethren, these are allegations of as great truth, and of as good likelihood, as their manner of proceeding in justice hath been orderly beginning at execution before examination of the fact. But there is now no need to tarry for time to discover it, for the matter is plain to be seen with eye, and groped with hand; and all those of the Romish religion, that have any drop of the nature of man remaining, do confess it, and hold down their heads for shame, cursing, both with heart and mouth, the cruel executors of this abominable enterprise, and the wicked disturbers of common quiet; which can yet no more suffer, than they hitherto have done, that this poor realm should long enjoy the benefit of that peace, which the King alone, next under God, had wisely caused to be made, and to be accordingly observed; whereof this realm began to feel the good taste, to the great contentment of all persons, except the enemies of peace and of this realm, namely, the Guisians. Finally, when his Majesty, being out of their hands and power, shall declare what is his pleasure, we will endeavour to obey him in all things, wherein our consciences, which are dedicated to God alone, shall not be wounded: In which case, we will rather forsake the earth, than heaven, and our frail and transitory houses, rather than the heavenly mansions. But hitherto the law of nature, and the duty that we owe to our natural prince, to the preservation of his crown, and to the safety of our lives, our wives, and children, doth command us to stand upon our guard, and not to put us at the mercy of those that have received the same bloody commission from the Guisians, under the pretended name of the King, to use us in the same manner, as they have wickedly, traiterously, and unnaturally done to those about his Majesty, and, as it were, under his wings, and under the skirts of his robe, which the traitors strangers have stained

with the true French blood, without his Majesty's being able to remedy it, nor to stay their cursed attempts; so much less is he able, now so far off, to defend us as he would: Which his Majesty's goodwill, being known unto us, doth arm us for our defence, and for the safeguard of our lives, and of the privileges which he hath given us, until such time as he shall be able by himself to defend us against his enemies and ours.

A DISCLOSING OF

THE GREAT BULL,

AND CERTAIN

CALVES THAT HE HATH GOTTEN,

AND ESPECIALLY THE

MONSTER BULL,

That roared at my Lord Byshops Gate.

Imprinted at London, by John Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate. Black Letter, Octavo, containing twenty Pages.

EXPERIENCE of the leud lustiness and unchastitie of popishe clergie hath long agoe ministred an olde tale, how a person of a towne hauing the lordship annexed to hys personage, as many haue, by reason thereof, was by speciall custome charged, as in many places there be, to keepe a common bull for the towne, whereby theyr cattle, and hys tithe, might be encreased, which bull had great libertie, and is, by custome, not poundable. It happened, that complaint was brought to hym by hys neighbors, of the insufficiencie of hys bull, that he dyd not get calues so plentifully as in tyme past they were wont to haue. The person, a wise man of good skill as it should seme, caused hys bull to be tyed fast, and hys crowne to be shauen, and then let him goe, saying, Now go thy way, there was neuer any bad of thys marke, he will get calues I warrant hym. So is it happened, that of late a holy bull, I thinke some Jupiter, is come for loue of hys Io, or rather, for lust, to some leud Pasiphae arriued in thys land.

It is the great persons bull, which person was wont, by custome, to finde common bulls for all England, when he clained or vsurped the lordship of England, as annexed to hys personage. It is the same bull that begat the famous Monecalfe, that, of late years, made the terrible expectation. Of late, being against custome empounded, or kept from breaking of hedges as he was wont to do, and from spoyling of severall pastures, he grew to some faintnesse. But now hath hys

owner new shauen hys crowne, and sent hym to get calues agayne, for encrease of the townes hearde, and the persons tithe.

And, surely, the experience is notable, for, since he came ouer so lately disguised, he hath light vpon certain rank kyen, who, I thinke, by their long forbearing, are become the Justier, that is, treason, superstition, rebellion, and such other; and with them he hath so bestirred hym, that, by the helpe of maister Doctor Harding, Sanders, and other, some there, some here, iolly cowkeepers and heardemen of popish clergie, which sent and brought hym ouer, and brake open for hym the severall hedges and fenses of true religion, obedience, allegeance, fayth, and honestie, he hath begotten a maruellous number of calues in few yeares; that is, since the yeare 1567, he hath begotten multitudes of all the formes of calues hereafter mentioned, beside other in the wilde woodes not yet knowen; and lastly, he hath begotten a most horrible monster, of whom shall hereafter be entreated.

He hath begotten some traitorous calues, as the practisers and vnderminers of the state. Some rebellious calues, as those that haue combred the realme with vnhappy sedition. Some deinty calues with white faces, as dissembling hypocrites that watch theyr time. Some calues with blacke faces, as blacke soule and hys fellowes common bleaters, and railers at true religion. Some apostaticall calues, that haue forsaken fayth, and do impugne the knowen truth. Some tame drousy calues, that, with theyr brutishe superstition, can not raise vp their heades from ground, nor their eyes to heauen. Some mad wild calues, as roges and rumor spreaders. Some running and gadding calues, wiser than Walthams calfe, that ranne nine miles to sucke a bull, for these runne aboue nine hundred miles. And no maruell, for they desire not to sucke milke, but bloud. Some calues with hornes, and some without; some with power, running fiercely; some, pushing with theyr vnarmed heades as eluishly as they be able. Some doctor calues, some proctor calues, and some of other degrees. Some weyward calues, euer running backward and athwart, without regard of ditch behinde them, or hedge before them. Some calues, whom no fense will hold, no, not the brode sea. Some cow calues, some bull calues. Some calues, that neuer wil be but calues, though they liue three hundred yeares. Some winking calues. Some suttle vndermining calues; and some fonde licking calues there be, that be none of the same bulles calues, but calues out of Gods own hearde, seduced by leude companie of other stray calues. These, in seeking to licke woundes whole, do not onely licke poyson into theyr owne bodies, but also enuenime other therby, and specially the good damme, with whose wholesome milke them selues be fedde. Thys bulles calues, since they receaued theyr sires blessing, are waxen wilder then they were, no heardeman can rule them; but, as if the gad flye were in theyr tailes, they runne whisking about, or, of mere eluishnishe, will taste no wholesome and naturall foode.

The monster, of whom I tolde you, is no way so fitly to be described, as by the olde tale of the ancient poetes, that seme, as it were, to haue foreshewed hym in figure, as followeth: Pasiphae, Queene of Creta,

not sufficed with men, conceiued inordinate, vnnaturall, and therewith vntemperable lust to engender with a bull. Neither regard of vertue, honor, kindnesse, nature, or shame, in respect of God, her husband, her countrey, her selfe, or the whole world, could restrayne her violent rage of vncleane affection: yet wist she neither how to wooe the bull, nor how to apply her selfe vnto him. A meane, at length, was found to make thys vnkindly coupling.

There liued then a cunning craftesman Dædalus, the selfe same Dædalus, of whom it is famous how he made hym winges, wherewith, by cunning guiding hym selfe, he passed seas and countries at hys pleasure. And winges he made also for Icarus hys sonne to fly with hym; but, the vncunning Icarus climbing to neare the sonnes heate, hys winges, melting, fell into the water, and gave name to the sea.

Thys fine Dædalus, to satisfie the wicked queenes feruor of lust, and to match her and the bull in abhominable copulation, framed a cowe, and so made couered and vsed it with leud deuises, and therein so inclosed and placed the good, innocent, and vertuous lady, that, of the bull, she conceiued the abhomination of the world, and, in time, brought forth the monster Minotaurus, halfe a bull and halfe a man, fierce, brutish, mischieuous, cruell, deformed, and odious.

To shroud thys monster from common wonder, and yet therewithall to deliuer hym the foode and contentment of hys crueltie, the destruction of men, a labyrinth, or maze, was builded by the same cunning Dædalus, wherein Minotaurus, the man bull, or bull man lurked, and men passing in thether to hym, by entanglement of the maze, and vncertayne error of wayes, were brought to a miserable end; till at length valiant Theseus, furnished with the policy of wise Ariadne, receaued of her a clew of thred, by which, leauing the one end at the entrie, he was continually guyded and preserued from the deceauing maze, and hauing slayne the monster, by conduct of the same thred, safely returned.

The appliance hereof to the experience of our times hath an apt resemblance, not to proue, but to shew them the image of some doinges at these dayes, and therewith, by conference, not onely to sharpen an intentiue sight of that which we winck at, but also to rayse a iust lothing of that, whereof, by some hurtfull impedimentes, we haue not discerned, or rather not marked the horror.

Lecherous Pasiphae may well be applyed to treason in hye estates addicted to papistrie, forsaking gods ordinance of humane royall gouernement; which when so euer it happeneth (for happe it may, and hath oft so chaunced) such treason destroyeth good and naturall affection; it kindleth vile and beastly desires, and, among all other, none comparable in filthinesse to the lust of yelding them selues to beare the engendring of the great bull of Basan, or rather of Babylon, the oppression, incumbence, and tiranny of Rome, the vsurpation of the Romain siege, the siege of all abhomination. Thys principall traitorous lust, that throweth downe the person vnder this vncleane desire, throweth away vertue and respect of God; for Romaine pride hath climbed into the seate of God, and shooued to shoulder hym out, and banished vertue by open dispensing with vice. It expelleth remem-

brance of honor and kindnesse in regard of husband, for fayth of wedlocke hath no place in adulterers; and, by Romaine practises, neither doth superstition permit the soule to keepe her chastitie from idolatries, and from forsaking Gods rules of religion; nor the wife her due fayth from wandering lust, nor the husband hys safetie from traitorous violence. It driueth out naturall loue of countrey; for it prostituteth all dominions to the common adulterer, vnderminer, and forcer of kingdomes, the bull of Rome. It banisheth shame; for it boasteth her filthinesse to the worldes sight, soliciteth it publikely, practiseth it openly, defendeth it impudently, and carieth in glorious pompe and triumph, not, as Io, ryding on a bulles backe through the water, but, as it were, carnally wallowing with a beast on the toppe of Traianes piller. And, surely, no more sodomiticall is, in nature, the vnnaturall mixture of a bull and a woman, than is sodomiticall, in policie and religion, the intermedling of the popish vsurpation of Rome with a temporall prince, yelding hys or her realme to popish iurisdiction; or with the spouse of Christ, the vniuersall church, rauished by that bulles force, or defyled by hys abuses: but, as in Pasiphae, so, where such rage of traitorous and superstitious desire entreth, Gods grace forsaketh, honest feare departeth, shame flyeth, and the lust is vntemperable.

The Dædalus, that must bryng the enioyeng of thys horrible lust to effect, is the treason of popish clergie, full of cunning workmanshyp, as the world hath long had great experience; euen the same popish clergie, that hath framed to hym selfe wynges, not naturally by Gods ordinance growyng to the body therof, but made of fethers pulled from temporall princes, and from byshops in theyr owne dioceses, by vsurpation; fastened together by art of symonie, and ioyned to theyr bodyes with the glew of superstitious credulitie. With these haue they passed landes, and seas, clymbyng and flyeng in ayre, that is, vpon no stedfast groun, aboue mountaines, trees, and countries, that is, aboue emperours, kings, iust prelates, and common weales.

The sonne of this Dædalus, that is, of treason of popish clergie, is Icarus, that is, aspiring treason of subiectes; which following his father and guide, popish treason, but not so well guiding hymselfe, for lacke of experience, and desiring to sodenly to climbe to nere the sunne, or, perhappes, mounting with more hast than good speede, before his winges were well fastened, or while hymselfe could but yet flutter with them, and not perfectly flie, as God would, his glew melting, and his winges dropping away, fell downe in his climbing, and, no doubt, will geue name to the place where he lighteth, for perpetuall memorie of his vndue presumption, surely yet piteously bewayled of papistes, as Icarus was of Dædalus his father.

This cunning Dædalus, popish treason, to bryng thys copulation to contentment of the vnchast Pasiphae, encloseth her in a counterfait cow; that is, such princes, or great estates, as desire to lie vnder the bull of Rome, popish clergie turneth into brutish shape, to serue brutish lust; maketh them beastly, forsakyng the dignitie of man and womans shape, whom God made vpright, to looke to God and Gods seate the heauen; and it maketh them cowishly stoupe to earthward, without

regard of the nature of man, the dignitie of kyngdomes, the reuerent aspect to diuinitie, or any other manly and reasonable consideration, without any more vigor, agilitie of soule, and industrie to do noblely, than is in a cowe: a beast, in deede, profitable for worldly foode, as papistrie is, but (as most part of beastes be) redy to promiscuous and vnchosen copulations, and specially meete for a bull; and, among other prety qualities, hauyng one speciall grace (as one of theyr owne popish doctours preached) to swynge away flyes with her tayle wett in the water, as foolish papistes swynge away sinnes and temptations with a holy water sprinkle.

In thys beastly likenesse, degenerating from manly forme, and maiestie of gouernance, by Dædalus workmanship, that is, by popish clergies traitorous practise, ensued the copulation of a bull and a queene, in a cowishe shape, that is, sodomiticall and vnnaturall mixture of popish vsurpation with, and vpon, royall gouernance, in brutish and reasonlesse forme.

Of this ingendring is begotten Minotaurus, a compounded monster, halfe a bull, and halfe a man, a beastly cruell bodie, roaring out with the voyce or sound of a bull, and wordes of a man, the sense of a deuill. The selfe same monster bull is he that lately roared out at the Byshops palace gate, in the greatest citie of England, horrible blasphemies agaynst God, and villanous dishonors agaynst the noblest queene in the world, Elizabeth, the lawfull Queene of England; he stamped and scraped on the ground, flong dust of spitefull speches and vaine curses about hym, pushed with hys hornes at her noble counsellers, and true subiectes, and, for pure anger, all to berayed the place where he stoode; and all thys stirre he kept, to make a proofe of hys horned armye of calues would, or durst, come flyngyng about hym toward Midsommer moone.

But he looked so beastly, and he raged so vaynely, that, though the whole wood rang of hys noyse, yet hys syre, the great bull, hys damme, the prostitute cowe, and hys children, the foolish calues, were more ashamed of hym, than the noble lion was afraide of him; and, therefore, the bull, hys sire, the cowe, hys damme, and the wysest of hys calues, fled once agayne to Dædalus, the treason of popish clergie, for succour and good counsell, by whose good workmanship thys myngled monster is closed vp in a maze, that is, in vncertainetie of vayne and false reportes, and (as it happeneth in a maze) by wayes leadyng to other places than they seme to tend vnto, by crokednesse of deuises, by spredyng into sondry creekes of rumors, to hyde whence the bull came, or where he lurketh, euen as in the maze of Dædalus it happened; so it commeth to passe, that the Minotaure is not found out, and such as enter into the maze, that is, into followyng of popish reports and deuises, entangle them selues so, that, wanderyng vncertainely, at length they may hap to perish in Dædalus engyne. And iudgement they lacke (the euident proufes considered, that are in that behalfe to be ministred) that beleue the report to be true, of transferring that bull to protestantes deuises. But I feare a worse thing; for, if they haue no wisedome that say so, wise great persons can not beleue them,

and, if they lacke not witte, then can not them selues beleue it; and so is their truth to the Prince to be perillously suspected.

The remedie resteth, that some Theseus, some noble and valiant counseller, or rather one bodie, and consent of all true and good nobilitie and counsellers, follow the good guiding thred, that is, godly policie, deliuered them by the virgine whom they serue, and, conducted thereby, not onely may passe, without error, through the maze, and finde out the monster, Minotaure, that roared so rudely, but also destroy hym, and settle theyr prince and them selues in safetie; so as (Pasiphae dueley and deseruedly ordered, Dædalus vnwynged and banished, hys fethers ryghtly restored, Icarus fayre drowned, the cowe transformed, the maze dissolued and razed, the monster destroyed, the calues, after the cowe perished, sent, with Walthams calfe, to sucke theyr bull) Theseus may be victorious, the virgine ladie most honorable, the land quyet, the subiectes safe, and Gods prouidence euer iustly praysed, not vaynely tempted; hys kyndnesse thankfully embraced, his name louyngly magnified, hys policies wisely followed, and hys religion zelously mainteyned.

But, till these noble enterprises be acchieued, it is not good to be hedelesse; the monster may be let out of the maze, when it pleaseth Pasiphae and Dædalus.

It is good to be awake. Some men be wakened with tickelyng, and some with pinchyng, or pullyng by the eare; that is, some with mery resemblances, and some with earnest admonitions. Some be raysed out of sleepe with noyse, as by the speech, or calling of men, or by brute voyces, as the roaring of bulles, and noyse of beastes; that is, either by aduises of them that warne with reason, or with the bragges and threateninges of the enemies, or inklinges slipped out of uncircumspect aduersaries mouthes. Some be wakened with very whisperinges, as with secret rumors and intelligences. Some agayne are so vigilant and carefull, that the very weight of the cause, and pensiue thinking of it, wil scarcely let them sleepe at all. But most miserable is theyr drowsinesse, or, rather, fatall semeth their sleepinesse, that, for all the meanes aforesayd, and specially so leude and loued roaring of so rude and terrible a bull, can not be wakened, or made to arme and bestirre them, till the tumult and alarme in the campe, the clinking of armour, the sounde of shotte and strokes, the tumbling downe of tentes round about them, the groning of wounded men dying on euery side of them, treason, force, and hostilitie triumphing in theyr lustiest rage, and Sinon, that perswaded the safetie of the traitorous horse, insulting among them, yea, till the very enemies weapon in theyr body awake them. Such may happe so to sleepe, as they may neuer wake.

Let vs all wake in prayer to God. Let vs cry louder, in sinceritie and deuotion, than the bull is able to roare in treason and blasphemie. Let vs pray God to arme our queene and counsell with all wisedome and fortitude, and our selues with all fidelitie and manhoode, and to repose our selues vpon confidence of theyr most blessed gouernance, and redy, with our liues and all that we haue, to follow and serue them.

Let vs dayly and nightly pray God to send a curst cow and a curst bull short hornes, or to be well capped, or well sawed of, that they budde no more; for els it were better to take away head and all to be sure, least honester than these calues be made calues, or knocked on the head, as though they were calues. Surely, as of a body, there is but one head that can not be spared, so, in a body, may be many heads that must needes be spared, as, perhappes twenty byles, and euery one hath a head, in which case there is no perill, but least they goe into the body agayne, and then, perchance, infect the hart bloud, and put the body in danger; and the onely perill of driuing them in agayne, you wote, is colde, and colde handling. Some of our botches be runne already, of some theyr heads be broken, some ryping, and, I trust, shall be well launced, or cleane drawne out in time. In the meane time beware cold, and God send and maintayne the warmth of his grace. *Amen.*

THE

EXECUTION OF IUSTICE IN ENGLAND,

FOR MAINTENAUNCE OF

PUBLIQUE AND CHRISTIAN PEACE,

AGAINST

CERTEINE STIRRERS OF SEDITION,

And Adherents to the Traytours and Enemies of the Realme,

Without any Persecution of them for Questions of Religion*,

As is falsely reported and published by the Fautors and Fosterers of their Treasons; xvii December, 1583.

Imprinted at London, 1583, quarto, containing 5 sheets, black letter, the first edition; though, as it appears from some manuscript additions and alterations on the title, and in other parts of the book, prepared a second time for the press, by the Author, on the 14th of January, 1583.

After the Pope and his party had tried all means to soften Queen Elisabeth, and draw her council into their snare, to submit the church of England, as in times past, to the church of Rome, and had even condescended so far as to offer to reverse the sentence pronounced against the legality of her mother's marriage; to consent to the Common-Prayer-Book's being used in English; and that the laity might receive the communion in both kinds; for the treating about which, Pope Pius had sent a nuncio as far as Flanders: but perceiving that these were insufficient baits to allure a Queen, who, in her minority, had postponed her

* See the letter to Don Bernardin Mendoza, to begin vol. II. of this Miscellany.

liberty to her religion, and was too well instructed in the Christian faith, to yield up the essentials for a few externals of religion; resolved at all adventures to crush her, and consequently not only raised her up enemies abroad, but exerted his power among his deceived Zealots in England and Ireland, to try, if, under the form of religious obedience, he could persuade the Queen's subjects to take up arms against their lawful Sovereign, and deprive her of her crown and life. Thus, in the year 1570, Pope Pius engaged one Felton, to fix a bull on the Bishop of London's palace, declaring her subjects absolved from their allegiance, and commanding them to take arms, and dethrone her, on pain of damnation. Then he sent many priests, both secular, regular, and Jesuits, from time to time, out of their seminaries, to corrupt the people and propagate the doctrine of his bull; and, therefore, the Queen, in just regard to our holy religion, the laws and liberties of the people, and to her own welfare, looked no longer upon those that usurped the name Catholick, to be only distinct members of the Christian church, but, in her dominions, as so many rebels; and, consequently, provided laws for her own and the nation's security, in church and state, against such traytors, as, under the form and name of religion, maintained the rebellious doctrine of the forementioned bull, would take away her crown and life, and subject the nation to a foreign yoke. This brought on those penal laws, which the Papists complained of, and would persuade the world were enacted against them as Papists, and not as rebels, and in defence of which this treatise is written.

IT hath bene, in all ages and in all countries, a common vsage of all offenders for the most part, both great and small, to make defence of their lewd and unlawfull facts by vntruthes and by colouring and couering their deedes (were they neuer so vile) with pretences of some other causes of contrarie operations or effectes; to the intent not onely to auoid punishment or shame, but to continue, vphold, and prosecute their wicked attempts, to the full satisfaction of their disordered and malicious appetites. And though such hath bene the vse of all offendors, yet of none with more danger than of rebels and traitours to their lawfull princes, kinges, and countries. Of which sort, of late yeeres, are specially to be noted certeine persons naturally born subiectes in the realmes of England and Ireland, who, hauing for some good time* professed outwardly their obedience to their Souereigne Lady, Queene Elizabeth, haue, neuerthelesse, afterward bene stirred vp and seduced by wicked spirites†, first in England, sundry yeeres past, and secondly and of later times in Ireland, to enter into open rebellion, taking armes and coming into the field, against her Maiestie and her lieutenants, with their forces under banners displayed, inducing by notable vntruthes many simple people to followe and assist them in their traiterous actions. And, though it is very well knowen, that both their intentions and manifest actions were bent, to haue deposed the Queenes Maiestie from her crowne, and to haue traiterously set in her place some other whom they liked, whereby, if they had not been speedily resisted, they would haue committed great bloodsheddes and slaughters of her Maiesties faithful subiectes, and ruined their natiue countrey; yet, by Gods

* For the space of ten years, after Queen Elizabeth had established the reformed church, those, that yet adhered to the supremacy of the church of Rome, continued to communicate with the church of England as by law established.

† Authorised by the Pope's bull to take up arms against their lawful sovereign.

power giuen vnto her Maiestie, they were so speedily vanquished, as some few of them suffered by order of lawe, according to their deserts; many and the greatest part, vpon confession of their faultes, were pardoned; the rest (but they not many) of the principall, escaped into forreine countries, and there, because in none or few places, rebels and traitours to their naturall princes and countries dare, for their treasons, chalenge, at their first muster, open comfort or succour, these notable traitours and rebels haue falsely informed many kinges, princes, and states, and specially the Bishoppe of Rome, commonly called the Pope (from whom they all had secretely their first comfort to rebell) that the cause of their fleeing from their countries was for the religion of Rome, and for maintenanuce of the said Popes authoritie. Whereas divers of them, before their rebellion, liued so notoriously, the most part of their liues, out of all good rule, either for honest maners, or for any sense in religion, as they might haue been rather familiar with Catalyn, or fauourers of Sardanapalus, then accompted good subiectes vnder any Christian princes. As for some examples of the heads of these rebellions, out of England fled Charles Neuill, Earl of Westmerland, a person vtterly wasted by looseness of life, and by Gods punishment, euen in the time of his rebellion, bereaued of his children, that should haue succeeded him in the earldome, and his bodie nowe eaten with vlcers of lewde causes, as his companions do saye, that no enemie he hath can wish him a viler punishment; a pitiful losse to the realme of so noble a house, never before in any age attainted for disloyaltie; and out of Ireland ranne away one Tho. Stukeley*. a defamed person almost through all Christendome, and a faithlesse beast rather then a man, fleeing first out of England, for notable piracies, and out of Ireland, for trecheries not pardonable, which two were the first ringleaders of the rest of the rebelles; the one for England, the other for Ireland. But notwithstanding the notorious euill and wicked liues of these and other their confederates, voide of all Christian religion; it liked the bishop of Rome, as in fauour of their treasons, not to colour their offences, as themselves openly pretend to do, for auoyding of common shame of the world, but flatly to animate them to continue their former wicked purposes, that is, to take armes against their lawful Queene, to inuade her realm with forreine forces, to pursue all her good subiectes and their natiue countries with fire and sworde: for maintenance whereof there had some yeres before, at sundrie times, proceeded, in a thundring sort, *bulles*, excommunications, and other publique writings, denouncing her Maiestie, being the lawfull Queene, and Gods anoynted servant, not to be the Queene of the realm, charging, and vpon paines of excommunication, commanding all her subiectes, to depart from their natural allegeances, whereto by birth and by othe they were bounde. Prouoking also and authorising all persons of

* This man, having spent his estate profusely in England, fled into Ireland; and, because the Queen would not trust him with the stewardship of Wexford, he first vented several scurrilous things against her Majesty, and then fled to Italy; where, after some time, Gregory the Thirteenth, allured with the hopes of obtaining the crown of Ireland for his bastard son, gave him the command of several ships and eight hundred Italian soldiers, and ennobled him with the titles of Marquis de Lemster, Earl of Wexford and Caterlaugh, Viscount Morough, and Baron of Ross, in the kingdom of Ireland, as if he, the Pope, had been the sovereign thereof.

all degrees within both the realmes to rebell, and upon this antichristian warrant, being contrarie to all the lawes of God and man, and nothing agreeable to a pasturall officer, not onely all the rabble of the foresaid traitors that were before fled, but also all other persons that had forsaken their natiue countries, being of diuers conditions and qualities, some not able to liue at home but in beggerie, some discontented for lacke of preferments, which they gaped for vnworthily in vniversities and other places; some banckerupt marchants, some in a sort learned to contentions, being not contented to learne to obey the lawes of the lande, haue many yeres running up and downe, from countrey to countrey, practised some in one corner, some in an other, some with seeking to gather forces and money for forces, some with instigation of princes, by vntruethes, to make warre upon their natural countrey, some with inwarde practises to murder the GREATEST, some with seditious writings, and very many of late with publique infamous libels, ful of despiteful vile termes and poisoned lyes, altogether to vpholde the foresaide antichristian and tyrannous warrant of the Popes Bull. And yet also by some other meanes, to furder these intentions, because they could not readily preuayle by way of force, finding forreine princes of better consideration and not readily inclined to their wicked purposes, it was deuised to erect vp certeine schooles which they called seminaries*, to nourish and bring vp persons disposed naturally to sedition, to continue their race and trade, and to become seedemen in their tillage of sedition, and them to send secretly into these the Queene Maiesties realmes of England and Ireland, vnder secret maskes, some of priesthood, some of other inferior orders, with titles of seminaries; for some of the meaner sort, and of Jesuites, for the stagers and ranker sort, and such like, but yet so warely they crept into the land, as none brought the marks of their priesthoode with them; but in diuers corners of her Maiesties dominions these seminaries, or seedemen, and Jesuites, bringing with them certeine Romish trash, as of their hallowed waxe, their *Agnus Dei*†, many kinde of beades, and such like, have as tillage-men laboured secretly to perswade the people to allowe of the Popes foresaid bulles and warrantes, and of his absolute authoritie ouer all princes and countries, and striking many with prickes of conscience to obey the same, whereby in proces of small time, if this wicked and dangerous, traiterous and craftie course had not bene by God's goodnes espied and staied, there had followed imminent danger of horrible vprores in the realmes, and a manifest blooddy destruction of great multitudes of Christians. For it cannot be denied but that so many as shoulde haue bene induced and throughly perswaded to haue obeyed that wicked warrant of the Popes, and the contents thereof, should haue bene forthwith in their hearts and consciences secret traitours; and for to be in deede errant and open traitours, there shoulde haue wanted nothing but opportunitie

* See an account of these seminaries in a subsequent volume.

† The *Agnus Dei* is a composition of white wax and the powder of human bones, dug out of the Catatombs, or antient burial places of the Christians at Rome. It is of the form of an oval medal with the representation of the Holy Lamb and Jesus Christ, who is stiled *Agnus Dei*, or the Lamb of God, on the one side, and the Pope's effigy, who consecrated it, on the reverse. The Church of Rome ascribes many vertues to this sort of relique, and confines the touch of it to persons in orders.

to feele their strength, and to assemble themselves in such nombers with armour and weapons, as they might haue presumed to haue been the greater part, and so by open ciuill warre, to haue come to their wicked purposes. But God's goodness, by whom kinges doe rule, and by whose blast traitours are commonly wasted and confounded, hath otherwise giuen to her Maiestie, as to his handmayde and deare seruant, ruling vnder him, the spirit of wisdome and power, whereby she hath caused some of these seditious seedemen and sowers of rebellion, to be discouered for all their secret lurkings, and to be taken and charged with these former poyntes of high treason, not being delt withall upon questions of religion, but iustly, by order of lawes, openly condemned as traitours. At which times, notwithstanding al maner of gentle ways of persuasions vsed, to moue them to desist from such manifest traiterous courses and opinions, with offer of mercy; yet was the canker of their rebellious humors so deepely entred and grauen into the hearts of many of them, as they woulde not be remooued from their traiterous determinations. And, therefore, as manifest traitours in maintayning and adhearing to the * capitall enemy of her Maiestie and her crowne, who hath not only bene the cause of two rebellions alreadie passed in England and Ireland, but in that of Ireland did manifestly wage and maintaine his owne people, captaines and soldiours, under the banner of Rome, against her Maiestie, so as no enemy coulde doe more: these, I say, have iustly suffered death, not by force or forme of any newe lawes established, either for religion or against the Pope's supremacie, as the slaunderous libellers would haue it seeme to be, but by the auncient temporall lawes of the realme, and namely by the lawes of parliament made in † King Edward the Thirds time, about the yere of our Lord, 1330, which is about two-hundred yeres and moe past, when the Bishops of Rome and Popes were suffered to haue their authoritie ecclesiastical in this realme, as they had in many other countries. But yet of this kind of offenders, as many of them, as after their condemnations were contented to renounce their former traiterous assertions, so many were spared from execution ‡, and doe liue still at this day, such was the vnwillingnes in her Maiestie to haue any blood spilt, without this verie vrgent iust and necessary cause, proceeding from themselues ||. And yet, neuerthelesse, such of the rest of the traitours as remayne in forreyne pertes, continuing still their rebellious myndes, and craftily keeping themselues aloofe off from dangers, cease not to prouoke sundry other inferiour seditious persons, newly § to steale secretly into the realme, to reuiue the former seditious practises, to the execution of the Popes foresaid bulles against her Maiestie and the realme, pretending, when they are apprehended, that they came onely into the realme by the commandement of their superiours, the heads of the Jesuites, to whom they are bound (as they say) by othe against either king or countrie, and here to informe or reforme mens consciences

* Pope of Rome and King of Spain. † 25 Edward III.

‡ There were only four put to death, viz. Hanse, Nelson, Maine, and Sherwood; who were condemned and executed for publickly maintaining, that the Queen was lawfully deposed by the Pope's bull. Stow, pag. 682. 684, 685, and Camden, p. 476.

† See the Letter to Don Bernardin Mendoza.

* This refers us to Father Parsons and Edm. Campian, the two first Jesuits employed in England, to preach rebellion against the Queen. Camden.

from errors in some poynts of religion, as they shal thinke meete; but yet, in very trueth, the whole scope of their secret labours is manifestly proued, to be secretly to winne all people with whom they dare deale, so to allow of the Popes said bulles, and of his authoritie without exception, as, in obeying thereof, they take themselves fully discharged of their alleageance, and obedience to their lawfull prince and country; yea, and to be well warranted to take armes to rebell against her Maiestie when they shall be thereunto called, and to be ready secretly to ioyne with any forreine force that can be procured to inuade the realme, whereof also they have a long time giuen, and yet do for their aduantage, no small comfort of successe; and so consequently the effect of their labours is to bring the realme not onely into a daungerous warre against the forces of strangers (from which it hath bene free aboue twenty-three or twenty-four yeres, a case very memorable and hard to be matched with an example of the like:) But into a warre domesticall and civill, wherein no blood is vsually spared, nor mercy yeelded, and wherein neither the vanqueror nor vanquished can haue iust cause of triumph.

And, forasmuch as these are the most euident perils that necessarily should follow, if these kind of vermin were suffered to creepe by stealth into the realme, and to spreade their poyson within the same; howsoeuer, when they are taken, like hipocrites, they couloure and counterfeit the same, with profession of deuotion in religion: It is of all persons to be yeelded in reason, that her Maiestie, and all her gouernours and magistrates of iustice, hauing care to maintaine the peace of the realme (which God hath giuen, in her time, to continue longer than euer in any time of her progenitors) ought of duetie to Almightie God, the author of peace, and according to the natural loue and charge due to their countrie, and for auoiding of the floods of blood, which, in ciuill warres, are seene to runne and flowe, by all lawful meanes possible, aswell by the sword as by lawe, in their seuerall seasons, to impeache and repell these so manifest, and daungerous coulourable practises, and workes of sedition and rebellion. And though there are many subiectes knowen in the realme, that differ in some opinions of religion from the church of England, and that doe also not forbeare to professe the same; yet, in that they doe also professe loyaltie and obedience to her Maiestie, and offer readily, in her Maiesties defence, to impugne and resist any forreine force, though it should come, or be procured, from the Pope himself: None of these sort are, for their contrary opinions in religion, prosecuted, or charged with any crymes or paines of treason, nor yet willingly searched in their consciences for their contrarie opinions, that sauour not of treason. And, of these sorts, there haue been, and are, a number of persons, not of such base and vulgare note as those were, which of late haue bene executed, as, in particular, some by name are well knowen, and not vnfit to bee remembered. The first, and chiefest, by office, was D. Heth, that was Archbishop of Yorke, and Lord Chaunceler of England in Queene Maries time, who, at the first comming of her Maiestie to the crowne, shewing himself a faithfull and quiet subiect, continued in both the sayde offices, though in religion then manifestly differing; and yet was he not restrayned of his liberty, nor depriued of his proper lands and goods, but, leauing willingly both

his offices, liued in his owne house very discretely, and inioyed all his purchased lands during all his naturall life, vntill, by verie age, he departed this world, and then left his house and liuing to his friends: An example of gentlenes, neuer matched in Queene Maries time. The like did one D. Poole, that had bene Bishop of Peterborough, an auncient graue person, and a verie quiet subiect. There were also others that had bene Bishoppes, and in great estimation, as D. Tunstall, Bishop of Duresme *, a person of great reputation, and also, whilest he liued, of verie quiet behauiour. There were also others, D. White and D. Oglethorpe, one of Winchester, the other of Carlisle, Bishoppes, persons of a courteous nature; and he of Carlisle, so inclined to dutifulnes to the Queenes Maiestie, as he did the office at the consecration and coronation of hir Maiestie, in the church of Westminster; and D. Thurleby, and D. Watson, yet liuing, one of Ely, the other of Lincolne, Bishoppes, not pressed with any capitall payne, though they maintayned the Popes authoritie against the lawes of the realme: And some abbots, as M. Feckman, yet liuing, a person also of quiet and courteous behauiour for a great time. Some also were deanes, as D. Boxall, Deane of Windsore, a person of great modestie, lerning, and knowledge; D. Cole, Deane of Paules, a person more earnest then discrete; D. Reinolds, Dean of Exceter, and not vnlerned; and many such others, hauing borne office and dignities in the church, and that made profession against the Pope, which they only began in Queen Maries time to change; yet were these never, to this day, burdened with capitall peanes, nor yet depriued of any their goods, or proper liueloods, but only remoued from their ecclesiasticall offices, which they would not exercise according to the lawes. And most of them, and many other of their sort, for a great time, were retayned in bishoppes houses in very ciuill and courteous maner, without charge to themselves or their friends, vntill the time that the Pope began, by his bulles and messages, to offer trouble to the realme, by stirring of rebellion: About which time onely, some of these aforenamed, being found busier in matters of state, tending to stirre troubles, then was meete for the common quiet of the realme, were remoued to other more priuate places, where such other wanderers, as were men knowen to moue sedition, might be restrained from common resorting to them, to increase trouble, as the Popes bull gaue manifest occasion to doubt; and yet, without charging them in their consciences, or otherwise, by any inquisition, to bring them into danger of any capital law, so as no one was called to any capital or bloody question, vpon matters of religion, but have all inioyed their life, as the course of nature woulde: And such of them as yet remayne, may, if they will not be authors or instruments of rebellion or sedition, inioye the time that God and nature shall yeelde them, without danger of life or member. And yet it is worthy to be well marked, that the chiefest of all these, and the most of them, had, in the time of King Henrie the Eight, and King Edward the Sixt, either by preaching, writing, reading or arguing, taught all people to condemne, yea, to abhorre the authoritie of the Pope: For which purpose, they had many times giuen their othes pub-

* Al. Durham.

liquely, against the Popes authoritie, and had also yelded to both the said Kinges the title of Supreame Head of the Church of England, next under Christ; which title, the aduersaries doe most falsly write and affirm, that the Queenes Maiestie doeth nowe use: A manifest lie and vntrueth, to be sene by the verie acts of parliament; and, at the beginning of her raigne, omitted in her style. And, for proofe that these foresaide bishoppes and lerned men had so long time disauowed the Pope's authoritie, many of their bookes and sermons, against the Pope's authoritie remayne printed, both in English and Latine, to be seene in these times, to their great shame and reproofe, to change so often, but specially in persecuting such as themselves had taught and stablished to hold the contrary, a sinne nere to the sinne against the Holy Ghost.

There were also, and yet be, a great nomber of others, being laymen of good possessions and lands, men of good credite in their countries, manifestly of late time, seduced, to hold contrary opinions in religion, for the Popes authoritie; and yet none of them haue bene sought hitherto, to be impeached in any poynt, or quarrel of treason, or of losse of life, member, or inheritance; so as it may plainely appear, that it is not, nor hath bene, for contrarious opinions in religion, or for the Popes authoritie alone, as the aduersaries doe boldely and falsly publish, that any persons haue suffered death since her Maiesties reigne; and yet some of these sort are well knowen to holde opinion, that the Pope ought, by authoritie of Gods worde, to be supreame and onely head of the Catholique Church, through the whole world, and onely to rule in al causes ecclesiasticall; and that the Queenes Maiestie ought not to be the gouernour ouer any of her subiectes in her realme, being persons ecclesiasticall: Which opinions are, neuerthelesse, in some part, by the lawes of the realme, punishable in these degrees; and yet, for none of these poyntes, haue any persons bene prosecuted with the charge of treason, or in danger of life. And if then it be inquired, for what cause these others haue of late suffered death, it is truely to be answered, as afore is often remembred, that none at all were impeached for treason, to the danger of their life, but such as did obstinately maintaine the contents * of the Popes bull, aforementioned, which do import,

1. That her Maiestie is not the lawfull Queene of England, the first and highest poynt of treason: And,

2. That al her subiectes are discharged of their othes and obedience, another high poynt of treason: And,

3. All warranted to disobey her and her lawes, a third and a very large poynt of treason. And thereto is to be added,

4. A fourth poynt most manifest, in that they would not disalow the Popes hostile proceedings in open warres against her Maiestie in her realme of Ireland; where one of their companie, D. Sanders, a lewde scholler, and subiect of England, a fugitiue, and a principall companion and conspirator with the traitours and rebels at Rome, was, by the Popes speciall commission, a commaunder, as in forme of a legate, and sometime a treasorer or paymaster for those warres; which D. Sanders, in his book of his Church monarchie, did, afore his passing into Ireland,

* Four points of treason.

openly, by writing, gloriously avowe the foresaid bull of *Pius Quintus*, against her Maiestie, to be lawfull; and affirmeth, that, by vertue thereof, one D. Mooreton, an olde English fugitiue and conspirator, was sent from Rome, into the North Parts of England, to stirre vp the first rebellion there, whereof Charles Neuill, the late Earle of Westmerland, was a head captaine. And thereby it may manifestly appeare to all men, howe this bull was the grounde of the rebellions both in England and Ireland; and howe, for maintenaunce thereof, and for sowing of sedition by warrant, and allowance of the same, these persons were iustly condemned of treason, and lawfully executed by the auncient lawes temporall of the realme, without charging them for any other matter, than for their practizes and conspiracies, both abroad and at home, against the Queen and the realme, and for maintaining of the Popes foresaid authoritie and bull, published to depriue her Maiestie of her crowne, and for withdrawing and reconciling of her subiectes from their natural allegeaunce due to her Maiestie and their countrie, and for mouing them to sedition: And, for no other causes, or questions of religion, were these persons condemned; although true it is, that when they were charged and conuinced of these poynts of conspiracies and treasons, they woulde still, in their answeres, colourably pretend their actions to haue bene for religion: But, in deede and trueth, they were manifested to be for the procurement and maintenaunce of the rebellions and warres against her Maiestie and her realme.

And herein is nowe the manifest diuersitie to be seene, and well considered, betwixt the trueth of her Maiesties actions, and the falshood of the blasphemous aduersaries: That where the factious partie of the Pope, the principall author of the inuasions of her Maiesties dominions, doe falsely alleadge, that a nomber of persons, whome they terme as martyrs, haue dyed for defence of the Catholique Religion, the same in very trueth may manifestly appeare to haue died (if they so wil haue it) as martyrs for the Pope, but yet as traitours to their Soueraigne and Queene, in adhearing to him, being the notable, and onely open, hostile enemie in all actions of warre against her Maiestie, her kingdomes, and people: And that this is the meaning of all these that haue so obstinately mantayned the authoritie and contents of this bull, the very wordes of the bull do declare in this sort, as Dr. Sanders reporteth them.

Pius Quintus Pontifex Maximus, de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, declarauit Elizabetham prætenso regni iure, necnon omni & quocunque dominio, dignitate, priuilegioq, priuatam: Itemq; Proceres, subditos & populos dicti regni, ac cæteros omnes qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, a iuramento huiusmodi ac omni fidelitatis debito, perpetuo absolutos. That is to say, 'Pius Quintus, the greatest Bishop, of the fulnesse of the apostolique power, declareth Elizabeth to be bereued or depriued of her pretended right of her kingdome, and also of all and whatsoeuer dominion, dignitie and priuiledge; and also the nobles, subiectes, and people of the saide kingdome, and all others, which had sworne to her any maner of wayes, to be absolued for euer from such othe, and from all debt or duetie of fealtie, and so forth;' with many threatning cursings,

to all that durst obey her, or her lawes. And for the execution hereof, to proue, that the effect of the Popes bull and message was a flat rebellion, it is not amisse to heare what the same D. Sanders, the Popes firebrand in Ireland, also writeth in his visible Church-Monarchie, which is thus:

Pius Quintus, Pontifex Maximus, Anno Dom. 1569, *reuerendum presbyterum Nicolaum Mortonum Anglum in Angliam misit, vt certis illustribus viris authoritate apostolica denunciaret, Elizabetham, quæ tunc rerum potiebatur, hæreticam esse; ob eamq; causam omni dominio & potestate excedisse, impuneq; ab illis velut ethnicam haberi posse, nec eos illius legibus aut mandatis deinceps obedire cogi.* That is to say, 'Pius Quintus, the greatest Bishop, in the yere of our Lord, 1569, sent the reuerend priest Nicholas Morton, an Englishman, into England, that he should denounce or declare by the apostolique authoritie to certaine noblemen, Elizabeth, who then was in possession of the crown, to be an heretike; And for that cause, to haue fallen from all dominion and power, and that she may be had or reputed of them as an ethnike *, and that they are not to be compelled to obey her lawes or commandements, &c.'

Thus you see an ambassade of rebellion from the Popes Holines, the ambassadour, an old doting English priest, a fugitiue and conspirator, sent, as he saieth, to some noblemen, and those were the two Earles of Northumberland, and Westmerland, heads of the rebellion.

And, after this, he followeth to declare the successe thereof, which I dare say he was sory it was so euil, with these words:

Qua denunciatione multi nobiles viri adducti sunt, vt de fratribus liberandis cogitare auderent, ac sperabant illi quidem Catholicos omnes summis viribus affuturos esse: verum etsi aliter quam illi expectabant res euenit, quia Catholici omnes nondum probe cognouerunt, Elizabetham hæreticam esse declaratam, tamen laudanda illorum nobilium consilia erant: That is, 'By which denunciation, many noblemen were induced or ledde, that they were boldened to thinke of the freeing of their brethren, and they hoped certainly that all the Catholiques would haue assisted them with all their strength: But although the matter happened otherwise then they hoped for, because all the Catholiques knewe not that Elizabeth was declared to be an Heretike, yet the counsels and intentes of those noblemen were to be praysed.' A rebellion and a vanquishing of rebels very smoothly described.

This noble fact here mentioned was the rebellion in the north: The noblemen were the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland: The lacke of the euent or success was that the traitours were vanquished, and the Queenes Maiestie and her subiectes had by Gods ordinance the victorie: And the cause, why the rebels preuayled not, was, because all the Catholiques had not bene duely informed that the Queenes Maiestie was declared to be (as they terme it) an Heretike: Which want of in-

* Or Heathen.

formation, to the intent to make the rebels mightier in nomber and power, was diligently and cunningly supplyed, by sending into the realme of a great multitude of the Seminaries * and Iesuites, whose special charge was to informe the people thereof, as by their actions hath manifestly appeared.

And though D. Sanders hath thus written, yet it may be said by such as fauoured the two notable Iesuites, one named Robert Persons, (who yet hideth himself in corners to continue his traiterous practise) the other named Edmond Campion (that was found out, being disguised like a roister, and suffered for his treasons) that D. Sanders's treason is his proper treason in allowing of the sayde bull, and not to be imputed to Persons and Campion. Therefore, to make it plaine that these two, by speciall authoritie, had charge to execute the sentence of this bull, these actes in writing following shall make manifest, which are not fayned or imagined, but are verie writings taken about one of their complyces, immediatly after Campions death, although Campion, before his death †, would not be knowen of any such matter; whereby it may appeare what trust is to be giuen to the wordes of such Pseudo-martyrs.

Facultates concessæ pp. Roberto Personio & Edmundo Campiano, pro Anglia, die 14 *Aprilis*, 1580.

PETATUR, a summo Domino nostro, explicatio bullæ declaratoriæ per Pium Quintum, contra Elizabetham, & ei adhærentes, quam Catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, vt obliget semper illam et hæreticos, Catholicos vero nullo modo obliget rebus sic stantibus, sed tum demum quando publica ejusdem bullæ executio fieri poterit.

Then followed manie other petitions of faculties for their further authorities, which are not needefull for this purpose to be recited: But, in the end, followeth this sentence, as an answere of the Popes, *Has prædictas gratias concessit summus Pontifex patri Roberto Personio, & Edmundo Campiano, in Angliam profecturis, die* 14. *Aprilis*, 1580. *Præsente patre Oliuero Manarco assistente.*

The English of which Latten sentences is, as followeth.

Faculties graunted to the two Fathers Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, for England, the 14. *Day of April*, 1580.

'LET it be asked, or required, of our most holy Lorde, the explication or meaning, of the bull declaratory made by Pius the Fifth, against Elizabeth, and such as do adheare or obey her, which bull the Catholiques desire to be vnderstood in this manner, that the same bull shall alwayes binde her and the heretikes, but the Catholiques it shall

* When put with Jesuits, properly signifies Secular Priests, in opposition to Jesuits.

† He was tried upon the Treason-Act, 25 Edward the Third, and convicted of endeavouring to stir up rebellion, and of oostinately maintaining, that the Queen was lawfully deposed; and, at the same time, for the same crime, Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, and Alexander Brian, were executed: Before which time, (1581) no more than five Papists had been put to death in this reign. Camden.

by noe meanes bind, as matters or thinges doe now stande or be, but hereafter, when the publique execution of that bull may be had or made.'

Then in the end, the conclusion was thus added:

'The highest Pontiffe, or Bishoppe, graunted these foresaid graces to Father Robert Persons and Edmonde Campion, who are nowe to take their iourneyes into England, the fourteenth day of Aprill, in the yere of our Lorde 1580. Being present, the Father Oliuerius Manarke assistant.'

Hereby it is manifest, what authoritie Campion had to impart the contents of the bull against the Queenes Maiestie, howsoeuer he himselfe denyed the same, for this was his errand.

And though it be manifest that these two Iesuites, Persons and Campion, not onely required to haue the Popes minde declared for the bull, but also, in their own petitions, shewed howe they and other Catholiques did desire to haue the sayd bull to be vnderstood against the Queene of Englande: Yet, to make the matter more plaine, howe all other Iesuites and Seminaries, yea, howe al other Papists, naming themselues Catholiques, doe, or are warranted to interpret the saide bull against her Maiestie, and her good subiectes, howsoever they will disguise it, you shall see what one of their fellowes, named Hart, who was condemned with Campion, and yet lyveth, did, amongst many other thinges, declare his knowledge thereof, the last of December, in the same yere, 1580, in these wordes following.

'The bull of Pius Quintus, for so much as it is against the Queene, is holden among the English Catholiques for a lawful sentence, and a sufficient discharge of her subiectes fidelity, and so remayneth in force; but, in some poynts touching the subiectes, it is altered by the present Pope. For, where in that bull all her subiectes are commanded not to obey her, and shee being excommunicate and deposed, all that doe obey her are likewise innodate and accursed, which poynt is perillous to the Catholiques: For, if they obey her, they be in the Popes curse; and if they disobey her, they are in the Queenes danger: therefore, the present Pope, to relieue them, hath altered that part of the bull, and dispenced with them to obey and serue her, without perill of excommunication; which dispensation is to endure, but till it please the Pope otherwise to determine.'

Wherefore, to make some conclusion of the matters before mencioned, al persons, both within the realme, and abroade, may playnely perceiue, that all the infamous libels lately published abroade in sundrie languages, and the slanderous reportes made in other princes courtes of a multitude of persons, to haue bene of late put to torments and death, onely for professing of the Catholique religion, and not for matters of state against the Queenes Maiestie, are false and shameles, and published to the maintenaunce of traitours and rebelles. And to make the

matter seeme more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular names of all the persons, which, by their own catalogue, exceed not for these twenty fiue yeeres space, aboue the number of threescore, forgetting, or rather, with their stonie and sensles heartes, not regarding, in what cruel sort, in the tyme of Queene Marie, which little exceeded the space of fiue yeeres, the Queenes Maiesties raigne being five times as many *, there were by imprisonment, torments, famyne and fire, of men, women, maidens and children, almost the number of foure hundred, beside such as were secretly murdered in prisons; and of that number, above twenty that had bene archbishoppes, bishoppes, and principal prelates or officers in the church, lamentably destroyed; and of women aboue threescore, and of children aboue fourtie, and amongst the women some great with child, and one out of whose bodye the child by fire was expelled aliue, and yet also cruelly burned: Examples beyond al heathen cruelty †. And most of the youth that then suffered cruel death, both men, women, and children (which is to be noted) were such, as had neuer by the sacrament of baptisme, or by confirmation, professed, nor was euer taught or instructed, or euer had hearde of any other kinde of religion, but onely of that which by their blood and death, in the fire, they did as true martyrs testifie. A matter of another sort to be lamented, in Christian charity, with simplicity of words, and not with puffed eloquence, then the execution in this time of a very fewe traytors, who also, in their time, if they exceeded thirtie yeres of age, had in their baptisme professed, and in their youth had learned the same religion which they now so bitterly oppugned. And, beside that, in their opinions they differ much from the martyrs of Queene Maries time: For though they which suffered in Queene Maries time continued in the profession of the religion wherein they were christened, and as they were perpetually taught, yet they never at their death denied their lawful Queene, nor maintained any of her open and forreine enemies, nor procured any rebellion, or ciuill warre, nor did sowe any sedition in secret corners, nor withdrewe any subiectes from their obedience, as these sworne seruants of the Pope have continually done.

And therefore, all these thinges well considered, there is no doubt, but all good subiectes within the realme doe manifestly see, and all wauering persons (not being led cleane out of the way by the seditious) will hereafter perceiue, how they haue bene abused to go astray. And all strangers, but specially al Christian potentates, as emperours, kinges, princes, and such like, hauing their soueregn estates, either in succession hereditarie, or by consent of their people, being acquainted with the very trueth of these her Maiesties late iust and necessarie actions,

* In the two first years only of her persecution, which began in 1555, eight-hundred were put to death, Rapin, Vol. II. p. 48. Fol. And it is generally acknowledged, that she burnt at the stake five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty-widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants, besides sixty-four more, who being persecuted for their religion, seven of them were whipt, sixteen perished in prison, and twelve more buried in dunghills. Burnet, Strype, Heylin. Speed, p. 826.

† Especially if we recollect, that, by proclamation, she declared them rebels, and ordered them to be executed, without delay, by martial law, whoever were found reading an heretical book, and would not burn it. And she expresly forbid to pray for those who were executed, or even to say, God help them; which shewed, that it was not the conversion, but the destruction, of these she called hereticks she desired.

only for defence of herselfe, her crowne, and people, against open inuadors, and for eschewing of ciuill warres, stirred up by rebellion, will allow in their owne like cases, for a trueth and rule (as is not to be doubted but they will) that it belongeth not to a Bishoppe of Rome, as successour to Saint Peter, and therein a pastor spiritual; or if hee were the Bishoppe of all Christendome, as by the name of Pope he claymeth, first by his bulles or excommunications, in this sort at his will, in favour of traytours and rebels, to depose any soueraigne princes, being lawfully inuested in their crownes by succession in blood, or by lawfull election, and then to arme subiectes against their naturall lordes, to make warres, and to dispense with them for their othes in so doing, or to excommunicate faithfull subiectes, for obeying of their natural princes, and lastly himselfe to make open warre, with his owne soldiours, against Princes mouing no force against him.

For, if these high tragicall powers shoulde be permitted to him to exercise, then shoulde no empire, no kingdome, no countrey, no citie, or towne, be possessed by any lawfull title, longer then one such onely an earthly man, sitting, as he saith, in St. Peters chaire at Rome, should for his will and appetite, without any warrant from God or man, thinke meete and determine: An authoritie neuer challenged by the Lorde of Lordes, the Sonne of God, Iesus Christ, our onely Lord and Sauiour, and the onely head of his church, whilest he was in his humanitie upon the earth; nor yet deliuered by any writing, or certaine tradition from Saint Peter, from whome the Pope pretendeth to derive all his authoritie; nor yet from St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles; but, contrariwise, by all preachings, preceptes, and writings, conteined in the gospel, and other scriptures of the apostles, obedience is expresly commaunded to all earthly princes, yea, euen to kings by speciall name, and that so generally, as no person is excepted from such duetie of obedience, as by the sentence of Saint Paul, even to the Romanes, appeareth, *Omnis anima sublimioribus potestatibus sit subdita;* that is, 'Let every soul be subiect to the higher powers*:' Within the compasse of which law, or precept, Saint Chrisostome, being Bishoppe of Constantinople, writeth, that even apostles, prophets, euangelists, and monkes are comprehended. And for proote of Saint Peters minde herein, from whome these Popes claime their authoritie, it cannot be plainlyer expressed, then when he writeth † thus: *Proinde subiecti estote cuiuis humanæ ordinationi, propter Dominum, siue regi, vt qui supereminent, siue præsidibus ab eo missis:* That is, 'Therefore be ye subiect to euery humane ordinance or creature, for the Lorde, whether it be to the King, as to him that is supereminent, or aboue the rest, or to his presidents sent by him.' By which two principal apostles of Christ, these Popes the pretended successours, but chiefely by that which Christ, the Sonne of God, the onely master of trueth, sayde to Peter and his fellow apostles, *Reges gentium dominantur, vos autem non sic:* That is, 'The Kings of the Gentiles haue rule ouer them, but you not so;' may learn to forsake their arrogant and tyrannous authorities in earthly and temporal causes ouer kings and princes, and exercise their pastorall office, as Saint

* Rom. xiii. 1. † 1 Peter ii. 13, 14.

Peter was charged thrise at one time by his Lorde and Master, *pasce oues meas*, 'Feed my sheepe,' and peremptorily forbidden to use a sworde, in saying to him, *Conuerte gladium tuum in locum suum*, or, *mitte gladium tuum in vaginam*: that is, 'turne thy sword into his place; or, put thy sworde into the scabbard.' All which preceptes of Christ and his apostles were duely followed and obserued many hundred yeres after their death, by the faithfull and godly bishoppes of Rome, that duely followed the doctrine and humilitie of the apostles, and the doctrine of Christ, and were holy martyrs, and thereby dilated the limittes of Christs church, and the fayth, more in the compasse of an hundred yeres, then the latter Popes haue done with their swordes and curses these 500 yeres, and so continued until the time of one Pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregory the Seuenth, about the yere of our Lorde 1074; who first beganne to vsurpe that kinde of tyrannie, which of late the Pope, called Pius Quintus, and since that time, Gregory, now the Thirteenth, hath followed, for some example, as it seemeth: That is, where Gregory the Seuenth, in the yere of our Lord 1074, or thereabout, presumed to depose Henry the Fourth, a noble emperour, then being, Gregory the Thirteenth, nowe at this time, would attempt the like against King Henry the Eightes daughter and heire, Queene Elizabeth, a soueraigne and a maiden queene, holding her crowne immediatly of God. And to the ende it may appeare to princes, or to their good counsellours, in one example, what was the fortunate successe that God gaue to this good Christian Emperour Henry against the proud Pope Hildebrand, it is to be noted, that, when the Pope Gregory attempted to depose this noble Emperour Henry, there was one Rodulphe, a nobleman, by some named the Count of Reenfield, that, by the Popes procurement, vsurped the name of the Emperour, who was ouercome by the sayde Henry the lawfull Emperour, and in fight having lost his right-hand, he, the said Rodulphe, lamented his case to certayne bishoppes, who, in the Popes name, had erected him vp, and to them he said, that the selfe same right-hande, which he had lost, was the same hande wherewith he had before sworne obedience to his lorde and master the Emperour Henry, and that, in following their ungodly counselles, he had brought upon him Gods heavy and iust iudgementes. And so Henry the Emperour, preuailing by Gods power, caused Gregory the Pope, by a synode in Italy, to be deposed, as in like times before him his predecessour Otho, the Emperour, had deposed one Pope Iohn, for many heynous crimes: and so were also, within a short time, three other Popes, namely, Siluester, Bennet, and Gregory the Sixt, vsed by the Emperour Henry the Third, about the yere of our Lord 1047, for their like presumptuous attemptes in temporall actions against the said emperours. Many other examples might be shewed to the Emperours Maiestie, and the princes of the Holy Empire nowe being, after the time of Henry the Fourth; as of Henry the Fifth, and after him of Fredericke the First, and Fredericke the Second, and then of Lewis of Bauar, all emperours, cruelly and tyrannously persecuted by the Popes, and by their bulles, curses, and by open warres, and likewise to many other the great kinges and monarches of Christendome, of their noble progenitors,

kinges of their seuerall dominions; whereby they may see how this kind of tyrannous authoritie in popes to make warres upon emperours and kinges, and to commaund them to be depriued, toke holde at the first by Pope Hildebrande, though the same neuer had any lawefull example or warrant from the lawes of God of the Olde or Newe Testament, but yet the successes of their tyrannies were by Gods goodnesse for the most parte made frustrate, as by Gods goodnesse there is no doubt, but the like will followe to their confusions at all times to come.

And therefore, as there is no doubt but the like violent tyrannous proceedings by any Pope in maintenaunce of traitours and rebels, would be withstoode by euery soueraigne prince in Christendome in defence of their persons and crownes, and maintenaunce of their subiectes in peace; so is there at this present a like iust cause that the Emperours Maiestie, with the princes of the holy empire, and all other soueraigne kinges and princes in Christendome, should iudge the same to be lawfull for her Maiestie being a Queene, and holding the very place of a king and and a prince soueraigne ouer diuers kingdomes and nations, she being also most lawfully inuested in her crowne, and as for good gouerning of her people, with such applause and generall allowance, loued, and obeyed of them, sauing a few ragged traitours or rebels, or persons discontented, whereof no other realme is free as continually for these twenty-five yeres past hath bene notably seene and so publiquely marked, euen by strangers repairing into this realme, as it were no cause of disgrace to any monarchie and king in Christendome, to haue her Maiesties felicitie compared with any of theirs whatsoever: and it may be, there are many kinges and princes coulde be well contented with the fruition of some proportion of her felicitie. And though the Popes be nowe suffered by the Emperour, in the landes of his owne peculiar patrimonie, and by the two great monarches, the French King and the King of Spaine, in their dominions and territories (although by many other kinges not so allowed) to continue his authoritie in sundrie cases, and his glorious title to be the vniversall bishop of the worlde, which title Gregorie the Great, aboue nine hundred yeres past, called a prophane title, full of sacrilege, and a preamble of Antichrist; yet in all their dominions and kingdomes, as also in the realme of Englande, most notably by many auncient lawes it is well knowen, how many wayes the tyrannous power of this his excessiue authoritie hath bene and still is restrained, checked, and limitted by lawes and pragmatiques, both auncient and newe, both in Fraunce, Spaine, and other dominions; a very large fielde for the lawyers of those countries to walke in and discourse. And howsoeuer the Popes canonistes, being as his bombarders, doe make his excommunications and curses appeare fearefull to the multitude and simple people yet all great emperours and kings aforetime, in their owne cases, of their rightes and royall preeminences, though the same concerned but a citie or a poore towne, and sometime but the not allowance of some unworthie person to a bishopricke or to an abbey, neuer refrayned to despise all Popes curses or forces, but attempted alwayes, eyther by their swordes to compell them to desist from their furious actions, or without

any fear of themselues, in body, soule, or conscience, stoutly to withstande their curses, and that sometyme by force, sometyme by ordinances and lawes; the auntient histories whereof are too many to be repeated, and of none more frequent and effectual then of the Kings of Fraunce; and, in the records of England doth appear, how stoutly the kinges and the baronage of England from age to age, by extreme penall lawes, haue so repelled the Popes vsurpations, as, with the uery name of premunires, his proctors haue bene terrified, and his clergy haue quaked, as of late Cardinall Wolsey did proue. But, leauing those that are auntient, we may remember howe, in this our owne present or late age, it hath bene manifestly seene, howe the army of the late noble Emperour Charles the Fift, father of King Philippe, that nowe reigneth, was not afrayde of his curses, when, in the yere of our Lorde 1527, Rome itselfe was besieged and sacked, and the Pope then called Clement, and his cardinals, to the number of about thirty-three, in his Mount Adrian, or Castell S. Angelo, taken prisoners and deteined seuen moneths or more, and after ransomed by Don Vgo di Moncada, a Spaniarde, and the Marques of Guasto, at aboue four hundred million of ducates, besides the ransomes of his cardinalls which was much greater, having not long before time bene also, notwithstanding his curses, besieged in the same castell by the familie of the Colonies and their fautors, his next neighbours being then Imperialistes, and forced to yeelde to all their demaunds. Neither did King Henry the Seconde of Fraunce, father to Henry nowe King of France, about the yeere 1550, feare or regard the Pope or his court of Rome, when he made several straight edictes against many partes of the Popes claymes in preiudice of the crowne and clergie of Fraunce, retracting the authoritie of the court of Rome, greatly to the hinderance of the Popes former profites. Neither was the army of King Philip nowe of Spaine, whereof the Duke of Alua was generall, stricken with any feare of cursing, when it was brought afore Rome against the Pope, in the yere of our Lord 1555, where great destruction was made by the said army, and al the delicate buyldings, gardens, and orchardes next to Rome, walles overthrowen, wherewith his holinesse was mere terrified, then he was able to remoue with any of his curses. Neither was Queene Mary, the Queenes Maiesties late sister, a person not a little devoted to the Romane religion, so afraid of the Popes cursings, but that both she and her whole counsel, and that with the assent of all the iudges of the realme, according to the auncient lawes, in favour of Cardinall Poole her kinsman, did most straightly forbid the entrie of his bulles, and of a cardinall hatte at Callis, that was sent from the Pope for one frier Peyto, an observant pleasent frier, whom the Pope had assigned to bee a cardinall in disgrace of Cardinall Poole*; neither did Cardinall Poole himselfe at the same time obey the Popes commandements, nor shewed himselfe afraid, being assisted by the Queene, when the Pope did threaten him with paine of curses and excommunication, but did still oppose himselfe against the Popes commandement

* Because Queen Mary had declared war against France, which the Pope thought Pole might have prevented.

for the saide pretended Cardinall Peyto; who, notwithstanding all the threateninges of the Pope, was forced to goe vp and downe in the streets of London like a begging frier*, without his red hatt; a stout resistance in a queene for a poore cardinalls hatte, wherein she followed the example of her grandfather King Henrie the Seventh, for a matter of allum, wherein the King vsed very great severitie against the Pope. So as howsoever the Christian kinges, for some respects in pollicie, can endure the Pope to commaunde where no harm nor disaduantage groweth to themselves, yet sure it is, and the popes are not ignorant, but where they shall in any sort attempt to take from Christian princes any part of their dominions, or shall giue ayde to their enemies, or to any other their rebels, in those cases, their bulles, their curses, their excommunications, their sentences, and most solemne anathematicals, no, nor their crosse keys, or double edged sword, will serve their turnes to compasse their intentions.

And now, where the Pope hath manifestly by his bulles and excommunications attempted as much as he could, to deprive her Maiestie of her kingdomes, to withdrawe from her the obedience of her subiectes, to procure rebellions in her realmes, yea, to make both rebellions and open warres with his owne captaines, soldiours, banners, ensignes, and all other thinges belonging to warre: shall this Pope Gregory, or any other pope after him, think that a soueraigne Queene, possessed of the two realmes of England and Ireland, stablished so many yeres in her kingdomes as three or foure popes have sit in their chayre at Rome, fortyfied with so much dutie, loue, and strength of her subiectes, acknowledging no superior ouer her realmes, but the mightie hand of God: shall she forbeare, or feare to withstand and make frustrate his vnlawful attempts, eyther by her sword, or by her lawes, or to put his souldiers invadours of her realme to the sword martially; or to execute her lawes upon her owne rebellious subjectes ciuilly, that are prooved to be his chiefe instruments for rebellion, and for his open warre? This is sure, that whosoever either be sitting in his chaire, with a triple crowne at Rome, or any other his proctors in any part of Christendome, shall renewe these vnlawfull attemptes, Almightie God, the King of Kinges, whome her Maiestie onely honoureth and acknowledgeth to be her onely Soueraigne Lord and Protector, and whose lawes and gospel of his Sonne Iesus Christ she seeketh to defend, will no doubt, but deliver sufficient power into his maydens hand, his seruant Queene Elizabeth, to with stand and confound them all.

And where the seditious trumpetters of infamies and lies haue sounded forth and entituled certaine that haue suffered for treason, to be martyrs for religion; so may they also at this time, if they list, adde to their forged catalogue the headless bodie of the late miserable Earl of Desmonde, the head of the Irish rebellion, who of late, secretly wandering without succour, as a miserable begger, was taken by one of the Irishry in his caben, and, in an Irish sort after his owne accustomed savage maner, his head cut off from his bodie; an end due to

* For the Queen let him know, that if he accepted thereof, without her leave, or pretended to exercise any Papal jurisdiction in her dominions, without her permission, she would bring him within the statute of premunire; so that he never went to Calais to fetch his bulls and his hat. See Burnet, Tom 3, p. 211. Collect,

such an arch rebell. And, herewith to remember the ende of his chiefe confederates, may be noted, for example to others, the strange maner of the death of D. Sanders, the Popes Irish legat, who also, wandering in the mountaines in Ireland without succour, died raving in a phrensey. And before him one James Fitz-Morice, the first traitour of Ireland next to Stukely the rakehel, a man not vnknowen in the Popes palace for a wicked crafty traytour, was slaine at one blow by an Irish noble yong gentleman, in defence of his fathers country seat, which the traitour sought to burn. A fourth man of singular note was Iohn Desmonde, brother to the Earl, a very bloody and faithles traitour, and a notable murderer of his familiar friendes, who also, wandering to seeke some pray like a wolfe in the woods, was taken and beheaded after his own usage, being as he thought sufficiently armed with the Popes bulles and certaine *agnus dei*, and one notable ring with a precious stone about his necke sent from the Popes finger (as it was said) but these he saw saued not his life. And such were the fatal ends of al these, being the principal heads of the Irish war and rebellion, so as no one person remaineth at this day in Ireland a known traitour; a work of God and not of man! To this nomber, they may if they seek nomber, also adde a furious yong man of Warwickshire, by name Someruille, to increase their kalender of the Popes martyrs, who of late was discouered and taken in his way, coming with a full intent to haue killed her Maiestie (whose life God always haue in his custodie.) The attempt not denied by the traitour himselfe, but confessed, and that he was moued thereto in his wicked spirit, by inticements of certaine seditious and traiterous persons his kinsmen and allyes, and also by often reading of sundrie seditious vile books lately published against her Maiestie, and his end was in desperation to strangle himself to death; an example of Gods severitie against such as presume to offer violence to his annoynted! But as God of his goodnes hath of long time hitherto preserued her Maiestie from these and the like trecheries; so hath she no cause to feare being vnder his protection, she saying with King David in the Psalme, 'My God is my helper, and I will trust in him; he is my protection, and the strength, or the power of my saluation.' And for the more comfort of al good subiectes against the shadowes of the Popes bulles, it is manifest to the world, that, from the beginning of her Maiesties reigne, by Gods singular goodnes, her kingdome hath enioyed more vniuersall peace, her people increased in more nombers, in more strength, and with greater riches, the earth of her kingdomes hath yeelded more fruits, and generally all kind of worldly felicitie hath more abounded since and during the time of the Popes thunders, bulles, curses, and maledictions, then in any other long times before, when the Popes pardons and blessings came yerely into the realme; so as his curses and maledictions haue turned backe to himselfe and his fautors, that it may be said to the blessed Queene of England, Elizabeth, and her people, as was said in Deuteronomy of Balaam. 'The Lord thy God would not heare Balaam, but did turn his maledictions or curses into benedictions or blessings; the reason is, for because thy God loved thee.'

Although these former reasons are sufficient to perswade all kind of reasonable persons to allow of her Maiesties actions to be good, reasonable, lawfull, and necessarie; yet because it may be, that such as have by frequent reading of false artificiall libels, and by giuing credite to them, vpon a preiudice or foreiudgement afore grounded, by their rooted opinions in favour of the Pope, will rest vnsatisfied: therefore, as much as may be, to satisfie al persons as far foorth as common reason may warrant, that her Maiesties late action, in executing of certain seditious traitours, hath not proceeded for the holding of opinions, either for the Popes supremacie, or against her Maiesties regalitie, but for the very crymes of sedition and treason, it shall suffice briefly, in a manner of a repetition of the former reasons, to remember these thinges following:

First, It cannot be denied, but that her Maiestie did, for many yeres, suffer quietly the Popes bulls and excommunications without punishment of the fautors thereof, accompting of them but as words or winde, or of writings in parchment wayed downe with leade, or as of water bubbles, commonly called in Latine, Bullæ, and such like; but yet after some proofe, that courage was taken thereof by some bolde and bad subiectes, she coulde not but then esteeme them to be verie preambles, or as forerunners of greater danger; and, therefore, with what reason coulde any mislike, that her Maiestie did, for a bare defence against them, without other action or force, vse the helpe of reuiving of former lawes, to prohibit the publication or execution of such kinde of bulles within her realme.

Secondly, When notwithstanding the prohibition by her lawes, the same bulles were plentifully (but in secret sort) brought into the realme, and at length arrogantly set upon the gates of the Bishop of Londons Pallace, neere to the cathedrall church of Pauls, the principal-citie of the realme, by a lewd person, vsing the same like a herald sent from the Pope; who can in any common reason mislike, that her Maiestie, finding this kinde of denunciation of warre, as a defiance to be made in her principal citie by one of her subiectes, auowing and obstinately maintaining the same, should, according to iustice, cause the offender to haue the reward due to such a fact? And this was the first action of any capitall punishment inflicted for matter sent from Rome to moue rebellion, which was after her Maiestie had reigned about the space of twelve yeres or more: a time sufficient to prove her maiesties patience.

Thirdly, When the Pope had risen vp out of his chaire in his wrath, from words and writings to actions, and had contrary to the aduise giuen by St. Barnard, to one of his predecessors, that is, when by his messages he left Verbum, and took Ferrum, that is, left to feede by the word, which was his office; and began to strike with the sword, which was forbidden him, and stirred her noblemen and people directly to disobedience and to open rebellion, which was the office of Dathan and Abdeon; and that her lewde subiectes by his commaundement

had executed the same with al the forces which they could make or bring into the field; who with common reason can disallow that her Maiestie vsed her royall lawfull authoritie, and by her forces lawfull subdued rebelles forces vnlawfull, and punished the authours thereof no otherwise than the Pope himselfe vseth to do with his owne rebellious subiectes, in the patrimonie of his church, as not many monthes sithens he had been forced to intend. And, if any prince of people in the world would otherwise neglect his office, and suffer his rebelles to haue their wills, none ought to pitie him, if, for want of resistance and courage, he lost both his crowne, his head, his life. and his kingdome.

Fourthly, When her Maiestie beheld a further increase of the Popes malice, notwithstanding that the first rebellion was in her North parts vanquished, in that he interteined abroade out of this realme the traitours and rebelles that fledde for the rebellion, and all the rabble of other the fugitiues of the realme, and that he sent a number of the same in sorts disguised, into both the realmes of England and Ireland, who there secretly allured her people to newe rebellions, and at the same time spared not his charges to sende also, out of Italy, by sea *, certain shippes with captaines of his own, with their bands of soldiours, furnished with treasure, munition, victuals, ensignes, banners, and all other thinges requisite to the warre, into her realme of Ireland, where the same forces, with other auxiliar companies out of Spaine landed, and fortified themselues ueric strongly on the seaside, and proclaymed open warre, erecting the Popes banner against her Maiestie; may it be now asked of these persons, fauourers of the Romish authoritie, what in reason should haue bene done by her Maiestie otherwise, then first to apprehend all such fugitiues so stolne into the realme, and dispersed in disguising habites to sow sedition, as some priestes in their secrete profession, but in all their apparell, as roisters or ruffins, some schollars, like to the basest common people, and them to committe to prisons, and, vpon their examinations of their trades and haunts, to conuince them of their conspiracies abroade, by testimonies of their owne companions, and of sowing sedition secretly at home in the realme? What may be reasonablie thought was meete to be done with such seditious persons, but by the lawes of the realme to try, condemn, and execute them? and specially hauing regard to the dangerous time, when the Popes forces in her realme of Ireland, and more in preparation to followe as well into England as into Ireland, to the resistance whereof, her Maiestie and her realme was forced to be at greater charges, then euer she had bene, since shee was Queene thereof. And so by Gods power, which hee gaue to her on the one part, she did by her lawes suppresse the seditious stirrers of rebellion in her realme of England, and by her sworde vanquished all the Popes forces in her realme of Ireland, excepting certaine captaines of marke that were saued from

* This was a second Embarkation in 1580, under the command of San Joseppo, an Italian; who landed without opposition, and built a fort, called Fort del Oro, and garrisoned it with 700 Men, and arms for five or six-thousand more; which, after a siege of six days, was forced to surrender to Arthur the Lord Grey, Deputy of the Island, and to the Earl of Ormond; when all the Spaniards were put to the sword, and the Irish, that had joined with them, were hanged. Camden. Stow.

the sworde, as persons that did renounce their quarrel, and seemed to curse or to blame such as sent them to so vnfortunate and desperate a voyage.

But though these reasons, grounded vpon rules of naturall reason, shall satistie a great nomber of the aduersaries (who will yeelde that, by good order of ciuil and christian policie and government, her Maiestie could nor can do no lesse than she hath done, first to subdue with her forces her rebelles and traitours, and nexte by order of her lawes to correct the ayders and abettors, and, lastly, to put also to the sworde such forces as the Pope sent into her dominions) yet there are certaine other persons, more nisely addicted to the Pope, that will yet seeme to be vnsatisfied, for that, as they will terme the matter, a nomber of sillie poore wretches were put to death as traitours, being but in profesion schollars or priestes, by the names of Seminaries, Iesuites, or simple scholemasters, that came not into the realme with any armour or weapon, by force to aide the rebelles and traitours, either in England or in Ireland, in their rebellious or warres; of which sort of wretches that comisseration is made, as though for their contrary opinions in religion, or for teaching of the people to disobey the lawes of the realme, they might haue bene otherwise punished and corrected, but yet not with capitall payne. These kinds of defences tend only to find fault rather with the severitie of their punishments, then to acquite them as innocentes or quiet subiectes. But, for answere to the better satisfaction of these nyse and scrupulous fauourers and traitours, it must be with reason demaunded of them (if at least they will open their eares to reason) whether they thinke that when a king, beeing stablished in his realme, hath a rebellion first secretly practised, and afterwards openly raysed in his realme by his own seditious subiectes, and when, by a forreine potentate or enemie, the same rebellion is mainteyned, and the rebelles by messages and promises comforted to continue, and their treasons against their naturall prince auowed, and consequently when the same potentate and enemie, beeing author of the said rebellion, shall with his owne proper forces inuade the realme and subiectes of the prince that is so lawefully and peaceably possessed; in these cases, shall no subiect, favouring these rebelles, and yeelding obedience to the enemie the inuador, be committed or punished as a traitour, but onely such of them, as shall be found openly to carrie armour and weapon? shall no subiect, that is a spial and an explorer for the rebel or enemie, against his naturall prince, be taken and punished as a traitour, because he is not found with armour or weapon, but yet is taken in his disguised apparell, with scrolles and writings, or other manifest tokens, to proue him a spie for traitours, after he hath wandered secretly in his soueraignes camp, region, court, or citie? shall no subiect be counted a traitour, that will secretly giue earnest and prest money to persons to be rebelles or enemies, or that will attempt to poison the victual, or the fountaines, or secretly set on fire the ships or munition, or that will secretly search and sound the hauens and creekes for landing, or measure the depth of ditches, or height of bulwarkes and walles, because these offenders are not founde with armour or weapon; the answere, I thinke, must needes be yeelded

(if reason and experience shall have rule with these aduersaries) that all these and such like are to be punished as traitours; and the principall reason is, because it cannot be denied but that the actions of all these are necessarie accessaries, and adherents proper, to further and continue all rebellions and warres. But if they wil denie, that none are traitours that are not armed, they will make Iudas no traitour, that came to Christ without armour, colouring his treason with a kisse.

Now therefore it resteth to applie the factes of these late malefactours, that are pretended to haue offended but as schollars, or bookemen, or, at the most, but as persons, that, onely in wordes and doctrine, and not with armour, did fauour and helpe the rebelles and the enemies. For which purpose, let these persons be termed, as they list, schollars, schoolemasters, bookemen, seminaries, priestes, iesuites, fryers, beademen, romanistes, pardoners, or what else you will, neyther their tytles, nor their apparel hath made them traitours, but their traiterous, secret motions and practises: their persons haue not made the warre, but their directions and counsels haue set vp the rebellions. The very causes final of these rebellions and warres haue bene to depose her Maiestie from her Crowne: The Popes bull hath roared it so to be; the causes instrumentall are these kinde of seminaries and seedemen of sedition: their secret teachings and reconciliations haue confirmed it: the fruites and effectes thereof are, by rebellion, to shedde the blood of all her faithfull subiectes: the rewardes of the inuadours (if they could preuaile) should be the disinheriting of al the nobilitie, the clergie, and the whole comminaltie, that would (as they are bounde by the lawes of God, by their birthe, and othes) defend their naturall gracious Queene, their natiue country, their wiues, their children, their family, and their houses. And now examine these, which you cal your vnarmed schollars and priestes, wherefore they first fled beyond sea out of the realme, and why they liued and were conuersant in companie of the principall rebelles and traitours at Rome, and in other places, where, it is proued, that they were partakers of their conspiracies: Let it be answered, why they came thus by stealth into the realme; why they haue wandered vp and down in corners, in disguised sort, changing their tytles, names, and maner of apparel; why they haue intised and sought to perswade, by their secrete false reasons, the people to allowe and beleeue all the actions and attempts, whatsoeuer the Pope hath done, or shall do, to be lawfull; why they haue reconciled and withdrawn so manie people in corners, from the lawes of the realme, to the obedience of the Pope, a forreyne potentate and open enemie to the establisht religion and lawes of England, whom they know to have already declared the Queene to be no lawfull Queene; to haue mayntayned the knowne rebelles and traitours: to haue inuaded her Maiesties dominions with open warre. Examine, further, how these vagarant, disguised, vnarmed spies haue answered, when they were taken and demanded, what they thought of the bull of Pope Pius Quintus, which was published to deprive the Queenes Maiestie, and to warrant her subiectes to disobey her: whether they thought, that all subiectes ought to obey the same bull, and so to rebell?

Secondly, Whether they thought her Maiestie to be the lawfull Queene of the realme, notwithstanding the said bull, or any other bull of the Pope? Thirdly, Whether the Pope might giue such licence, as he did, to the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, and other her Maiesties subiectes, to rebell, as they did; or giue power to D. Sanders, a naturall borne subiect, but an vnnaturall worne priest, to take armes, and moue warres, as he did in Ireland? Fourthly, Whether the Pope may discharge the subiectes of her Maiestie, or of any other princes christened, of their othes of obedience? Fifthly, whether the sayd traiterous priest, D. Sanders, or one Bristowe, a rebellious fugitiue, did, in their bookes, write truely or falsly, in approuing the sayd bull of Pius Quintus, and the contentes thereof? Lastly, What were to be done, if the Pope, or any other assigned by him, would inuade the realme of England: and what part they would take, or what part any faithfull subiect of her Maiesties ought to take? To these fewe questions, very apt to trie the trueth, or falshoode, of any such seditious persons, being iustly before condemned for their disloyaltie; these lewde, vnarmed traitours, I say, would no wise answere directly hereto, as all other faithfull subiectes to any prince christian ought to doe. And, as they, upon refusall to answere directly to these questions onely, might haue been iustly conuinced, as guiltie of treason; so yet were they not thereupon condemned, but vpon all their other former actions, committed both abroade, and in the realme, which were no lesse traiterous than the actions of all other the spyes and traitours, and of Iudas himselfe afore remembred, which had no armour nor weapon, and yet at all times ought to be adiudged traitours. For these disguised persons (called schollars, or priestes) hauing bene first conuersant of long time with the traitours beyonde the sea in all their conspiracies, came hither by stealth in time of warre and rebellion, by commaundement of the capitall enemie, the Pope, or his legates, to be secret espialles and explorers in the realme for the Pope, to deliver, by secret Romish tokens, as it were an earnest, or prest, to them that shoulde be in readines to ioyne with rebelles, or open enemies, and in like sort, with their hallowed baggages from Rome, to poyson the sences of the subiectes, powring into their heartes malicious and pestilent opinions against her Maiestie and the lawes of the realme; and also to kindle and set on fire the heartes of discontented subiectes with the flames of rebellion, and to search and sound the depthes and secretes of all mens inwarde intentions, either against her Maiestie, or for her: and, finally, to bring into a beadroll, or, as it were, into a muster-roll, the names and powers, with the dwellings, of all those that shoulde be readie to rebelle, and to ayd the forrein inuasion. These kinds of seditious actions for the seruice of the Pope, and the traitours and rebelles abroade, haue made them traitours; not their bookes nor their beades, no not their cakes of waxe, which they call Agnus Dei, nor other their reliques, nor yet their opinions for the ceremonies or rites of the church of Rome; and therefore it is to be certainly concluded, that these did iustly deserue their capitall punishments, as traitours, though they were not apprehended with open armour or weapon.

Nowe if this latter repetition, as it were, of all the former causes and reasons afore recited may not serue to stop the boisterous mouthes, and the pestiferous tongues, and venimous breathes of these, that are infected with so grosse errors, as to defende seditious subiectes, stirrers of rebellion against their naturall prince and countrey; then are they to be left, without any further argument, to the iudgement of the Almightie God, as persons that haue couered their eyes against the sunnes light, stopped their eares against the sound of iustice, and oppressed their heartes against the force of reason; and, as the psalmist saith, 'They speake lyes, they are as venemous as the poison of a serpent, euen like the deafe adder that stoppeth his eares.'

Wherefore, with christian charitie to conclude, If these rebels and traitours, and their fautors, woulde yet take some remorse and compassion of their naturall countrey, and woulde consider, how vaine their attempts haue bene so many yeres, and how many of their confederates are wasted by miseries and calamities, and how none of all their attempts, or plotts, haue prospered; and therefore would desist from their vnnatural practises abroade: and, if these seminaries, secret wanderers, and explorators in the darke woulde imploy their trauciles in the workes of light and doctrine, according to the vsage of their schooles, and content themselues with their profession and deuotion; and that the remnant of the wicked flocke of the seedemen of sedition would cease from their rebellious, false, and infamous railings and libellings, altogether contrary to christian charitie: there is no doubt, by Gods grace (her Maiestie being so much giuen to mercie, and deuoted to peace) but al colour and occasion of shedding the blood of any more of her naturall subiectes of this land, yea, all furder bodely punishments should vtterly cease. Against whose malices, if they should not desiste, Almighty God continue her Maiestie, with his spirit and power, long to reigne, and liue in his feare, and to be able to vanquish all Gods enemies, and especially her rebelles and traitours, both at home and abroade, and to maintaine and preserue al her naturall good louing subiectes, to the true seruice of the same Almightie God, according to his holy worde and will,

Many other thinges might be remembred for defence of other her Maiesties princely, honourable, and godly actions in sundrie other thinges, wherein also these and the like seditious railors haue of late time, without all shame, by fained and false libels, sought to discredit her Maiestie and her gouernement; but, at this time, these former causes and reasons, alleadged by way of aduertisements, onely for mayntenance of trueth, are sufficient to iustifie her Maiesties actions to the whole worlde.

2 Esdr. iv.
Magna est Veritas, & prævalet.
Great is the truth, and she ouercometh.

A DECLARATION*

OF THE

FAVOURABLE DEALING OF

HER MAIESTIES COMMISSIONERS,

APPOINTED FOR THE

EXAMINATION OF CERTAINE TRAITOURS,

And of Tortures vniustly reported to be done vpon them for matters of Religion.

1583. In black Letter, Quarto, containing six pages.

TO THE READER.

GOOD Reader, although her Maiesties most milde and gracious Gouernement bee sufficient to defende it selfe against those most slaunderous reportes of heathenish and vnnaturall Tyrannie, and cruell tortures, pretended to haue bene executed vpon certaine traitours, who lately suffred for their treason, and others; aswell spread abroad by Ruunagate Jesuites and Seminary men, in their seditious Bookes, Letters, and Libels, in forreine Countries and Princes Courtes, as also insinuated into the Heartes of some of our own Countrie Men and her Maiesties Subiectes: Yet, for thy better satisfaction, I haue conferred with a very honest Gentleman, whom I know to haue good and sufficient meanes to deliuer the Trueth against such forgers of Lyes and shameles Slaunders in that behalfe, which he, and other, that do know, and haue affirmed the same, will at all times iustifie: And, for thy further Assurance and Satisfaction herein, he hath set downe, to the Vewe of all Men, these Notes following.

TOUCHING the racke and torments, vsed to such traitours, as pretended them selues to bee catholiques, vpon whom the same haue bene exercised, it is affirmed for trueth, and is offered, vpon due examination, so to bee proued, to bee as followeth: First, That the formes of torture, in their seueritie, or rigour of execution, haue not bene such, and in such maner perfourmed, as the sclaunderers and seditious libellers haue sclaunderously and malitiously published; and that euen the principall offender, Campion him selfe, who was sent and came from Rome, and continued here in sundrie corners of the realme, hauing secretly wandered in the greatest part of the shieres of Englande in a disguised sort, to the intent to make speciall preparation of treasons; and to that ende, and for the furtherance of those his labors, sent ouer for more helpe and assistance, and cunningly and traiterously at Rome, before he came from thence,

* See No. 44. in the Catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets.

procured tolleration for such prepared rebels to keepe them selues couert, vnder pretence of temporarie and permissiue obedience to her Maiestie, the state standing as it doth; but, so soone as there were sufficient force, whereby the bull of her maiesties depriuation might bee publikely executed, they shoulde then ioyne altogether with that force, vpon peine of curse and damnation: that very Campion, I say, before the conference had with him by learned men in the Tower, wherein he was charitably vsed, was neuer so racked, but that he was presently able to walke, and to write, and did presently write and subscribe all his confessions, as by the originals thereof may appeare. A horrible matter is also made of the staruing of one Alexander Briant; how he should eat clay out of the walles, gathered water to drinke from the droppings of houses, with such other false ostentations of immanitie: where the trueth is this: that, whatsoeuer Briant suffered, in want of foode, he suffered the same wilfully, and of extreme impudent obstinacie, against the minde and liking of those that dealt with him. For, certaine traiterous writings being founde about him, it was thought conuenient, by conference of hands, to vnderstand whose writing they were; and thereupon, he being, in her Maiesties name, commaunded to write, which he coulde very well doe, and being permitted to him to write what he woulde him selfe, in these termes: that, if he liked not to write one thing, he might write an other, or what he lysted (which to doe, being charged in her Maiesties name, was his duetie, and to refuse was disloyall and vndutifull) yet the man woulde by no meanes be induced to write any thing at all. Then was it commaunded to his keeper to giue vnto him such meate, drinke, and other conuenient necessaries, as he woulde write for; and to forbeare to giue him any thing, for which he woulde not write. But Briant, being thereof aduertised, and oft moued to write, persisting so in his curst heart, by almost two dayes and two nightes, made choise rather to lack foode, then to write for the sustenance, which he might readely haue had for writing, and which he had, indede, readely and plentifully, so soone as he wrote. And, as it is sayde of these two, so is it to be truely sayde of other, with this, that there was a perpetuall care had, and the Queenes seruantes the wardens, whose office and act it is to handle the racke, were euer, by those that attended the examinations, specially charged to vse it in as charitable maner, as such a thing might be.

Secondly, It is sayde, and likewise offered to be iustified*, that neuer any of these seminaries, or such other pretended catholiques, which at any time, in her Maiesties raigne, haue bene put to the racke, were, vpon the racke, or in other torture, demaunded any question of their supposed conscience; as, what they beleeued, in any point of doctrine, or faith, as, the masse, transubstantiation, or such like; but onely, with what persons at home, or abroad, and touching what plots, practises, and conferences they had dealt, about attempts against her Maiesties estate or person? Or to alter the lawes of the

* See the Execution of Justice, last preceding.

realme, for matters of religion, by treason or by force? And howe they were perswaded them selues, and did perswade other, touching the popes bul, and pretense of authoritie to depose kinges and princes; and namely, for depriuation of her Maiestie, and to discharge subiectes from their allegeance? expressing herein alway the kingly powers and estates, and the subiectes allegeance ciuily, without mentioning, or meaning therein any right, that the Queene, as in right of the crowne, hath ouer persons ecclesiasticall, being her subiectes. In all which cases, Campion and the rest neuer answered plainely, but sophistically, deceitfully, and traiterously; restraining their confession of allegeance onely to the permissiue forme of the Popes tolleration: as, for example, if they were asked, whether they did acknowledge them selues the Queenes subiectes, and woulde obey her? They woulde say, yea; for so they had leaue for a time to doe. But, adding more to the question, and they being asked, if they woulde so acknowledge and obey her, any longer then the Pope woulde so permit them, or not withstanding such commaundement, as the Pope would, or might giue to the contrary? Then they eyther refused so to obey, or denyed to answere, or said, that they coulde not answere to those questions without daunger: which very answere, without more saying, was a plaine answere, to all reasonable vnderstanding, that they woulde no longer be subiectes, nor perswade other to be subiectes, than the Pope gaue licence. And, at their very arraignement, when they laboured to leaue in the minds of the people, and standers by, an opinion that they were to dye, not for treason, but for matter of faith and conscience in doctrine, touching the seruice of God, without any attempt or purpose against her Maiestie, they cryed out, that they were true subiectes, and did, and woulde obey and serue her Maiestie. Immediately, to proue whether that hypocriticall and sophistical speach extended to a perpetuitie of their obedience, or to so long time as the Pope so permitted, or no, they were openly, in place of iudgement, asked by the Queenes learned counsell, whether they woulde so obey, and be true subiectes, if the Pope commaunded the contrary? They plainely disclosed them selues in answere, saying by the mouth of Campion, this place (meaning the court of her Maiesties bench) hath no power to enquire, or iudge of the holy fathers authoritie; and other answere they would not make.

Thirdly, That none of them haue been put to the racke or torture, no not for the matters of treason, or partnership of treason, or such like, but where it was first knowen, and euidently probable by former detections, confessions, and otherwise, that the partie so racked, or tortured, was guylty, and did knowe, and coulde deliuer trueth of the thinges, wherewith he was charged; so as it was first assured, that no innocent was at any time tormented; and the racke was neuer vsed to wring out confessions at aduenture vpon vncertainties, in which doing, it might bee possible, that an innocent, in that case, might haue bene racked.

Fourthly, That none of them hath bene racked, or tortured, vnlesse he had first sayde expressely, or amounting to asmuch, that he wil

not tell the trueth, though the Queene commaund him. And, if any of them, being examined, did say, he could not tell, or did not remember, if he woulde so affirme, in such maner as christians among christians are beleeued, such his answere was accepted, if there were not apparent euidence to proue that he wilfully sayde vntruely. But, if he sayde, that his answere, in deliuering trueth, shoulde hurt a catholique, and so be an offence against charitie, which they sayde to be sinne, and that the Queene coulde not commaund them to sinne, and therefore, howsoeuer the Queene commaunded, they woulde not tell the trueth, which they were knowen to know, or to such effect, they were then put to the torture, or els not.

Fifthly, That the proceeding to torture was alway so slowly, so vnwillingly, and with so many preparations of perswasions to spare them selues, and so many meanes to let them know, that the trueth was by them to be vttered, both in duetie to her Maiestie, and in wisedome for themselues, as whosoeuer was present at those actions must needes acknowledge, in her Maiesties ministers, a ful purpose to follow the example of her owne most gratious disposition: whome God long preserue.

Thus it appeareth, that, albeit, by the more generall lawes of nations, torture hath bene, and is lawfully iudged to be vsed in lesser cases, and in sharper maner, for inquisition of trueth in crimes not so neere extending to publike danger, as these vngratious persons haue committed, whose conspiracies, and the particularities thereof, it did so much import and behoue to haue disclosed; yet, euen in that necessarie vse of such proceeding, enforced by the offenders notorious obstinacie, is neuerthelesse to be acknowledged the sweete temperature of her Maiesties milde and gratious clemencie; and their slaunderous lewdenes to be the more condemned, that haue, in fauour of haynous malefactours, and stubborne traytours, spred vntrue rumors and slaunders, to make her mercifull gouernment disliked, vnder false pretense; and rumors of sharpenesse and crueltie to those, against whome nothing can be cruel, and yet vpon whome nothing hath bene done, but gentle and mercifull.

THE TRUE REPORT

OF THE

Lamentable Death

OF

WILLIAM OF NASSAWE, PRINCE OF ORANGE,

Who was trayterouslie slayne with a Dagge, in his owne Courte,

BY BALTHAZAR SERACK, A BURGUNIAN,

The First of Iuly, 1584.

Herein is expressed the Murtherers Confession, and in what manner he was executed, vpon the Tenth of the same Month: Whose Death was not of sufficient sharpnes for such a Caytife, and yet too sowre for any Christian. Printed at Middleborowgh, by Derick van Respeawe, Anno. 1584. In octavo, containing eight Pages.

G. P. His Proheme to the Inhabitaunts of Flaunders.

WHO so considereth the state of princes (although they are as Gods vpon earth, beeing anoynted of God, hauing theyr authoritye from God, and sitting in Gods seate, to rule the sword with the law) may perceaue that they liue in more care, and greater daunger, than the simplest subiect. Lamentable therefore is their late example of the Prince of Orange, slayne (by a treacherous villain) in his owne courte: His death, and the manner thereof, may forewarne other princes to be carefull, whome they retaine into the presence of theyr person. Great is thy losse, and greater wil be thy misery, O Flaunders, for the want of thy prince, who did guide thee, and gouerned thy people, with wisedome, loue, policie, and continuall care for thy quietnes: He was thy comfort, and the stay of thy state in all extremities.

The cheefest states of thy countrey shall misse him; the widdowe, the sucking babe, and the fatherlesse childe shall haue cause to bewayle his death. Yea rich and poore altogether may lament his mishap, and cry, Woe vpon that man that bereaued him of life, whose noblenesse deserued fame, and whose woorthy acts and enterprises, beeing honourable, are meete to be registred among the most lawdable reportes of learned historiographers. If the Romaines did bemone the death of Cæsar, the Troyans the losse of Hector, and the Lacedemonians the want of Alexander, then hast thou, O Flaunders, more cause to lament the losse of thy good prince, who with wisedome, force, and great care, ayded by the power and prouidence of God himselfe, did keepe thy countrey, from the handes of him that woulde make a monarchie of realmes in his owne handes, to the vtter spoile of thee and thine, and to draw other realmes vnder his subiection. O most accursed wretch that he was, so

subiect to the subtilties of Sathan, to worke the untimelye death of so gracious a prince, that hetherto he hath defended your liberties, and maintayned your right these many yeeres, to the great glory of God, the aduauncement of your wealth, and the mayntenaunce of true religion. It were too tedious to set downe, in what subiection all the Lowe Countreys of Flaunders hath beene many yeeres yoked in by their enemies; the effect whereof is so notorious and apparant to all the world, and the same so truely layd open by many, that it is heere needelesse to touche it; as also to handle the great care of this Prince from time to time, who continually sought to maintaine your liberties, and to defend your countrey from extreme misery; which doubtles hath sharply pinched you; and now, hauing lost him who was the principal prop of the Lowe Countreys, it is like to fall out to the vtter ouerthrowe, ruine, and destruction of that poore cominaltye, a matter most lamentable, except God, the onelie defender of those that truste in him, doo speedely procure and stirre vp a carefull and godly prince, to bee the defendor of that people and countrey, that there by the townes and villages there about may become more populous and thorowly replenished, now greeuously impouerished through civill dissention, to the quietnes, wealth, and peace of the same.

And, considering it is most necessary to publish a true discourse of this late lamentable mishappe, I have thought it good breefely and plainely to set downe the true circumstaunce thereof; and that for one speciall cause, which is, that considering the untrue imaginations, and fayned reportes, of this princes death, now blased abroade, as well to hys freendes as to hys enemies; the trueth being layd open, and made manifest to all men, that then those reportes may be accounted fryuolus, and to be trodden vnder foote. I therefore admonish you, O yee people of Flaunders, that, hauing lost the stay and staffe of your countrey, that you yet vouchsafe, with patience, to remaine content with Gods workes, who prouideth wonderfully for you. It is your sinnes that is the cause of al your care; wherefore call vpon God in this your time of affliction, and with prayer and hearty repentance, to turne vnto the Lorde, who no doubt will deliuer you from danger, as he did the children of Israell; and assure yourselves, that he will so establish your countrey, in short time, powring thereon peace and plenty, that the remembraunce of your great extremity, now fallen vpon you, shall in short time grow out of memory, and be made a florishing common wealth, which God the Father with al speede graunt to confirme. Amen.

The Dyscourse of the Treason wrought against William of Nassawe, Prince of Orange, by Balthazar Serack, a base born Gentleman of Burguni, of the Age of twenty-five Yeeres.

VPON the 12. day of Iune last past, 1584. there came to the Prince of Orange, a base borne gent. of Burguni, who brought certain letters from the states of Fraunce, conserning matters of newes, touching the

death of the Frenche Kinges brother, who died a little before; which letters the Prince in most thankful manner did receiue, and gaue the messenger such freendly entertainement in his owne courte, as became a Prince in such causes. The Prince, liking well of this messenger, would sundry times vse conference with him, touching the garison of the Prince of Parma, whose souldiers greatly impouerished the countries round about. This messenger, in whom there remained nothing but subtilty and secret mischiefe, dyd show vnto the Prince, howe he coulde at any time bring him or his souldiers into the Prince of Parmaes garison, whereby he might take the aduantage of the Prince of Parmaes power; for that this messenger, beeing a cunning penman, coulde finely counterfet the Prince of Parmaes owne hand, so neere that the one should not be known from the other. The Prince, notwithstanding, woulde not so deale by his deuise, but yet he woulde enquire of him how al thinges stood, aswel in the Prince of Parmaes garison, as of the Princes pretence towards the Low Countreys, who continually certefied vnto the Prince of Orange the trueth; which caused the Prince to repose a greater trust and confidence in him, so that he remained in the court without suspition of any trechery. But behold what folowed, on the 1. day of Iuly last past, which, by the newe computation of the Romish churche, was the tenth day of the same moneth, this traytor, thus harbored and lodged in the courte of this good Prince, seeing a small pistoll or dagge in the hands of one of the Princes seruaunts, did demand what it might cost him, saying, I haue occasion to ryde a iourney shortly, and that dagge would be a good defence for me vpon the high way side; wherefore he requested the Princes seruaunt that he might bye it of him, who, thinking nothing of that which hapned afterward, did sel it to him for the some of 10. shillings of English mony. The Prince then being in his court at Delph, a town of great strength, where the cheefest states doo inhabite, who beeing gon to dinner, and the garde attendaunt about his person, this traytor, seeing it a meete time to compasse his pretended mischiefe, which was to bereaue the Prince of his life, as he did, went into his chamber, and charged the pistoll with powder, and put three bullets in the same; that doone, he placed it priuelye in his pocket, and went downe to dinner; who, after he had dyned, hearing that the Prince would anon goe vp into his priuie chamber, deuised in his minde where he might best plant himselfe, for the finishing of his wicked entent; who, finding a priuie corner vpon the stayres, where he might be shadowed and not be seene, placed himselfe vntill the Princes comming.

The Prince, so soone as he had dyned, which was betweene one and two of the clocke in the afternoone, came forth of the great chamber, with his lady and gentlewomen attendaunt; his lady, purposing to walke abroade, took her leaue of the Prince, who going towards the stayres which did leade to the priuie chamber, and seeing an Italian named Ma. Carinson, who had stayed to speake with the Prince, to whom the Prince very freendly spake, saying, Carinson welcome, and tooke him by the hand, willing thys Italian that he should goe vp with him into his priuie chamber, proposing there to vse some conference with the Italian gentleman; and, before the Prince entred the stayres, there came an English captaine, called Captaine Williams, who, dooing reuerence unto

the Prince, was entertained in moste freendly manner, laying his hand vpon Captain Williams head, wylling him also to come vp with him.

The garde then attendant vpon the Prince, Maister Carinson and Captain Williams followed: But the Prince going vp the stayres, not thinking of any such matter as happened, no sooner came directly against this villenous traytor, but he presently discharged his pistoll, wherein, as before mentioned, he hauing put 3. bullets, two of those bullets went through the Princes body, and the third remained in his bellie; through which wicked stoke, the Prince fell downe suddainly, crying out, saying, 'Lord haue mercy upon me, and remember thy little flocke.'

Wherewith he changed this life, to the great griefe of his lady, who greatly lamented his death, as also to the great sorrowe of the whole countrey. The garde pursued the murtherer, and sought to slaye him; but he ouerscaped the first garde, and was staied by the second watch garde, which was within the Princes court.

When he was taken, they demaunded of him, What he had doone, who very obstinatly answered, That he had doone that thinge, which hee would willingly doo, if it were to doo againe. Then they demaunded of him, For what cause he did it? Hee answered, For the cause of his Prince and countrey; more confession at that time they could not get of him. Forthwith they committed him to pryson, where he remained aliue, to the pleasure of the estates of the country; who shortly after deuised a torment, by death, for this murderer, which was reasonable sharpe, yet not so terrible as he deserued.

Greeuous was the cry of the people that came flocking to the Princes gates to heare the report and trueth of what had happened; which knowne, euery household was filled with sorrowe, who powred forth their plaintes, and did shedde teares, for the losse of so good a Christian, and so carefull a Prince.

The murtherer, while he remayned in pryson, was sundry times examined by the chiefe estates of the countrey, upon whose procurement he committed the said fact; who answered, At the Prince of Parmaes request, and other Princes, at whose hands he shoulde receiue for dooing the same 25000. crownes.

The order of the torment, and death of the murtherer, was as followeth, which was foure dayes: He had the 1. day the strappado, openly in the market; the second day whipped and salted, and his right hand cut off; the third day, his breastes cut out and salt throwne in, and then his left hand cut off: The last day of his torment, which was the 10. of Iuly, he was bound to 2. stakes, standing vpright, in such order, that he could not shrinke downe, nor stirre any way. Thus standing naked, there was a great fire placed some small distaunce from him, wherein was heated pincers of iron; with which pincers, two men, appointed for the same, did pinch and pul his flesh in smal peeces from his bones, throughout moste partes of his body. Then was he vnbound from the stakes, and layd vpon the earth, and againe fastened to fowre postes, namely, by his feete and hands; then they ripped vp his belly, at which time he had life and perfect memorye; he had his bowels burned before his face, and his bodie cutt in foure seueral quarters. During the

whole time of his execution, he remained impenitent and obstinate, rejoieing that he had slaine the prince.

Vpon the 16. day of Iuly, the Prince was very royally buryed, in the new churche at Delph, being lapped in seare cloth and leade, according to the manner of other princes in time past.

The cittizenes of Antwerp are many times driuen to shut up theyr gates, by reason of theyr enemies, who wold gladly take the citty at some aduauntage: the enemie hath built a forte vpon the banke, between Antwerp and Lullo, so that they doo what they may to stop the passage of the riuer from them.

There is not as yet any gouernour chosen for the Lowe Countries: but they are in hope that some order will be taken for them very shortly.

God for his mercy sake sende quietnes in those partes, that the people may enjoy theyr owne, to the health, wealth, and comfort of them all now distressed. *Amen.*

A

TRUE AND PERFECT DECLARATION

OF THE

TREASONS

PRACTISED AND ATTEMPTED BY

FRANCIS THROCKMORTON,

Late of London,

AGAINST THE QUEENES MAIESTIE AND THE REALME.

WHEREAS there haue bene very lewde and slaunderous bruites and reportes given out, of the due and orderly proceedings held with Francis Throckmorton, lately arraigned and condemned of high treason at the Guild-hall in London the xxi. day of May last, whereby such as are euill affected toward her Maiestie, and the present gouernment, haue indeuoured falsely and iniuriously to charge her Maiestie and her faithfull ministers with crueltie and iniustice vsed against the said Throckmorton, by extorting from him by torture such confessions as he hath made against himselfe, and by inforcing the same to make them lawful euidence to conuict him of the treasons therein specified: albeit her Maiesties subiects in general, calling to mind the milde and temperate course she hath helde all the time of

her most happie reigne, might rather impute her clemencie and lenitie vsed towards all sortes of offenders to a kinde of fault, then tax her with the contrarie; yet such, as allowe of practises and treasons against her Maiestie, do alwayes interprete both of the one and of the other, according to the particular affections that doe possesse them, that is, to the worst. And forasmuch as the case of Throckmorton, at this time, hath bene subiect to their sinister constructions, and considering that lies and false bruites cast abroad are most commonly beleeued, vntil they be controlled by the trueth; it hath bene thought expedient, in this short discourse, to deliuer vnto your view and consideration a true and perfect declaration of the treasons practised and attempted by the said Throckmorton against her Maiestie and the realme, by him confessed before his arraignement, whereby her Maiestie was iustly and in reason perswaded to put him to his triall. You shall likewise perceiue what course hath bene helde with him by her commissioners to bring him to confesse the trueth; with what impudencie, and how falsely he hath denied his sayings and confessions: and lastly, how, by a new submission and confession of his said treasons, sithens his condemnation, he endeuoureth to satisfie her Maiestie, and to shew the reasons that mooued him to denie the first, which he affirmeth and confirmeth by the last; which may in reason satisfie, though not all, yet such as are not forestalled, or rather forepoysoned and infected with the lies and vntruths alreadie spred and deliuered, in fauour of the traitor and his treasons. You shall therefore vnderstand, that the cause of his apprehension grewe first vpon secret intelligence giuen to the Queenes Maiestie, that he was a priuie conueiour and receiuour of letters, to, and from the Scottish Queene*, vpon which information neuerthelesse diuers moneths were suffered to passe on, before he was called to answere the matter, to the end there might some proofe more apparant be had to charge him therewith directly; which shortly after fell out, and thereupon there were sent vnto his houses in London, and at Lousham, in Kent, to search and apprehend him, certain gentlemen of no meane credite and reputation; of whom, two were sent to his house by Poules-wharfe, where he was apprehended, and so by one of them conveyed presently away, the other remaining in the chamber to make search for papers, writings, &c. which might give proofe of his suspected practises.

In that search, there were found the two papers containing the names of certain Catholique Noblemen and Gentlemen, expressing the hauens for landing of forraine forces, with other particularities in the said papers mentioned; the one written in the secretarie hand, which he at the barre confessed to be his owne hand writing; and the other in the Romane hand, which he denied to be his, and would not shewe how the same came vnto his hands: howbeit in his examinations he hath confessed them both to be his owne hand writing, and so they are in trueth. There were also found, among other of his papers, twelve pedigrees of the discent of the crowne of England, printed and published by the Bishop of Rosse, in the defence of the pretended title of the

* Mary.

Scottish Queene, his mistresse, with certaine infamous libelles against her Maiestie, printed and published beyond the seas; which being found in the hands of a man so evil affected, comparing the same with his doings and practises against her Maiestie, you wil iudge the purpose wherefore he kept them.

Shortly after his apprehension, hee was examined by some of her Maiesties priuie-counsell, how he came by the said two papers of the hauens, and he most impudently denied, with many protestations, that he ever sawe them, affirming they were none of his, but were foisted in (as he termed it) among his papers, by the gentleman, that searched his house: notwithstanding being more earnestly pressed to confesse the trueth, he sayd they had been left (he knew not how) in his chamber by a man of his, who long before was departed out of the realme, named Edward Rogers, alias Nuttebie, by whome they were written. And, to make this deuice to carie some colour of trueth, after his committing to the Tower, he found the meanes to get three cards, on the backside of which cardes he wrote to his brother George Throckmorton, to this effect: 'I have bene examined, by whom the two papers, conteining the names of certaine noblemen and gentlemen, and of hauens, &c. were written; and I haue alleaged them to haue bene written by Edward Nuttebie my man, of whose hand-writing you knowe them to be:' Meaning by this deuice to have had his brother confirme his falsehode. These cardes were intercepted, and thereby the suspition before conceiued of his practises increased, whereupon, as vpon other iust cause and matter against him, hauing bin sundrie times brought before some of the principall personages of her Maiesties most honorable privie-counsell, and by them with all industrie examined, and perswaded in very milde and charitable maner, to confesse the trueth, promising to procure pardon for him, in case he would bewray the depth of his practises; but, no persuasion preuailing, her Maiestie thought it agreeable with good pollicie, and the safetie of her royal person and state, to commit him ouer to the hands of some of her learned counsel, and others her faithfull seruants and ministers, with commission to them, to assay by torture to drawe from him the trueth of the matters appearing so waightie as to concerne the inuading of the realme, &c. These men, by vertue of that commission, proceeded with him, first as the counsell had formerly done, by way of persuasion, to induce him to confesse; but, finding that course not to preuaile, they were constrained to commit him to such as are vsually appointed in the Towre to handle the racke, by whom he was layd vpon the same, and somewhat pinched, although not much; for, at the end of three doys following, he had recouered himselfe, and was in as good plight as before the time of his racking, which if it had then or any other time bene ministred vnto him with that violence, that hee and his favourers haue indeuoured slaunderously to giue out, the signes thereof would have appeared vpon his limmes for many yeeres. At this first time of torture, he would confesse nothing, but continued in his former obstinacie and deniall of the trueth. The second time that he was put to the racke, before hee was strayned vp to any purpose, hee yeelded to confesse any thing, he knewe, in the matters obiected against him; whereupon he was loosed,

and then the commissioners proceeded with him according to such interrogatories as had bene deliuered vnto them, which for the more breuitie shall here bee omitted, the intent of this declaration tending onely to discouer vnto you the treasons, and treacherous dealings of the said Francis Throckmorton, aswell before as sithens his imprisonment, for your better knowledge of the man, and manifestation of the due and iust proceedings held with him by her Maiesties commissioners, appointed to that seruice. And here you are to note, that when hee was first pressed to discouer by whome the plottes of the hauens were sette downe, and to what purpose, he began (without any further interrogation ministred) by way of an historicall narration, to declare that, at his being at Spaw in the countrie of Leige certaine yeres past, he entred into conference with one Ienney, a notorious knowen traitor, touching the altering of the state of the realme here, and how the same might be attempted by forraine inuasion, and to the like effect had sundrie conferences with Sir Francis Englefield*, in the Low-Countreys, who daily solicited the Spanish King in Spaine, and his gouernours in the said countreyes, to attempt the inuading of the realme, continued a course of practising against her Maiestie and the state, by letters betweene Sir Francis Englefield and himselfe, vntil within these two yeres last past, and that he did, from time to time, acquaint Sir John Throckmorton †, his late father, with his traiterous practises, who, as he said, seeing no probabilitie of successe in them, dissuaded him from any further medling with those practises.

He hath further confessed, that he vsed his fathers aduise and opnion in setting downe the names of the Catholique noblemen and gentlemen, and did acquaint him with the description of the hauens for the landing of forces, which he conceiued, and put in writing, onely by view of the mappe, and not by particular sight or suruey of the said hauens.

Item, he hath also confessed, that vpon the intermission of writing of letters, and the accustomed intelligences passed betweene Sir Francis Englefield and him, he was made acquainted by his brother Thomas Throckmorton, by letters and conference, and by Thomas Morgan, by letters (two of the principall confederates and workers of these treasons residing in France) with a resolute determination agreed on by the Scottish Queene and her confederates in France, and in other forreine partes, and also in Englande, for the inuading of the realme.

That the Duke of Guyse should be the principal leader and executer of that inuasion.

That the pretention, which shoulde be publiquely notified, should be to deliuer the Scottish Queene to libertie, and to procure, euen by force, from the Queenes Maiestie a tolerance in religion, for the pretended Catholiques: but the intention, the bottome whereof should not at the first be made knowen to all men, shoulde be, vpon the Queenes Maiesties resistance, to remooue her Maiestie from her crowne and state.

* Who had been of Queen Mary's privy-council.
† Chief jutsice of Chester; but lately put out of the commission; Camden. p. 497.

That the Duke of Guyse had prepared the forces, but there wanted two things, money, and the assistance of a conuenient partie in England, to ioyne with the forraine forces, and a third thing, how to set the Scottish Queene at libertie without perill of her person.

For, the first thing wanting, viz. money, messengers were sent from forraine parts both to Rome and Spaine, and their returne daily expected to their liking: and the Spanish ambassador*, to encourage the English to ioyne both in purse and person, did giue out, that the King his master would not onely make some notable attempt against Englande, but also would bear halfe the charge of the enterprise. For the seconde thing, viz. the preparing of a sufficient partie in England, to receiue and to ioyne with the forraine forces, one especiall messenger was sent ouer into England in August last, vnder a counterfaite name, from the confederates in France, to signifie the plotte and preparation there, and to sollicite the same here.

That Thomas Throckmorton, his brother, made him priuie to his negotiation, at his last being here in England, and that thereupon Frauncis Throckmorton tooke vpon him to be a follower, and meane for the effectuating thereof among the confederates in England, with the help of the Spanish ambassadour, whom he instructed howe, and with whome to deale, for the preparing of a conuenient partie heere within the realme, for that himselfe woulde not be seene to be a sounder of men, lest hee might be discouered, and so endanger himselfe and the enterprise, knowing that the ambassadour, being a publique person, might safelie deale therein without perill.

That the Duke of Guyse, and other heads of the enterprise, had refused some landing places, and made speciall choice of Sussex, and about Arundel in Sussex, both for the neere cutte from the partes of Fraunce, where the duke did, or best could assemble his force, and for the opportunitie of assured persons to giue assistance, &c.

That hee, taking vpon him the pursuite of this course, shewed the whole plotte and deuise of the hauens for landing to the Spanish ambassadour, who did incourage him therein, he promising, that, if hee might haue respite vntill the next spring, the same should be done more exactly.

That, at the time of Thomas Throckmortons being here, lest the negotiation of the enterprise, by some casualtie, might faile in the only hand of one man, Thomas Throckmorton, there was also, from the confederates, sent ouer into Sussex, Charles Paget, vnder the name of Mope, alias Spring; and thereof an aduertisement couertly sent to Thomas Throckmorton, both that Thomas might understande it, and not be offended that another was ioined with him in his labour.

That the Spanish ambassadour, by aduertisements from the confederates, was made priuie to this coming of Charles Paget, vnder the name of Mope, and yet knowen to him to be Charles Paget.

That the sayde ambassadour did, according to his sayde aduertisements, knowe and affirme, that Charles Paget was come ouer to view

* Mendoza, who upon this information was desired to come to the council, where, not being able to gainsay what Throgmorton had deposed, he behaved very insolently by way of recrimination, and was in a few days after ordered to depart the kingdom. Camden.

the hauens and countrey for landing of such forraine forces about Arundell, and specially to sound and conferre with certaine principall persons for assistance.

The same ambassadour also knewe and affirmed, that Charles Paget had accordingly done his message, and had spoken with some principale persons heere, according to his commission, and was returned.

Hee moreouer confessed, that there was a deuice betweene the Spanish ambassadour and him; howe such principall recusants here within the realme, as were in the commission of the peace in sundrie counties, might, vpon the first bruite of the landing of forraine forces, vnder colour and pretext of their authoritie, and the defence of her Maiestie, leuie men, whome they might after ioyne to the forraine forces, and conuert them against her Maiestie.

In these fewe articles is briefly comprised the whole effect of his confession, made at large, without any interrogatorie particularly ministred, other then vpon the two papers before mencioned, contayning the names of men and hauens. And heere you are to note, that, at the time of his apprehension, there was no knowledge or doubt had of these treasons, or of his priuitie vnto them, but onely an information and suspition deliuered and conceiued of some practise betweene him and the Scottish Queene, as is before mentioned; for the discouering whereof, after he had bene sundrie times, vpon his alleagaunce, commanded to declare his doings, in conueying and receyuing of letters to and from her, he did voluntarily confesse, that he had written diuers letters vnto her, and had conueyed many to and fro, betweene her and Thomas Morgan in Fraunce, by whose meanes he was first made knowne vnto her, and that he had received as many letters from her. Hee also declared the effect of his letters to her, and of hers to him: which letters betweene them were always written in cipher, and the cipher, with the nullities and markes for names of princes and counsailors, hee sent vnto the Queenes Maiestie, written with his own hand. He also deliuered the names of some, by whome hee conueyed his letters to the Scottish Queene, as by one Godfrey Fulgeam, who fled the realme immediately vpon Throckmorton's apprehension, and one other person, whom he described by his stature, shape, and apparell, and the man, sithens apprehended and examined, hath confessed the same: the man's name is William Ardington.

The summe and effect of the most part of these confessions, although they were, at the time of his arraignement, opened and dilated by her Maiesties sergeant, atturney, and solicitor-generall, at the barre, and therefore seeme not needful to be repeated heere; yet, because the purpose of this discourse is to shew sufficient proofe, that the matters, contained in his sayde confessions, are neither false nor fayned (as Frauncis Throckmorton most impudently affirmed at his triall, alleadging, that they weere mere inuentions of himselfe, by policie to auoyde the torture) they haue bene here inserted, to the ende you may the better iudge of the proofes, presumptions, and circumstances folowing, by comparing the matters with their accidents, and consequently see the falsehoode of the traitor,, the just and honourable proceedings

of her Maiestie, and the honest and loyall endeuours of her ministers imployed in the discouering of the treasons.

First, it is true, and not denied by himselfe, that he was at Spaw, about the time by him mencioned, and had conference with Ienney in that place, and with Sir Francis Englefield in Flaunders, and that he hath written letters to Sir Frauncis, and receiued letters from him: for, if he should denie the same, he were to be conuinced by good proofe; for it hath bin noted in him, by many of his countrey-men English subiects, that both in those parts and in Fraunce, he did continually associate himselfe with English rebels and fugitiues. If then you consider with whome he hath conuersed beyond the seas, and compare his religion with theirs, you will iudge of his conuersation accordingly; and it is to be supposed, that those men, knowen to be continuall practisers against the Queenes Maiestie and this realme, from whence, for their treasons and vnnaturall demeanures, they are worthily banished, will not, in their conuenticles and meetings, forget to bethinke them of their banishment, and howe they might be restored to their countrey, whereunto no desert in her Maiesties life time, which God long continue, can wel, without her Maiesties great mercie, restore them. Then, I pray you, what conferences might M. Throckmorton have with Sir Francis Englefield, with Ienney, with Liggons, with Owen, and with such like, who were his daily companions in Fraunce, and in the Lowe Countries? He hath written letters to Sir Frauncis Englefield: to what purposes? He haunted continually two ambassadours in London, by whose meanes he sent and receiued letters to and from beyond the seas daily. To whom, and from whom? Euen to and from Thomas Morgan and Thomas Throckmorton, at Paris, men knowen to her Maiestie and her counsell, to be notorious practisers, very inward with the Duke of Guyse, and contriuers of the treasons and deuises for the inuasion intended: and, for very certaine knowledge thereof, we neede not be beholding to Frauncis Throckmorton onely, although he hath said much of them, but to others of better credite then himselfe.

That the Duke of Guyse did vndertake the enterprise to inuade the realme with a forraine power, to be defrayed by the Pope and King of Spaine 'a part of M. Throckmortons confession' and he, in trueth, the first discouerer thereof to her Maiestie: If he will say that it was but inuention, it will approve false. For, sithens he discouered the same, there haue bene diuers aduertisements thereof sent to her Maiesty from forraine princes, her highnesse louing neighbours and allies, as also by other good meanes and intelligences from her ambassadours and seruants, residing in other countries.

If he denie, as he hath done, that he neuer had knowledge of any such matter, when he confessed the same, it hath no likelihood of trueth; for Throckmorton was neuer knowne to be a prophet to foretell things *de futuro**.

He resorted often to the Spanish ambassadour, at least twice in a week, when he was in London: this often repayre could not be to conferre with the ambassadour for the exchange of money for his bro-

*i. e. to come.

ther, as he pretended at his arraignement; there was some other cause. When he was apprehended, he had a casket couered with green veluet, very cunningly conueied out of his chamber by a maide seruant of the house, taken vp under a beds side in his chamber, (one of the gentlemen who were sent to apprehend him then being in the chamber, and vnknowing thereof) which casket, not long after his apprehension, was, by one Iohn Meredith, a follower of Frauncis Throckmorton, conueied to the handes of the Spanish ambassadour: and why to him? If the matters therein might well haue abidden the light, why shoulde not the casket haue bene kept still at home? And if not there, why not sent to some other place of safetie, as well as to the Spanish ambassadour? It is to be conceiued, that this casket was not conueied thither without the direction of Frauncis Throckmorton, though caried by Meredith, who did well knowe of what moment the matters were, that were within the casket, and of what danger to Throckmorton, if they had bene disclosed; and therefore meant to bestowe them in a safe place, where they could not readily be had, as he thought, and with a person not vnacquainted with the qualitie of them. After the deliuerie of the casket, Meredith fledde; for, in trueth, he was priuie to the treasons, and a fellowe practiser in them; to whom Frauncis Throckmorton, being taken short at the time of his apprehension, and forced to runne vp a staire to deface a letter which he was then in writing to the Scottish Queene in cipher, as he hath confessed, being suddenly apprehended, and so forced to depart away presently out of his house, deliuered priuily, into the hands of Meredith, either the cipher by which he was writingh is letter to the Scottish Queene, or a letter in cipher by him written vnto her; therefore he trusted Meredith, as a man priuie to his doings. You are also to vnderstande, that Throckmorton was in very great fear of the discouering of this casket, after his apprehension; for, remayning two or three daies prisoner in the house of one of the gentlemen that were sent to apprehend him, before he was committed to the Tower, he was permitted to talke with a sollicitor of his lawe causes, who brought him certaine bookes drawen, or other like papers written, which he made showe to peruse: But that was not the matter why he sent for his sollicitor; for, in perusing the bookes, he conueied into them a little piece of paper, vpon the which he had written with a cole, 'I would faine know whether my casket be safe,' or to the like effect. The sollicitor departing from him, and resorting to Throckmortons house, not farre distant from the place where he remained prisoner, opening his papers, did shake out this piece of paper, which he took up and deliuered to one of Frauncis Throckmortons men, but the casket was alreadie conueied to the Spanish ambassadour: whereby you will perceiue what care he had of the casket, and how much it might import him to haue the writings, or matters, within the same concealed. He being examined, touching the casket, and what was in the same, he denied, at the first, that euer he had any such casket; but, finding afterwards that the casket was discouered, he confessed the casket, and said that there were certaine letters therein, that came to his hands for the Scottish Queene from

Thomas Morgan at Paris, and other letters and papers, but confessed not all, as it is supposed.

That Charles Paget came ouer into the realme to euill purposes, as Throckmorton doth declare in his confession, could not be inuented; for, euen at the same time that he mentioneth, Paget came ouer, in secrete and suspitious manner, staied not aboue fifteene dayes, indeuoured in a sorte to finde the disposition of William Shelley, Esquier, how he might stand affected to giue assistance to the treasons, although Paget discouered not directly his traiterous intents to Shelley; therefore all Throckmortons confessions were not forged or inuented.

But because the two papers, produced at his arraignement, containing the description of the hauens, for the commodious landing of forces, do most apparently condemne him, and are a manifest argument of his priuity to the whole treason: you may not forget, that he acknowledged one of the papers, written in the Secretarie hand, to haue bene of his owne doing, but denyed the other written in the Romane hande; in the which, under the title of Cheshire, &c. is said; 'Vpon the landing of forraine supplies, Chester shal be taken.' But what, in your opinions, might be vnderstoode by that sentence, Chester shall be taken, when you shall compare the paper in Secretarie hand with the other written in the Romane hand, intituled, 'The Names of Noblemen and Gentlemen, in euery Countie, fit to be dealt withall in this Matter;' which, in trueth, were both one, although the Romane were somewhat more inlarged. The question is to be asked, What Matter? The answere followeth necessarilie, 'To assist the forraine forces that shall come to inuade the realme;' for that there is an other title in that paper, ouer the names of the hauens, &c. 'Hauens in euery coast fitte for the landing of forces.' Now iudge you, to what end these names of men, and descriptions of hauens, their entries, capacities, what windes bring vnto them from Spaine, Fraunce, and Flanders, were written and set downe by Throckmorton: The papers are both of his owne hand writing, and the Secretarie but a proiect or copie of the Romane.

Is it not likely, think you, that he would acquaint the Spanish ambassadour with these papers, as he hath confessed, when he made him partaker of the rest of his traiterous practises and deuices, as you haue heard, and thought his casket of treasons to be most safely committed to his hands? It may bee thought, that there is no man of so simple vnderstanding, that will iudge to the contrarie, vnlesse he be partially affected to excuse the treasons.

And now, to shew vnto you what mynd this man hath carried towards her Maiestie, you are to be informed, that Francis Throckmorton, after he had discouered to her Maiestie his course of practising, repenting himselfe of his plain dealing, in the bewraying thereof, sayd to some of the commissioners, vpon occasion of speach, 'I woulde I had bene hanged, when I first opened my mouth to declare any of the matters by me confessed.' And, being at other times sent vnto by her Maiestie with offer of pardon, if he would disclose the whole packe and complices of the treasons, he vsed this argument to perswade her Ma-

lestie that he had confessed all, saying, that, sithens hee had alreadie brought himselfe, by his confessions, within the danger of the lawes, to the vtter ruyne of his house and familie, he wondered why there should be any conceite in her Maiestie, that he had not declared all. But, to perswade such as were sent vnto him for these purposes, the rather to beleeue that he could discouer no more, at one time he vsed these speaches following with great vehemencie: "Nowe I haue disclosed the secrets of her who was the deerest thing to me in the worlde (meaning the Scottish Queene) and whome I thought no torment should haue drawen me so much to haue preiudiced, as I haue done by my confessions: I see no cause why I should spare any one, if I could say ought against him: and, sith I haue failed of my faith towards her, I care not if I were hanged." And when he began first to confess his treasons, which he did most vnwillingly, after hee was entered into the declaration of them, before al the commissioners, vpon aduisement, hee desired he might deliuer his knowledge but to one of them onely, whereunto they yeelded; and therevpon, remouing aside from the place where he sate by the racke, he vsed this prouerbe in Italian, *Chi a perso le fede, a perso l' honore*, that is, he that hath falsed his faith, hath lost his reputation: meaning thereby, as it may be conceiued, that he had giuen his faith to bee a traitor, and not to reueile the treasons, and then began to confesse, as you haue heard.

By this discourse, contayning the principall heads of his treasons, and the proofes and circumstanees of the same, you, that are not transported with vndutifull myndes and affections, will cleerely perceiue howe impudently and vntruely he denyed, at his arraignement, the trueth of his confessions, charging her Maiestie with vntrueths, in their proceedings against him.

But the cause, that moued him thereunto, was a vaine conceite he had taken, that his case was cleere in lawe, by the intermission of the time betwene his confession made and his arraignement, grounding himselfe vpon a statute of the thirteenth year of her Maiesties reigne; in the which, there are certaine treasons specified and made, of that nature, that no person shall be arraigned for any of those offences committed within anie of the Queenes Maiesties dominions, vnless the offendor be thereof indicted 'within sixe monthes' next after the same offence committed, and shall not be arraigned for the same, vnlesse the offence be proued by the testimonie and othe of two sufficient witnesses, or his voluntarie confession, without violence; wherein he was greatly deceiued; for it was made manifest vnto him by the Lord chiefe iustice, and other of the iudges in commission at his trial, that his treasons were punishable by a statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third, which admitted no such limitation of time or proofe.

Herein his skill failed him, and he forgot the aduice giuen vnto him by some of the commissioners, who, pitying his misfortune for sundrie good gifts of the minde appearing in him, assured him, that there was no way so readie for him to redeeme his life, as by submission and acknowledging of his offence; which, for a time after he had confessed his treasons, he was contented to followe, and now eftsoones after his

condemnation, by a new submission to the Queenes Maiestie the fourth of Iune, hath resumed that course. The submission, verbatim, written with his owne hand, followeth.

To her most excellent Maiestie, euen to her owne Royall Handes.

" MOST excellent Prince, and my most gratious soueraigne, sith to me, the most miserable of all your Maiesties poore distressed subiects, being iustly condemned, by the ordinarie and orderly course of your Maiesties lawes, there resteth no further meane of defence but submission: vouchsafe, most excellent prince, graciously to accept the same, which, prostrate in all humilitie, I here present vnto the hands of your most excellent Maiestie; beseeching the same, that as iustice hath been deriued from your highnesse, as from the fountaine, to the triall of mine actions; so I may receiue from the same spring some droppe of grace and mercie for the great and grieuous offence whereof I rest, by your Maiesties lawes, iustly condemned: some part, I say, of that your accustomed gratious clemencie, whereof most of your distressed subiects haue tasted, and few haue bene depriued. And albeit the inconsiderate rashness of vnbridled youth hath withdrawen me from that loyal respect, which nature and duetie bounde me to owe vnto your Maiestie, as to my lawfull and naturall dread soueraigne; and that the naturall care in me, of the defence of my life, mooued me lately to the vntrue and vnduetifull gainsaying of some such pointes as had bene before by me, in most humble sorte, confessed: neuertheless, I most humblie beseech your most excellent Maiestie, that, in imitation of God whose image (both in respect of the happie place you holde, as also in regarde of your singular wisedome, and other the rare and singular vertues and perfections, wherewith God and nature hath plentifully endewed you) you represent vnto vs here in earth, it may please your Maiestie to commiserate the lamentable estate of me, now the most miserable of all your Maiesties subiects, and gratiously to graunt vnto me remission and forgiueness, that not only doe most humblie confesse my selfe worthie of death, but also, in shewe of my repentance, and sorrowful afflicted minde, do not craue at your Maiesties handes the prolonging of my life, if the same shall not stande with your gratious good pleasure, but rather desire the trebling of the torment iustly, by your Maiesties lawes, imposed vpon me, if the same may be any satisfaction to your Maiestie, for the haynous cryme whereof I remaine, by your Maiesties lawes, iustly condemned; or any mitigation of your Maiesties indignation worthily conceiued against me; that desire not to liue without your fauour, and, dying, will wish from my heart, that my ende may bee the beginning of your Maiesties securitie, and my death the preseruation of your life, and the increase, both to your Maiestie, and to this your most flourishing common wealth, of all the most happie blessings of Almightie God.

Your Maiesties most woful Subiect,
in that he hath offended you,
FRANCIS THROCKMORTON.

He sent vnto her Maiestie, together with the sayd submission, a declaration written likewiss with his owne hand, contayning the effects of the most principall pointes of his treasons formerly confessed: retracting onely the accusation of his father, and some other particularities of no moment to cleare him of his treasons, the effect whereof followeth in his owne words, as he set them downe:

THE only cause why I coyned the practise first by me confessed, and vniustly touched my father, was, for that partly I conceiued that the paper, written so long sithens, could not now by lawe haue touched me: but principally, for that I was willing thereby to colour the setting downe of those names and hauens in Romane hand, which were written long after the time by me confessed, vpon occasion of conference betweene the Spanish ambassadour and me of this later practise.

Mine intelligence with the Scottish Queene began a little before Christmas was two yeres: the cipher I had from Thomas Morgan in Fraunce; the first letter I receiued by Godfray Fulgeam, by whom also came all such others as I after receiued for the most part, vnlesse it were such as came to me by F. A.* his hands, who, as he tolde me, receiued them of the fellowe, by me spoken of, in my former confessions, whose name, I protest before God, I knowe not, nor whence he is. And for such letters as came vnto me, in the absence of Fulgeam, they were inclosed vnder a couerture from Fulgeam, and were deliuered me by the hands of Robert Tunstead, his brother-in-law, to whom I deliuered such as I had for the Scottish Queene, couered with a direction to Fulgeam; and once I remember or twise I sent, by one of my men called Butler, letters for the Scottish Queene to the house of the said Tunstead, neere Buckstones, couered with a direction to Tunstead, and vnder a letter to Fulgeam. In such letters as came to me from the Scottish Queene were inclosed letters to F. A. many times and most times some for Thomas Morgan. Her letters to me contayned, &c. but, before I retourned mine answere to her, I vnderstoode of the death of the Duke of Lenox, and withall heard from Morgan, with whom all mine intelligence was (for with my brother I neuer had any, other then that the matters, by me written to Morgan, were by him imparted to my brother most times) that, by the perswasion of the Pope and the King of Spaine, the Duke of Guyse had yeelded to performe the iourney in person, and that it was thought, that the next way to attayne libertie for the Scottish Queene, and to reforme Scotlande, was to begin here in England; and therefore he desired to knowe from me, whether in mine opinion Catholiques woulde not backe any such force as should be sent, considering a demaunde of tolerance in religion for them should insue the wel performing of the said enterprise, and what I thought the force would amount vnto, both of horse and footemen, and where I thought to be the fittest landing. Mine answere was, that, as then, I sawe no great probabilitie of the good successe of such an enterprise, for that the Catholiques were timorous, dispersed, the matter perilous to

* William Ardington.

be communicated to many, without which I saw not how any estimate could be made of the forces: besides, that it was an eminent danger to the Scottish Queene, whereof I sawe no remedie.

I tooke notice of this matter in my next letters to the Scottish Queene, whose answere was, that she lately heard of that determination, &c.

Vpon my former answere to Morgan, he desired me, that I would conferre with the Spanish ambassadour, to whom I should bee recommended from thence; hereupon the sayd ambassadour sent for me, and brake with me, in this matter, assuring me, that in his opinion he found it verie easie to make great alteration here, with very little force, considering the disuse in men to warre, and troubles would so amase them (as he thought) that they would be assoone ouerthrowen as assailed, and he could not thinke but in such a case Catholickes woulde shewe themselues, sith the purpose tended to the obteyning for them libertie of conscience: and therefore he desired me to acquaint him, what I thought men would doe in such a case, and where I thought the fittest landing, and what holdes in these partes were easiest to be surprised.

I answered him, that, as it seemed, the enterprise stood vpon great incertainties, if it depended of the knowledge of a certaine force to be found here*, which no man could assure him of, vnless he had sounded all the Catholickes, which was not possible without a manifest hazarde of the discouerie of the purpose: For, as for any great personage, I know no one to be drawen into this action, that could carie any more than his ordinarie retinew; the onely way in such a case was (I tolde him) for such as woulde be drawen into this matter, and were of credite in their countreys, to leuie forces vnder colour of the Princes authoritie.

But for that these things depended vpon vncertaine groundes, which was not fit to be vsed in so great an action, I said it was to be resolued, that the force to bee sent should be of that number, that, what backing soeuer they should find here, they might be able of themselves to encounter with any force that might be prouided to be sent against them, and therefore they could not bee less then fifteen-thousand men. For the place of their landing, I said, it depended much vpon the force that should be sent; for, if that were in great number, it mattered not where they landed; if in a small companie, than was it requisite that it shoulde be in the countreys best affected, and furthest from her Maiesties principall forces, which I said to be in the Northern parts, on either side.

To the danger of the Scottish Queene by me obiected, he said he knewe no remedie, vnlesse she might be taken away by some two-hundred horse; which I tolde him I sawe not to be possible, for that I knewe not any gentlemen in those partes, which were men, if any, to perfourme it, that I durst wish to bee made acquainted with the matter before hande.

Finally, our conclusion was, that I shoulde informe him of the

* See this largely proved in Don Bernardin Mendoza's letter, referred to on p. 189.

hauens as particularly as I could; and within fewe dayes after, finding by him that the force, intended hither, was farre inferiour to that I spake of, and that there was some differens betweene the Pope and the King of Spaine for the charge, I tolde him that the surest course, and of least danger, were, to send a supplie into Scotland, where a small force would breede a great alteration, and, things being there established by the good liking of the King, I thought it was in him by a continuall warre, and by incursions, so to anoy this state, as her Maiestie here shoulde be forced to yeelde the libertie of the Scottish Queene, and what should thereupon haue bene reasonably demaunded for the benefite of Catholickes here. And herein I said it woulde be a great furtherance, if, at the same time, some fewe were landed in Irelande, where, although they abid the same hazarde that the former forces sustained, yet would the charge be so great to her Maiestie, and so great an occasion of dispersing of her forces, as a much lesse companie, then was spoken of first by me, would (being landed here in a conuenient place) shake the mindes of men generally, and be of force (if any thing) to drawe them to shewe themselues, in the furtherance of the purpose.

He vtterly reiected the purpose for Irelande, and disliked not the purpose for Scotlande: But still he was in minde to haue forces landed here, and therefore desired me verie earnestly to inquire particularly of the hauens on the side of Cumberland and Lancashire, and what men were dwelling there that were well affected in religion *, and what places easie to be taken, and what apt for fortification.

The next time that I went to the Spanish ambassadour, he found himselfe agrieued that he vnderstood matters were determined in Fraunce, without his priuitie; and tolde me that Parsons the Iesuite was gone to Rome, sent, as he thought, to vnderstand the Popes minde.

Soone after came ouer my brother Thomas, to make an ende of our accompt, and to perswade me to come ouer, assuring me that, for ought he could see in likelihood, the enterprise was neuer like to take effect. In the time of his being heere, and while I entertained intelligence with the Scottish Queene, concerning her libertie, the Spanish ambassadour sent for me, and told me of the comming ouer of Mope to view Sussex, and the hauens, and, as he thought, to take the best of accompt there: whereat he seemed to bee agrieued, for that such matters had not bene left to him, beeing one that they in Fraunce made beleeue that they relyed vpon principallie in this enterprise. Afterwardes, the ambassadour tolde me, that it was Charles Paget, and that he was retourned, but, where he had bene, hee knewe not, and, at the same time, I receiued a letter from Morgan, that it was Paget; but assuring me, and so willed me to assure the ambassadour, that his comming was not to moue any man, but onely to viewe the countrey, for that the moouing of any man was referred to him. I did so, and he intreated me to remember him for those foresaide names and hauens, saying that, so it were done exactly by the spring, it would suffice; for that sooner he saw no likelihoode of the execution of the enterprise.

* viz. Popish.

My brother, hauing made an ende of his accompt with me, retourned with this resolution betweene vs, I protest before God, that, if the enterprise succeeded not betweene this and the next spring nowe past, that I woulde settle my things here and go ouer. And for this cause, he being gone, I went downe into the countrey, both to sell and take order for my land in those partes, as also to fetch the draught of gentlemen and hauens for the most part of England, which had bene set downe by me aboue two yeres since, and left behinde me at Feckenham in my studie.

Not finding the draught at Feckenham, I retourned to London, where I founde the note of names in secretarie hande, which I caried to the Spanish ambassadour, and there drewe that other in Romane hande in his studie, putting downe Chester to be taken, in respect of the easinesse, as I thought, and the rather to giue him incouragement in the matter. I left it with him, promising him that by the next spring I woulde perfect it, if I taried so long, making knowen vnto him, that I was had in suspition, and my determination to be gone; but he pressed the contrarie of me, asssuring me, that, if the enterprise proceeded not, he would then also depart.

Whether Sir Frauncis Englefielde were a dealer in this practise or no, I know not; but sure I am, for so the Spanish ambassadour tolde me, that Frauncis had intelligence with the said ambassadour all the time of his being here.

The Spanish ambassadour tolde me, that he heard the people of Northwales were generallie wel affected *, and therefore he desired to haue the hauens of that countrie: I tolde him, that hereafter I would help hime thereunto, although no good might be expected there, for the reasons by me set downe in my first confession: and hereupon, the day before mine apprehension, the ambassadour sent me backe the said paper in Romane hand, desiring me to set downe the same at my leasure more exactly, which was the cause that it was not in my greene veluet casket. The writings in my casket were such as were by me confessed, and came vnto my hands as I haue confessed.

I most humbly beseeche her most excellent Maiestie, that the extremitie which I haue alreadie sustained, and the causes by me discouered, to the safetie of her Maiestie and the state, not made knowen, as hath appeared, by any other meane then by my selfe, may craue at her handes the extending of her gratious commiseration towardes the relieuing of the lamentable estate of me, her Maiesties poore distressed subiect, and mine, if God for mine offences forbid not the same.

NOWE iudge all yee, that be not peruersly affected, whether Throckmorton be iustly condemned, and whether his confessions, though, as he pretended, extorted from him by violence, be of force in lawe against him: he hath conspired to ouerthrowe the state, to bring in strangers to inuade the realme, to remoue her Maiestie from her lawfull and naturall right and inheritance to the Crowne of England, and to place a stranger in her

* To the Popish Faction.

seate. But this last point, for placing of a stranger, will, perchaunce, be denied; then note, that, in the whole course of the practise, the greatest barre to the prosecution of the enterprise was, they found no way how to put the Scottish Queene in safetie. Then, if these dangerous treasons be discouered by torture, the onely meanes left vnto princes to discouer treasons and attemptes against their states and persons, where they finde apparant matter to induce suspition, as in the case of Throckmorton, vpon sight of the plottes of hauens, &c.—, may the law touch the traitour, or not? If any man holde this question negatiuely, holde him for a friend to traitours and treasons, and an enemie to the Queene's Maiestie, whome God long preserue, and confound her enemies.

TREASON

PRETENDED AGAINST

THE KING OF SCOTS,

BY CERTAINE

LORDES AND GENTLEMEN,

Whose Names hereafter followe.

With a Declaration of the Kinges Maiesties Intention to his last Acts of Parliament:

Which openeth fully in Effect all the saide Conspiracy.

OUT OF SKOTTISH INTO ENGLISH.

Imprinted at London, for Thomas Nelson, and are to be solde at the West Ende of Paules. 1585. Black Letter, octavo, containing twenty-four Pages.

The Coppie of a Letter sent from a Gentleman in Scotland, to a Frend of his in England, touching the Conspiracie against the Kinges Maiestie.

My approued Friend, T. S.

THERE hath beene lately secret practising against the Kinges Maiestie of Scotland. But time serueth not nowe to set down the maner of their proceeding in the said attempt: I haue here sent to you the Kinges declaration to his last acts of parliament, and, for breuitie, haue set downe the names of the conspirators, which are as followeth. And thus, in hope you will accept my good will, I commit you to the Almightie. From Edenbrough, this 20 of Februarie, 1585.

Yours, Christopher Studley.

The Lord of Don Whasell.
The Lord of Dunkrith.
The Lord of Baythkicte.
Robert Hamelton of Ynchmachan.
M. Iames Sterling.

These wer apprehended at the Kinges court.

Iohn Hoppignell of the Mores, apprehended at his owne house, by the captaine of the Kinges garde.

The Lord Keir and Lord Maius apprehended, with other gentlemen, about Sterling.

The Lord Blaketer and Georg Douglasse are sommoned to the court, upon suspition.

The Lord Don Whasell } executed.
The Lord Maius }

The treason discouered by Robert Hamelton.

The Kinges Maiestics Declaration of his Acts confirmed in Parliament.

FORASMVCH as there is some euil affected men that goeth about, so farre as in them lieth, to invent lies and tales to slaunder and impaire the Kinges Maiestics fame and honour, and to raise reportes as if his Maiestie had declined to Papistrie, and that he had made many actes to abolish the free passage of the gospel, good order and discipline in the church: Which bruites are mainteined by rebellious subiects, who would gladly couer their seditious enterprises vnder pretense of religion, albeit there can be no godly religion in such as raiseth rebellion to disquiet the state of their natiue soueraigne, and periuredly doeth stand against the othe, band, and obligation of their faith, whereunto they haue sworne and subscribed; therefore, that his Maiesties faithfull subiects be not abused with such slanderous reportes, and his Highnesse good affectionated friends in other countries may understand the veritie of his vpright intention, his Highnesse hath commaunded this briefe declaration of certaine of his Maiesties acts of parliament holden in May, 1584, to be published and imprinted, to the effect, that the indirect practises of such, as slaunder his Maiestie and his lawes, may be detected and discouered.

IN the first acte his Maiestie ratifies and approues the true profession of the gospell, sincere preaching of the worde, and administration of the sacraments, presently by the goodnes of God established within this realme, and alloweth of the confession of faith set downe by acte of parliament, the first yeere of his Maiesties raigne. Likewise, his Highnesse not onely professeth the same in all sinceritie, but, praysed be God, is come to that ripenesse of iudgement, by reading and hearing the worde of God, that his Highnesse is able to conuince and ouerthrowe by the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, the most learned of the contrary sect of the aduersaries: So that, as Plato affirmeth, that commonwealth to be most happy, wherein a philosopher raigneth, or he that raigneth is a philosopher; We may much more esteeme this countrey of

Scotland to be fortunate, wherein our King is a diuine, and whose heart is replenished with the knowledge of the heauenly philosophy, for the comfort not onely of his good subiects and friends in other countreys, but of them that professeth the gospell euery where, he beyng a King of great wisedome, and, by his birthright, borne to great possessions, but much more his Highnesse, vertue, godlinesse, and learnyng, and daily increase of all heauenly sciences, doth promise and assure him of the mighty protection of God, and fauour of all them that fear his holy name.

IN the second acte his Maiesties royal authority ouer all estates, both spirituall and temporall, is confirmed: Which acte, some of malice, and other some of ignorance, doth traduce, as if his Maiestie pretended to be called the Head of the Church; a name which his Maiestie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar to the Sonne of God, the Sauiour of the World, who is the head, and bestoweth life spiritual vpon the members of his misticall body; and he, hauyng receiued the Holy Spirite in all aboundance, maketh every one of the faithfull pertakers thereof, according to the measure of faith bestowed vpon them. Of the which number of the faithfull vnder the head Christ, his Maiestie acknowledgeth himselfe to be a member, baptised in his name, pertaker of the mysterie of the crosse and holy communion, and attending with the faithfull for the comming of the Lord, and the finall restitution of Gods elect. And notwithstanding his Maiestie surely vnderstandeth by the scriptures, that he is the chief and principall member appointed by the lawe of God, to see God glorified, vice punished, and vertue maintained within his realme, and the soueraigne iudgement for a godly quietnesse and order in the commonwealth, to appertaine to his Highnesse care and solicitude. Which power and authoritie of his Highnesse, certaine ministers being called before his Maiestie for their seditious and factious sermons in stirring up of the people to rebellion against their natiue King (by the instigation of sundry vnquiet spirites) would in no wyse acknowledge but disclaime his Maiesties authoritie as an incompetent iudge; and specially one called M. Andrew Meluile, an ambitious man, of a salt and fiery humour, vsurping the pulpit of Sandroyes, without any lawfull callyng, and priuie at that tyme to certaine conspiracies attempted against his Maiestie and crowne, went about, in a sermon vpon a Sunday, to inflame the hearts of the people, by odious comparisons of his Maiesties progenitours and counsaile, albeit the duetie of a faithfull preacher of the gospell be rather to exhort the people to the obedience of their natiue King, and not by popular sermons (which hath been the euersion and decay of great cities and commonwealths, and hath greatly, in times past, bred disquietnesse to the state thereby) to trouble and perturbe the countrey. The sayd M. Andrew, beyng called before his Highnesse, presumptuously answered, that he would not be iudged by the King and counsaile, because he had spoken the same in pulpit, which pulpit, in effect, he alleged to be exempted from the iudgement and correction of Princes, as if that holy place sanctified to the word of God, and to the breaking of the bread of life, might be any colour to any sedition in worde or deede, against the lawfull authoritie,

without punishment. Alwaies his Maiestie, beyng of himselfe a most gratious prince, was not willing to haue vsed any rigour against the saide Maister Andrew, if he had humbly submitted himselfe, acknowledged his offence, and craued pardon; who, notwithstanding, afraid of his owne guiltines, beyng priuie to diuers conspiracies before, fled out of the realme, whose naughty and presumptuous refusing of his Highnesse iudgement was the occasion of the making of this seconde acte, *videlicet*, That none should decline from his Highnesse authoritie, in respect that the common prouerbe beareth, *Ex malis moribus bonæ leges natæ sunt*; that is, Of euill maners good lawes proceede. And in verie deede it wanteth not any right intollerable arrogancy, in any subiect called before his Prince, professing and aucthorising the same truth, to disclaime his authoritie, neither doe the prophets, apostles, nor others, conducted by the Spirite of God, minister the like example; for it is a great errour to affirme, as many doe, that princes and magistrates haue onely power to take order in ciuill affaires, and that ecclesiasticall matters doth onely belong to the ministerie. By which meanes the Pope of Rome hath exempt himselfe and all his clergie, from all iudgements of Princes, and hath made himself to be iudge of iudges, and to be iudged of no man; whereas, by the contrarie, not onely by the examples of the godly gouernors, iudges, and kings of the Old Testament, but also by the New Testament, and the whole history of the primitiue church, in the which the emperors, beyng iudges ouer the Bishop of Rome, deposed them from their seates, appointed iudges to decide and determine in causes ecclesiasticall, and chalenge innocent men, as Athanasius, from the determination of the councell holden at Tyrus, and, by infinite good reasons, which shall be set downe, by the grace of God, in another seuerall worke, shall be sufficiently prooued and verified. But this appeareth, at this present, to be an vntimely and vnprofitable question, which hath no ground upon their part, but of the preposterous imitation of the pretended iurisdiction of the Pope of Rome. For, if there were any question in this land of heresie, whereby the profound mysteries of the scriptures behooued to be searched foorth, his Maiestie would vse the same remedy, as most expedient, which the most godly emperours hath vsed: And his Maiestie, following their example, would alow the councell of learned pastours, that, by conference of scriptures, the veritie might be opened, and heresie repressed. But, God be thanked, we haue no such controuersies in this land, neither hath any heresie taken any deepe roote in the countrey, but that certaine of the ministerie, ioyning themselues to rebels, hath traueled to disquiet the state with such questions, that the people might embrace any sinister opinion of his Maiesties vpright proceedings, and factions might be nourished and entertained in the countrey. Neither is it his Maiesties meaning nor intention, in any sort, to take away the lawfull and ordinarie iudgement in the church, whereby discipline and good order might decay, but rather to preserue, maintaine, and increase the same. And as there is in the realme, iustices, constables, shirifes, provosts, baylifes, and other iudges in temporall matters; so his Maiestie aloweth, that all things might be done in order, and a godly quietnes may be preserued in the whole estate, the sinodall assemblies by the bishops, or commissioners,

where the place was vsed, to be conuenient, twise in the yeere, to haue the ordinary trial of matters belonging to the ministery and their estate; alwaies reseruing to his Highnesse, that, if thei, or any of them, doe amisse, neglect their duetie, disquiet the estate, or offend in any such maner and sort, that they in no wayes pretend that immunitie, priuiledge, and exemption, which onely was inuented by the Popes of Rome, to tread vnder foote the scepters of princes, and to establish an ecclesiasticall tyranny within this countrey, vnder pretence of new inuented presbyters, which neither should answer to the King, nor Bishop vnder his Maiestie, but should haue such infinite iurisdiction, as neither the lawe of God nor man can tollerate. Which is onely his Maiesties intention to represse, and not to take away any godly or due order in the church, as hereafter shall appeare.

THE third acte of his Maiesties foresaide parliament dischargeth all iudgements ecclesiasticall, and all assemblies which are not allowed by his Maiestie in parliament; which acte especially concerneth the remouing and discharging of that forme inuented in this land, called Presbyterie; wherin a number of ministers of certeine precinct and boundes, accounting themselues to be equal, without any difference, and gathering vnto them certeine gentlemen, and others of his Maiesties subiects, vsurpe all the whole ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, and altereth the lawes at their owne pleasure, without the knowledge and approbation of the King or the estate: A forme of doing without example of any nation, subiect to a Christian Prince: The peril whereof did so increase, that, in case it had not beene repressed in due season, and forbidden by his Maiesties lawes, the same had troubled the whole countrey. And, beyng tried, by his Highnesse, to be the ouerthrow of his Maiesties estate, the decay of his crowne, and a ready introduction to anabaptistrie, and popular confusion, in all estates, his Maiestie hath giuen commaundement against the same. And, that the reader may vnderstand the daunger thereof, by many inconueniences which, thereby, ensueth in this lande, I will onely set downe one, whereby they may vnderstand what peril was in the rest. The embassadour of Fraunce, returning home vnto his owne countrey, commaunded the prouost, bayliffes, and counsaile of Edenbrough, to make him a banquet, that he might be receiued honourably, according to the amitie of auncient times betweene the two nations. This commaund was giuen on the Saturday by his Highnesse, and the banquet appointed to be on the Monday. A number of the foresaide pretended presbyterie, vnderstanding thereof, assembled themselues on Sonday in the morning, and presumptuously determined and agreed, that the ministers of Edenbrough should proclaime a fasting vppon the same Monday, where three seuerall ministers, one after another, made three seuerall sermons, inuectiues against the prouost, bayliffes, and counsaile for the time, and the noble men in the countrey, who repaired to the banquet at his Maiesties commaund. The foresaide presbyterie called and perswaded them, and scarsly, by his Maiesties authoritie, could be witholden from excommunicating the saide magistrates and noble men, for obeying onely his Highnes lawfull commaund, which the law of all countreys, called *Ius Gentium*, requires towards

embassadours of forreine countreys. And not onely in this, but innumerable other things, their commaundement was proclaimed directly, vnder the paine of excommunication, to the Kings Maiestie and his lawes: Which forme of proceeding ingendred nothing but disquietness, sedition, and trouble, as may manifestly appeere, in that the speciall authors of the inuenting, promoting, and assisting of the foresaide pretended presbyteries hath ioyned themselues with his Maiesties rebels; and fleing foorth of the realme, in respect of their guiltines, hath discoured what malitious practises was deuised amongst them, if God had not, in time, prouided remedie. The other forme of iudgement, which his Maiestie hath discharged, is the generall assembly of the whole clergie in the realme; vnder pretence whereof, a number of ministers, from sundry presbyteries, did assemble, with some gentlemen of the countrey, wherof some, for that time, malcontents of the estate, sought that color, as fauorers of the ministerie, by the which thei haue practised many enterprises in the realme, where there was no certeine lawe in ecclesiasticall affaires, but all depended vpon the saide generall conuention, where the lawes of the church were alterable after the number of voices, which, for the most part, succeeded vnto the most vnlearned of the multitude. This generall assembly, amongst other things, did appoint and agree with his Maiesties regentes in his Highnesse minority, that the estate of bishops, which is one of the estates of parliament, should be mainteined and authorised, as it is registred in the bookes of counsell, and subscribed by the commissioners for the time: Which order was obserued many yeeres, and bishops, by their consentes, appointed to the diocesse, vntill, within this late time, in assemblies holden at Dundie and Glasgow, respecting the foresaide ministers and assemblies, thei tooke vppon them, contrarie to their owne hand writing, to discharge the estate, and to declare the same to be vnlawfull, in their pretended maner; and there commaunded the bishops of the countrey to demit and leaue their offices and iurisdictions, and that, in no wise, they should passe to the Kings Maiesties counsell, or parliament, without commission obteined from their assemblie; that they should confirme nothing in parliament and counsell, but according to their acts and iniunctions. And further, they directed their commissioners to the Kings Maiestie, commaunding him and the counsell, vnder paine of the censures of the church (whereby they vnderstoode excommunication) to appoint no bishop in time to come, because they had concluded that estate to be vnlawfull.

And notwithstanding, that which they would haue deiected in the bishops, they purposed to erect in themselues, desiring that such commissioners, as they should send to parliament and counsell, might be authorised in place of the estate, whereby it should haue come to pass, that whereas, now, his Maiestie may select the most godly, learned, wise, and experimented of the ministerie, to be on his Maiesties estate, his Highnesse should haue been, by that means, compelled to accept such, as the multitude, by an odde consent of the most vnlearned, should haue appointed; which could not tend but to the ouerthrow of the realme, whereof that estate hath bene a speciall stop. After they had discharged bishops, they agreed to haue superintendents, commis-

sioners, and visitours: But, in the end, they discerned that there should be no difference amongst the ministers, and imagined that new forme of presbyterie, whereof we haue spoken before: Neither was there any other appearance that they should haue staid from such daily alterations in the commonwealth, which could not but continually be disquieted, where the lawe of conscience, which they mainteined by the sword of cursing, was subiect to such mutations, at the arbitrement of a number, whereof the most part had not greatly tasted of learning. At our the foresaide assemblie, was accustomed, not only to prescribe the lawe to the King and estate, but also did, at certain times, appoint general fastings throughout the realme, specially, when some factioners in the countrey was to mooue any great enterprise: For, at the fast, all the ministers was commaunded by the assemblie to sing one song, and to cry out vppon the abuses, as they termed it, of the court and estate for the time; whereby, it is most certaine, great alterations to haue ensued in this land, while, at the good pleasure of God, and his blessing towardes his Maiestie, the pretence of the last fast was discouered, and his Highnesse deliuered from such attempts, whereby his Maiestie hath bene iustly mooued to discharge such conuentions, which might import so preiudicially to his estate: But specially his Maiestie had no small occasion, whereas the same assemblie, beyng met at Edenbrough, did authorise and auow the fact perpetrate at Ruthuen, in the takyng of his Highnesse most noble person: the which deed, notwithstanding his Maiestie, with the aduise of his estates in parliament, accounted to be treason, the saide assemblie, esteeming their iudgement to be the souer-aigne iudgement of the realme, hath not only approoued the same, but ordained all them to be excommunicate that would not subscribe and allow the same. So the actes of this assemblie, and the lawes of the estate, directly weighed in ciuill matter, with the which the assemblie should not haue medled, it behooued his Highnesse, either to discharge himself of the crown, or the ministerie of the forme of assemblie, which, in deede, of it selfe, without the Kings Maiesties licence and approbation, could not be lawfull; like as generall counsells, at no time, could assemble, without the commaundement of the Emperor for the time; and our King hath no lesse power, within his owne realme, then any of them had in the empire: Yea, the Bishop of S. Androis had not, in time of Poperie, power to conuent the bishops and clergie, out of their owne diocesse, without licence giuen before of his Highnesse most noble progenitours of good memorie, and the causes thereof intimated and allowed. Notwithstanding that his Maiesties intention and meaning may fully be vnderstood, it is his Highnesse wil, that the bishop, or commissioners of any diocesse, or prouince, or part thereof, shall, at their visitation appointed in euery parish, accordyng to the greatnesse thereof, haue some honest, vertuous, and discrete men, to aide and assist the minister, and to haue the ouersight and censure of the maners and behauiour of that parish: And, if there be any notable offence worthy of punishment, that the bishop and commissioners be aduertised thereof, who shall haue an officer of armes to be assistant for the punishment of vice, and executions to follow thereupon; that they, who contemneth the godly and lawfull order of the church, may finde, by experience,

his Maiesties displeasure, and be punished according to their deseruings.

And further: his Maiestie, vppon necessary occasions which may fall foorth by diuers maner of wayes among the clergie, vppon humble supplication made vnto his Highnesse, will not refuse to graunt them licence to assist the bishops commissioners, and some of the most vertuous, learned, and godly of their diocesse, where such ecclesiasticall matters, as appertaineth to the vniformitie of doctrine, and conseruation of a godly order in the church, may be intreated and concluded in his Maiesties owne presence, or some of his Maiesties honourable counsell, who shall assist for the time: where, if necessity so require, a publike fast throughout the whole realme may be commaunded, and by his Maiesties authoritie, proclaimed, to auoide the imminent displeasure and daunger of the wrath of the Lordes iudgements; which is the right ende of publike humilitie, and not, vnder pretence thereof, to couer such enterprises, as hath heretofore greatly disquieted and troubled the peace of this commonwealth.

The xx. acte ratifieth, and approoueth, and establisheth the estate of the bishops within the realme, to haue the oversight and iurisdiction, euery one in their owne diocesse. Which forme of gouernment, and rule in ecclesiasticall affaires, hath not onely continued in the church from the dayes of the apostles, by continuall succession of tyme, and many martyres in that calling shed their bloud for the trueth: but also, since this realme embraced and receiued the Christian religion, the same estate hath beene maintained to the welfare of the church, and quietnesse of the realme, without any interruption, vntill within these few yeares, some curious and busie men haue practised to induce in the ministerie an equalitie in all thinges, as well concerning the preaching of the word, administration of the sacraments, as likewise in discipline, order, and pollicie; the which confusion his Maiestie finding, by most dangerous experience, to haue bene the mother and nurse of great factions, seditions, and troubles within this realme, hath, with aduise of his Highnesse estates, aduisedly concluded the saide pretended paritie in discipline, orders, and pollicie in the church, to be no lohger tollerate in this countrey: but the sollicitude and care of all churches in one diocesse, to appertain to the bishop and commissioner thereof, who shall be aunswerable to God, and his Maiestie, and estates, for the right administration and discharge of the office of particular ministers, within the boundes of their iurisdiction. For, as it becommeth his Maiestie, as Eusebius writeth of Constantinus the Great, to be a bishop of bishops, and uniuersall bishop within his realme, in so far as his Maiestie should appoint euery one to discharge his duetie: which his Highnesse cannot, his countrey beyng large and great, take him to euerie minister that shall offend, and transgresse agaynst duetie, or quarrell with the whole number of the ministerie: but it behoooueth his Maiestie to haue bishops and ouerseers vnder him, which may be aunswerable for such boundes, as the lawe and order of the countrey hath limited and appointed vnto euerie one of them. And that they, hauing accesse to his Maiesties parliament and counsell, may

intercide for the rest of the brethren of the ministerie, propone their griefe vnto his highnesse and estates and receiue his Maiesties fauourable aunswere therin. The which forme doth preserue a godly quietnes, vnitie, concorde, and peace in the estate, and an vniforme order in the church: as, contrariwise, the pretended equalitie deuideth the same, and, vnder the pretence of equality, maketh some of the most crafty and subtill dealers to be aduaunced and enriched; and, in pretending of paritie, to seeke nothing but their own ambition, and aduancement aboue the rest of the simple sort. And, notwithstanding that his Maiestie hath restablished the saide estate, it is not his highnesse wil and intent, that the foresaide bishop shall have such full power, as to do within his diocesse what he pleaseth: for, as his Maiestie cannot allow of any popular confusion, wherein, as the prouerbe saith, *Nulla tyrannis æquiparanda est tyrannidi multitudinis.* That is no tyranny can be compared to the tyranny of a multitude, hauing commaundement and power in his hands; so, on the other part, his Maiesties wil is, that the bishops authoritie, in any graue matter, be limited to the councell of thirteen of the most auncient, wise, and godly pastors of his diocesse, selected out of the whole synodall assemblie of the province; by whose aduise, or at least the most part therof, the weightie affaires of the church may be gouerned, to the glory of God, and quietnes of the realme. Further, it is his highnesse wil and commaundement, that their bishops or commissioners, twise in the yeere, to wit, ten dayes after Easter, and the sixth of September, hold their synodall assemblies, in euerie diocesse, for the keeping of good order therin. And, if any be stubborne, or contemne within their bounds the good order of the church, that it may be declared vnto his Maiestie, and punished, to the example of others, according to their deseruings. Neither is it his Maiesties meaning or intent, that such bishops or commissioners, as shall be appointed, shall receiue their onely and full commission of his Maiestie, without admission ordinary, by such as are appointed to that effect in the church; but hauing his highnesse nomination, presentation, and commendation, as lawfull and onely patron, they to be tried and examined, that their qualities are such as thei are able to discharge their cure and office: and if it shall happen any of the said bishops, or commissioners, to be negligent in their office, or to be slanderous and offensiue in their behauiour, life and maners, in tyme to come; it is not his highnesse wil, that they shalbe exempted from correction, notwithstanding any priuilege of his highnesse estate, counsell, or parliament, but their labors, trauels, diligence, and behauiour, to be tried in the generall assemblie, not consisting of a confused multitude, as it was before, but of such worshipfull persons, as is heretofore prescribed, in his highnesse presence, or his deputies to that effect. Lastly, his Maiestie giueth commission to the saide bishops, or commissioners, at their visitations, to consider in what part of the countrey, the exercise, or interpretation of the scripture, by conference of a certaine number of the ministerie within those bounds, may be most commodiously once in euery fiifteen days. For, as his Maiestie inhibits all unlawfull meetings, that may ingender trouble and contention in the countrey, so his Maiestie is well affected

to see the ministerie increase in knowledge and vnderstanding, and by all meanes to fortifie and aduance the same. Wherein his highnesse commaundement is, that a graue, wise, and sage man shalbe appointed president, who may haue the ouersight of these bounds, and be aunswerable therefore to the bishop, his counsell and synode, and he to be respected reasonably for his paines, at the modification of stipends; that all things may be orderly done in the church, peace and quietnes mainteined in the realme, and we delyuered from apparant plagues, and the blessing of God continued, to the comfort of our posteritie. And in the meane time his highnesse inhibits and expresly forbids, vnder the paines conteined in his Maiesties actes of parliament, and all other paines arbitral, at his Maiesties sight and counsell, that no ministers take in hand to assemble themselues for the foresaide cause, without the appointment and order taken by the saide bishops or commissioners; wherby his highnesse may be certeinly enformed, that the foresaide ministers assemble not, to meddle with any ciuill matters, or affaires of estate, as was accustomed before, but onely to profit in the knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by another in the administration of their spiritual office; which his highnesse wisheth them faythfully to discharge, and then to call to God, that his Maiestie may in a prosperous reigne enjoy good and long life, and continue and increase into the feare of the Almightie.

The Kings Maiesties Intention.

HIS Maiesties intention is, by the grace of God, to mainteine the true and sincere profession of the gospell, and preaching thereof, within this realme.

2. His Maiesties intention is, to correct and punishe such as seditiously abuse the trueth, and factiously apply or rather bewray the text of the scripture, to the disquieting of the estate, and disturbing of the commonwealth, or impayring of his highnesse and counsells honour.

3. His Maiesties intention is, if any question of faith and doctrine arise, to conuocate the most learned, godly, wise, and experimented pastors, that by conference of scriptures the veritie may be tryed, and all heresie and schisme by that means repressed.

4. His Maiesties intention is, that, for the keeping of good order in euerie parish, certeine ouersees to the good behauiours of the rest be appointed at the visitation of the bishop, or visitour, who shal haue his Maiesties authoritie, and officers of armes concurring, for the punishment of vice.

5. His Maiesties intention is, to mainteine the exercise of prophesie, for the increase and continuing of knowledge amongst the ministerie in which a wise and graue man, selected by the bishop, or commissioner, at the synodall assemblie, shall render an account of the administration of those bounds, where the exercise is holden; for which

cause, some respect of liuing shal be had vnto him who sustaines that burthen.

6. His Maiesties intention is, not to derogate vnto the ordinarye iudgement of matters of the church, by the ordinary bishops, their councells, and synods; but, if any of them do amisse, and abuse their calling, to take order for correcting, amending, and punishing thereof.

7. His Maiesties intention is, not to hinder or stay any godly or solide order, grounded vppon the worde of God, and order of the primitiue church; but that the ministers of the word meddle themselues onely with their owne calling, and iudge not fearfully of the estate.

8. It is his Maiesties intention, that the presbyteries consisting of many ministers and gentlemen, at Landwart or other waise, be no further tollerate in this his realme; but the exercise of iurisdiction of all churches, to be in the hands of the bishop or commissioner, and their councells and synods.

9. It is his Maiesties intention, that the bisbops or commissioners assemble not any generall assemblie out of the whole realme, without his Maiesties knowledge and licence obteined thereunto; which, upon supplication his highnesse will not denie: that an uniforme order may be obserued in the whole realme, and the bishops and their diligences there tryed and examined, and the complaints of euery perticular heard and discussed.

10. It is his Maiesties intention to assist this assemblie himself, or by a nobleman of his counsaile, his highnesse deputie.

11. It is his Maiesties intention, that, when any parish findeth necessitie of any fast, they enform the occasion to the bishop or commissioner, their counsaile, that they may vnderstand the cause to be lawfull; as lykewise the bishop of the diocesse, finding lawfull occasion, may, within the same, with his counsaile, prescribe any publike humiliation.

12. It is his Maiesties intention, that a generall fast throughout the whole realm shall not be proclaimed but by his Maiesties commaundement, or by a generall counsaile, wherin his Maiestie, or his highnesse deputy, is present.

13. It is his Highnesse intention, that the bishops in the realme in euery diocesse, with their counsaile, proceede into the ecclesiasticall gouernment; but, as is saide, with a counsaile, that both tyranny and confusion may be avoided in the church.

14. It is his Highnesse intention, that commissioners be directed vniuersally throughout the whole realme to establish a godly order, and that his Maiesties commissioners take order presently for the translation of such ministers, whose trauels they esteeme may more conueniently and profitably serue in another place.

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